

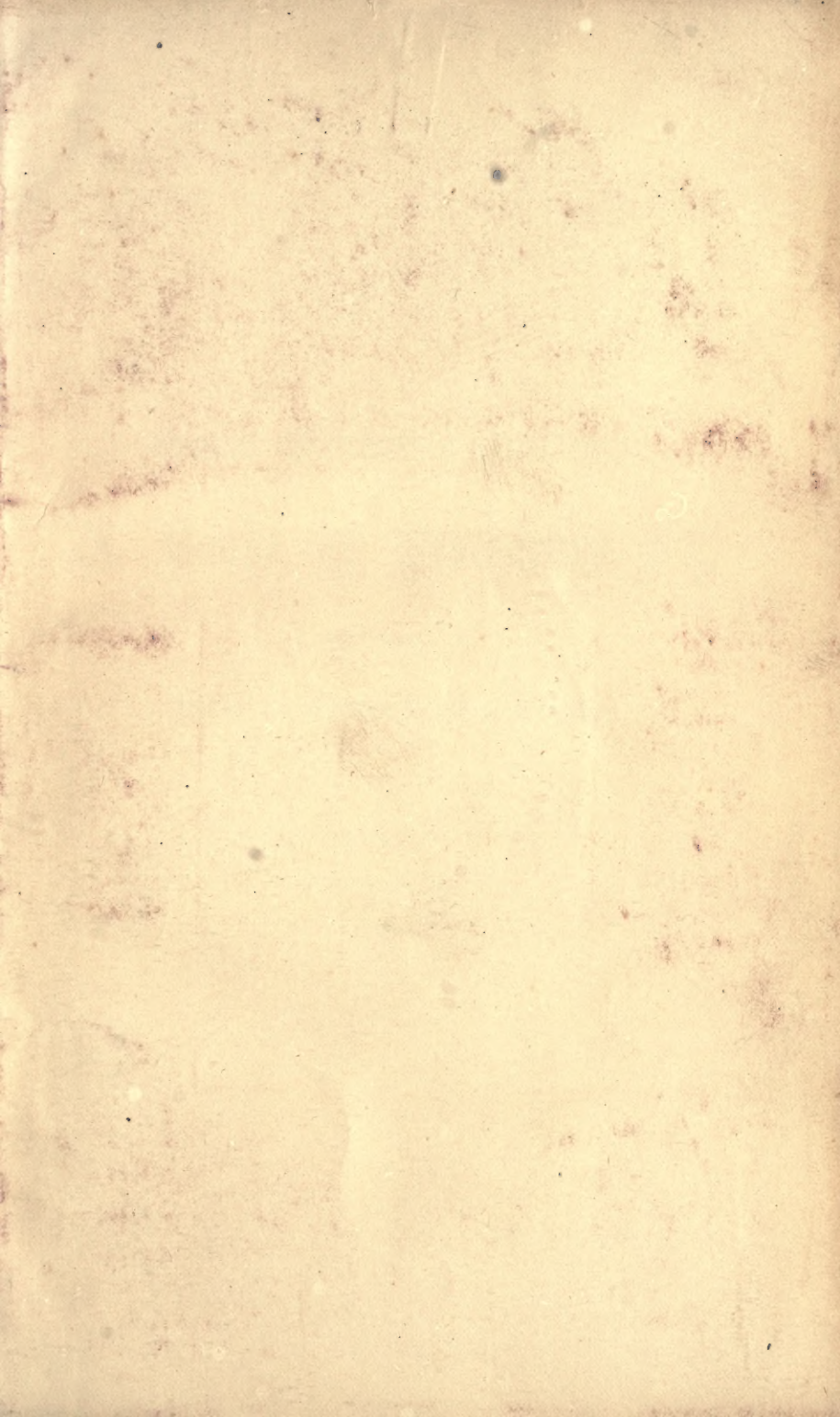


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Queene Elizabethes Achademy,
A Booke of Precedence, &c.,

with Essays on

Italian and German Books of Courtesy.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. VIII.

1869.

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Queene Elizabethes Achademy

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT)

A Booke of Precedence

The Ordering of a Funerall, &c.

Varying Versions of

The Good Wife, The Wise Man, &c.

Maxims, Tydgate's Order of Fools,

A Poem on Heraldry, Occleve on Lords' Men, &c.

Edited by

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

With Essays on

Early Italian and German Books of
Courtesy

by

W. M. ROSSETTI, ESQ., & E. OSWALD, ESQ.

LONDON:

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FOREWORDS.

THIS volume is meant as a kind of small brother to our fat Babees Book of 1868. It has been produced mainly to let the reader see the very interesting account in Part II. of early Italian Courtesy books by Mr W. M. Rossetti, and the more elaborate essay on the earliest German one (by an Italian) by Mr E. Oswald. To these I have added a very short, bare sketch of the curious early French treatise on the spiritual, social, and household duties of a wife, about 1393 A.D., *Le Ménagier de Paris*, a book to be read by all readers of 'The Knight de la Tour Landry.'¹ Part II. I look on as the body of this second Babee; Part I. as its frock or coat. Still, I hope that the stuff and trimmings of the boy's garment will be found worthy of examination, as well as his eyes and legs.

The first tract in Part I., *Queene Elizabethes Academy*,² is printed, I. because it is another scheme drawn up for the same end as Sir Nicholas Bacon's for the bringing up of the Queen's wards, mentioned on pages xxii, xxiii of the Forewords to the *Babees Book*, on the authority of Mr Payne Collier, and displays more fully than my cutting-down of Mr Collier's sketch, 'the course of study of well-bred youths

¹ I hoped to have added an account from the pen of Mr F. W. Cosens, of an Early Spanish MS, in the Madrid Library, of a Mother's Instructions to her Daughter; but it will take too much time to get the MS copied, &c. Perhaps enough material for another volume on Manners and Courtesy will turn up by the time the Spanish poem is ready.

² I ask readers to correct ('of) *will*, (religion'), l. 7 of text, to '*evil*,' and cut out the comma after it.

in the early years of Elizabeth's reign'; 2. because it is an admirable scheme of Educational Reform; and 3. because the Reformer is Sir Humphrey Gilbert,¹ one of the ablest and gallantest men of the Elizabethan age. Some of my readers may know the account of him in Hakluyt; and others, that in Mr Froude's noble article in the *Westminster* on "England's Forgotten Worthies." At any rate, here is the latter, to give pleasure to all who read it:

Ch. 1587
 Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbours in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into the river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found anywhere in England. Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh, here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbours, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh. Of this party, for the present we confine ourselves to the host and owner, Humfrey Gilbert, knighted afterwards by Elizabeth. Led by the scenes of his childhood to the sea and to sea adventures, and afterwards, as his mind unfolded, to study his profession scientifically, we find him, as soon as he was old enough to think for himself or make others listen to him, 'amending the great errors of naval sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degree of longitude in every latitude of one common bigness;' inventing instruments for taking observations, studying the form of the earth, and convincing himself that there was a north-west passage, and studying the necessities of his country, and

¹ It has Lord Burghley's endorsement on it [S^r Humf. Gilbert for an Academy of y^e wardes], but is without date. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. (Sir H. Ellis in *Archæologia*, XXI., p. 506.)

discovering the remedies for them in colonisation and extended markets for home manufactures. Gilbert was examined before the Queen's Majesty and the Privy Council, and the record of his examination he has himself left to us in a paper which he afterwards drew up, and strange enough reading it is. The most admirable conclusions stand side by side with the wildest conjectures.

Homer and Aristotle are pressed into service to prove that the ocean runs round the three old continents, and that America therefore is necessarily an island. The Gulf Stream, which he had carefully observed, eked out by a theory of the *primum mobile*, is made to demonstrate a channel to the north, corresponding to Magellan's Straits in the south, Gilbert believing, in common with almost every one of his day, that these straits were the only opening into the Pacific, and the land to the South was unbroken to the Pole. He prophesies a market in the East for our manufactured linen and calicoes :—

"The Easterns greatly prizing the same, as appeareth in Hester, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure."

These, and other such arguments, were the best analysis which Sir Humphrey had to offer of the spirit which he felt to be working in him. We may think what we please of them; but we can have but one thought of the great grand words with which the memorial concludes, and they alone would explain the love which Elizabeth bore him :—

¹ "Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

"And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries seruice and his owne honour, seeing death is ineuitable and the fame of vertue immortal. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere sperno*."²

Two voyages which he undertook at his own cost, which shattered his fortune, and failed, as they naturally might, since inefficient help or mutiny of subordinates, or other disorders, are inevitable conditions under which more or less great men must be content to see their great thoughts mutilated by the feebleness of their instruments, did not dishearten him; and in June 1583 a last fleet of five ships

¹ I quote the extracts from Hakluyt, instead of Mr Froude's modernized versions.

² His [Raleigh's] half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having obtained a patent to colonize some parts of North America, he embarked in this adventure; but meeting with a Spanish fleet, after a smart engagement, they returned without success, in 1579.—*Platt*, v. 231.

sailed from the port of Dartmouth, with commission from the queen to discover and take possession from latitude 45° to 50° North—a voyage not a little noteworthy, there being planted in the course of it the first English colony west of the Atlantic. Elizabeth had a foreboding that she would never see him again. She sent him a jewel as a last token of her favour, and she desired Raleigh to have his picture taken before he went.

The history of the voyage was written by a Mr Edward Hayes, of Dartmouth, one of the principal actors in it, and as a composition it is more remarkable for fine writing than any very commendable thought in the author. But Sir Humfrey's nature shines through the infirmity of his chronicler; and in the end, indeed, Mr Hayes himself is subdued into a better mind. He had lost money by the voyage, and we will hope his higher nature was only under a temporary eclipse. The fleet consisted (it is well to observe the ships and the size of them) of the *Delight*, 120 tons; the barque *Raleigh*, 200 tons (this ship deserted off the Land's End); the *Golden Hinde* and the *Swallow*, 40 tons each; and the *Squirrel*, which was called the frigate, 10 tons. For the uninitiated in such matters, we may add, that if in a vessel the size of the last, a member of the Yacht Club would consider that he had earned a club-room immortality, if he had ventured a run in the depth of summer from Cowes to the Channel Islands.

"We were in number in all (says Mr Hayes) about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action; also, minerall men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse[s], and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people."

The expedition reached Newfoundland without accident. St John's was taken possession of, and a colony left there; and Sir Humfrey then set out exploring along the American coast to the south, he himself doing all the work in his little 10-ton cutter, the service being too dangerous for the larger vessels to venture on. One of these had remained at St John's. He was now accompanied only by the *Delight* and the *Golden Hinde*, and these two keeping as near the shore as they dared, he spent what remained of the summer examining every creek and bay, marking the soundings, taking the bearings of the possible harbours, and risking his life, as every hour he was obliged to risk it in such a service, in thus leading, as it were, the forlorn hope in the conquest of the New World. How dangerous it was we shall presently see. It was towards the end of August.

"The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral or *Delight* continued in sounding of Trumpets with Drummes and Fifes;

also winding the Cornets and Haughtboyes, and in the end of their iollitie left with the battell and ringing of dōlefull knels."

Two days after came the storm ; the Delight struck upon a bank, and went down in sight of the other vessels, which were unable to render her any help. Sir Humfrey's papers, among other things, were all lost in her ; at the time considered by him an irreparable misfortune. But it was little matter, he was never to need them. The Golden Hinde and the Squirrel were now left alone of the five ships. The provisions were running short, and the summer season was closing. Both crews were on short allowance ; and with much difficulty Sir Humfrey was prevailed upon to be satisfied for the present with what he had done, and to lay off for England.

"So vpon Saturday, in the afternoone, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour ; not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight ; neither yet diuing vnder and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish ; but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding, Notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies ; and, to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliuer. But he took it for *Bonum Omen*, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemy, if it were the deuill."

We have no doubt that he did think it was the devil ; men in those days believing really that evil was more than a principle or a necessary accident, and that in all their labour for God and for right, they must make their account to have to fight with the devil in his proper person. But if we are to call it superstition, and if this were no devil in the form of a roaring lion, but a mere great seal or sea-lion, it is a more innocent superstition to impersonate so real a power, and it requires a bolder heart to rise up against it and defy it in its living terror, than to sublimate it away into a philosophical principle, and to forget to battle with it in speculating on its origin and nature. But to follow the brave Sir Humfrey, whose work of fighting with the devil was now over, and who was passing to his reward. The 2nd of September the General came on board the Golden Hinde 'to

make merry with us.' He greatly deplored the loss of his books and papers, but he was full of confidence from what he had seen, and talked with eagerness and warmth of the new expedition for the following spring. Apocryphal gold-mines still occupying the minds of Mr Hayes and others, they were persuaded that Sir Humfrey was keeping to himself some such discovery which he had secretly made, and they tried hard to extract it from him. They could make nothing, however, of his odd ironical answers, and their sorrow at the catastrophe which followed is sadly blended with disappointment that such a secret should have perished. Sir Humfrey doubtless saw America with other eyes than theirs, and gold-mines richer than California in its huge rivers and savannahs.

'Leaving the issue of this good hope [about the gold], (continues Mr Hayes), vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement persuasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaille to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his frigate; . . . and when he was intreated by the captaine, master, and others, his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigate, this was his answer—"I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."

Two-thirds of the way home, they met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and pyramid wise.' Men who had all their lives 'occupied the sea' had never seen it more outrageous. 'We had also vpon our maine-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux.'

"Munday, the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigate was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recovered, and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall, sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind so oft as we did approach within hearing, "We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeeming a souldier resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke or not long after, the Frigate being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight; and withall our watch cried, the General was cast away, which was too true.

"Thus faithfully (concludes Mr Hayes, in some degree rising above himself) I have related this story, wherein may alwaies appeare though he be extinguished, some sparkes of the Knight's vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America. . . . Such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our

travelling into those Northwest lands,¹ the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors which before we noted to bee in this gentleman, and made vnsauorie and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

"Then as he was refined and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God, so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his and euery other high and noble minde haue alwayes aspired."

Such was Sir Humfrey Gilbert; still in the prime of his years when the Atlantic swallowed him. Like the gleam of a landscape lit suddenly for a moment by the lightning, these few scenes flash down to us across the centuries: but what a life must that have been of which this was the conclusion! We have glimpses of him a few years earlier, when he won his spurs in Ireland—won them by deeds which to us seem terrible in their ruthlessness, but which won the applause of Sir Henry Sidney as too high for praise or even reward. Chequered like all of us with lines of light and darkness, he was, nevertheless, one of a race which has ceased to be. We look round for them, and we can hardly believe that the same blood is flowing in our veins. Brave we may still be, and strong perhaps as they, but the high moral grace² which made bravery and strength so beautiful is departed from us for ever.—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; vol. ii. p. 136-45.

¹ Hayes says further:—

'These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy succeesse and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunatly incumberd with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.'—*Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 145.

² Compare 'the intemperate humours' of which Hayes speaks above. I don't believe Mr Froude's conclusion a bit, though it was generous in him to write it. The Victorian gentleman mayn't have so much devil in him, or break out into such humours, as the Elizabethan: but in moral grace he is far ahead of him. Self-restraint and moral grace have grown in the latter days.

Some other details as to Sir Humphrey's early life are given in Platt's *Universal Biography*,¹ and follow here :

"Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a brave officer and navigator, born about 1539, in Devonshire, of an ancient and honourable family. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Being introduced at court by his aunt, Mrs Catharine Ashley, then in the Queen's service, he was diverted from the study of the law, and commenced soldier. Having distinguished himself in several military expeditions, particularly that of Newhaven, in 1563, he was sent over to Ireland to assist in suppressing a rebellion, where, for his singular services, he was made commander-in-chief and governor of Munster, and knighted by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, Jan. 1, 1570. He returned soon after to England, where he married a rich heiress. In 1572 he sailed with a squadron of nine ships to reinforce colonel Morgan, who meditated the recovery of Flushing. In 1576 he published his book on the north-west passage to the East Indies. In 1578 he obtained an ample patent, empowering him to possess in North America any lands then unsettled. He sailed to Newfoundland, but soon after returned to England without success ; nevertheless, in 1583 he embarked a second time with five ships, the largest of which put back on account of a contagious distemper on board. He landed at Newfoundland on the 3rd of August, and on the 5th took possession of the harbour of St John's. By virtue of his patent he granted leases to several people ; but though none of them remained there at that time, they settled afterwards in consequence of these leases ; so that Sir Humphrey deserves to be remembered as the real founder of the vast American empire. On the 20th of August he put to sea again, on board a small sloop, which on the 29th foundered in a hard gale of wind. Thus perished Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of quick parts, a brave officer, a good mathematician, a skilful navigator, and of a very enterprising genius. He was also remarkable for his eloquence, being much admired for his patriotic speeches in the English and Irish Parliaments. His work entitled 'A Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies,' is a masterly performance, and is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 11. The style is superior to most, if not to all, the writers of that age, and shows the author to have been a man of considerable reading."—*Platt's Universal Biography*, vol. v. p. 219.

The Poet Gascoigne, in his Epistle to the Reader, in *A Discourse for a new Passage to Cataia*. Written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert,

¹ See also Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 287 ; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Bliss ; Rose's *Biogr. Dict. ; Pict. Hist. of England*, ii. 791.

Knight, imprinted, A.D. 1576,¹ says of the 'right worshipful and my very friend,' the author :

"In whose commendation I woulde fayne write as muche as hee deserueth, were I not a frayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie, which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserue. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall affayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations: hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well giuen to th' aduancemente of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie fauoure with my friende. For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen."²

The contents of Sir Humphrey's scheme bear out fully all that was said in the Forewords to the *Babees Book* on the neglect of education by the English nobility and gentry. 'Whereas now the most parte of them [the gentlemen within this realm] are good for nothinge' (p. 12), Sir Humphrey's aim is to make them 'good for some what.' 'Whereas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educasions' (p. 10), they may now be brought up well, 'wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in times paste knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke' (p. 11): the very words of Pace's earlier fool of a so-called English Gentleman—the race is not like the Dodo yet—'it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to "the sons of rustics" (*Babees Book*, p. xiii); the words too of Skelton (*Colyn Clout*, Dyce's ed. i. 334),

¹ Also in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii. 11, ed. 1600.

² "Sir Humphrey was ready to try and make the passage himself; he had, says Gascoigne, prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was euen ready to haue perfourmed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and imployed in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as sithence in other places." *Ibid.*

But noble men borne, 621
 To lerne they haue scorne,
 But hunt and blowe an horne,
 Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
 Set nothing by polytykes.

Again, the laziness and viciousness of those who did go to Universities, is complained of (p. 10), and the crying evil of the education of those only places of training pointed out,—an evil of which they are not yet free,—their narrowness: that ‘schol learninges’ only are taught at Oxford and Cambridge; no ‘matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre.’ This narrowness made men then, as in later days, ‘vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely.’ Other protests by Sir Humphrey against this narrowness are seen in other parts of his plan, of which the first will come especially home to the hearts of our own Members, the study and use of *English*¹ (as against Latin) on which he insists at p. 2, complaining of ‘the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly comen from the vniuersities.’ ‘Besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the appliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in comyssion, and other offices of Common Weale.’ Again, Sir Humphrey would have lectures on ‘Ciuill Pollicie.’ By which meanes Children shall learne more at home of the ciuill pollicies of all forraine countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauailed farthest abroad.’ . . . and ‘men shalbe taught more witt and policy than schole-learninge can deliuer . . . ffor [as Chaucer says] the greatest Schole Clarks are not always the wisest men . . . ffor suche as govern Common Weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same’ (p. 3, 4). Again, Sir Humphrey would have his boys ‘muscular Christians,’ would teach them riding (p. 4), shooting, and marching (p. 5), navigation and the parts of a ship (p. 5), simple doctoring (p. 5, 6), and Natural Philosophy—the teachers of the two latter practising together ‘to search and try owte the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may.’—‘The Phisition should also teach surgery. By reason

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. lix.

that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbers Shoppe' (p. 6). Law is to be taught because 'It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen, should lerne to be able to put their owne case in law, and to haue some iudgment in the office of a Justice of Peace, and Sheriffe.' Of languages, besides Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (p. 2), French, Italian, and High Dutch or German (p. 7) are to be taught. 'Also there shalbe one Master of Defence, who shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and Dagger' &c., and who was to 'haue a dispensation against the Statute of Roages,' under which he would have been liable to branding and imprisonment, &c. (See Pref. to *Awdeley and Harman*, p. xiii.) So also the Phisician and Natural Philosopher were to be protected from the statute against Alchemists (p. 6). Music was also to be taught¹; and the mention of the *Bandora* here (p. 7) enables us to say that Sir Humphrey's scheme was not written before 1562, when the Bandora was first invented by John Rose, citizen of London (see Notes, p. 111). Heraldry was to be taught too (p. 8), but not, we may be sure, with the nonsense clinging round its origin, of which a sample is given in pages 93-102 of the present volume. For other particulars the reader is referred to the little tract itself; but let him notice that the 'screooging poor men's sons out of the endowments only for the poor' (*Babees Book*, p. xxxvi.) of which Harrison complained in 1577, and another writer before, was going on in Sir Humphrey's time :

And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releeve poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes.

The plan of the Achademy is in fact one for the establishment of a great London University for the education of youths in the art of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern London teachers and studies. I venture to think that Sir Humphrey's scheme will not detract from his fame for nobleness of spirit, keenness of sight, and directness of aim. After the copy of the tract

¹ See Forewords to the *Babees Book*, p. xxiii.

in this volume had been printed, Mr Wheatley informed me that Sir Henry Ellis had printed it before in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 506, &c. But this fact only rendered the presence of the *Achademy* here more appropriate, as our Extra Series is for reprints. I only wish Sir Henry had added some of the notes and illustrations to the tract, which he was so much more competent to give than I am, so that I might have reprinted those too.

The second tract, 'a Booke of Precedence' (p. 13), is printed, not mainly because 'John Bull loves a Lord'—although sensible outsiders proved to him last session that his dear Peers were politically hereditary nuisances, the obstructers of all liberal legislation,—but because the question of Precedence was so important a one in old social arrangements, and the feeling of caste still so strongly pervades all English society. Moreover, it is curious to know that a lady of title, in the presence of her higher in rank, might not have her train borne by a woman, though she might by a man (p. 15), as that marked her lowerness of station; while a poor baroness mightn't have her train borne by any one; but if she had a gown with a train, she was obliged to bear it herself (p. 25).

The third and fourth pieces in this volume describe, the third shortly (p. 29-31), and the fourth at greater length (p. 32-36), the manner of ordering the funerals of noble or knightly persons in late Popish times in England. One is bound to shew how people's corpses were dressed and dealt with, as well as their bodies; and to some churchy and upholstery people the details in these parts will no doubt have a more special interest. The 'Liveryes for Noblemen att Interyments,' at p. 36, represent, I suppose, the scarf, hatband, and gloves, given to commoners at funerals now.

The fifth piece is the 'Definition of the Esquier,' of which copies more or less different are found so often in MSS and books. Next, ought to have been added a short account of a curious, solemn procession of one of our Tudor queens, when she took to her chamber to lie in, and bear a child; but between Mr Childs and me the copy somehow disappeared. It shall, however, be printed in our third 'Babee,' if that ever sees the light.

The sixth piece is therefore a late and quite-changed version of

'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter,' *Babees Book*, p. 36, while the seventh piece is a less late and less changed version of the same poem, but still having enough differences, and noting enough fresh points of conduct, to render it worth printing.

As might have been expected concerning such teachings in early days, there is somewhat plainer speaking on the part of the mother, put down in the MS, than would appear in print now, as well as record of a ruder butcher-remark by the lookers-on, when a young woman happened to lift her petticoats rather high :

- ¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt ; 52
¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56
¶ Witt an' O and an' I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

But that the thing was once done in Scotland, we have Sir David Lyndesay's testimony :

Bot I lauch oest to se ane Nwn,
Gar beir hir taill aboue hir bwn,
For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.

Sir D. Lyndesay's *Syde Tails*, l. 55-8.

Marketing was also one of the occasions of warning and danger to young women :

Go not as it wer A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase ;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thryft ; be wer of itte.

Later on, Stubs comments savagely on the purposes which merchants' wives made carrying their baskets serve ; another satirist has the following skit on the practice :

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke, when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to buye her meate, that she

in the mene time may go to a baudy house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to learne facions, &c. (*The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament*, ab. 1550, A.D., p. 10 of Collier's reprint.)

The poet who wrote the version at p. 46, l. 73-5, below, and exhorted young damsels not to go to a wrestling, or a cock-fighting, or 'shooting,' like a strumpet or a gyglote (light hussy), would, I suppose, have been scandalized if he could have heard of Victorian ladies attending a pigeon-match, to say nothing of wrestling-matches, and athletic sports. Manners change, and mutual charity is needed when one time sets itself to judge another. In one of Mr Lumby's forthcoming texts for the Society, there is an extremely interesting Scotch version of the Good Wife, called *The Thewis of Gudwomen*, in 320 lines, p. 103-112, *Ratis Raving*, Book III.

The eighth and ninth pieces (pp. 52, 56) are altered versions of 'How the Good Man taught his Son,' and 'Stans puer ad Mensam,' *Batees Book*, pp. 48, 26; though the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate's short poem. The present copy dates itself, more or less nearly, by its telling the servants not to wear laced sleeves; for those sleeves were fashionable in Edward IV.'s reign, and the lacing was put across a full-padded sleeve. The nobility and gentry of the day conceived that this wearing of 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.,' was their special privilege; and accordingly, a statute of the 3rd year of Edward IV. A.D. 1463, forbids any yeoman or person under that degree to wear these bolsters, and therefore the laced sleeves; see p. 62, note. Of an earlier kind of sleeve, Occleve complains below, p. 106, as we shall see. Who the Dr Palere is, who is introduced into our 9th piece so often (p. 63-4), as a great authority, I do not know.

For our 10th and 11th pieces (p. 65, 66), we have altered versions of 'The A B C of Aristotle,' of which two copies were printed in the *Batees Book*, p. 9-12. The 10th piece, p. 65-6, is so different from its originals as to almost claim the character of a new piece.

In the 12th piece, 'Proverbs of Good Counsel,' of which I don't remember any other copy, there is a nice line, 'of all treasure, Knowledge is the flower:'

Son), yf þou wyste whate thyngⁱ hyt were,
 Connyngⁱ to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
 Thow wold not mys spend on^h howre ;
 for of all Trespere Conny[n]gⁱ ys flowur.

50

Passing over the simple 13th piece, p. 71, we come to the 14th and 15th, 'Good Aduice to a Gouvernour,' and 'Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen;' and we are shown by the satire of the 16th piece, 'The Sage Fool's Testament' (p. 77),—though it is of an earlier date than the two bits that precede it—how much needed the Good Advice to the Governor and Nobleman really was; how power and place, with money and little restraint, worked in early social England. There's a good slice of English History in that Fool's Testament; and I commend it to the reader.

As an Appendix to it I have added our 17th piece, Lydgate's 'Order of Fools,' p. 79, a poor copy of a poor poem, but no doubt containing among its 63 caps, one that'll fit each of us.

In the 18th piece (p. 85), are three interesting little bits, 'When England shall come to Grief,' 'All is phantom that we deal with'—eternity alone, reality,—and 'Ills of our Time,' when a good sure friend is hard to find. Of this last, a fuller copy, with Latin originals, is given as our 20th piece at p. 88.

The intervening poem, No. 19, p. 86, is the only pathetic piece in the volume. In his Northern dialect the writer, deserted by unkind, false friends, asks 'Qwat sal I do?' Loving and true himself, he cannot understand why the world is thus false to him. He complains to God, desiring to die, and prays Him to quite those who have made his life so hard to lead. May his sad burden be new to all of us :

that I most trayste,
 it is all waste !
 sor may me rew !

The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd pieces are a change: 'The Order of the Ladies at the Coronation of Queen Catherine, Queen of Henry VII.' (p. 89); 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given by Sir John Cornwell to Henry V. ;' and 'Courses of a Meal or Banquet.' The latter were printed by Mr Edward Leaven of the British Museum, he sends me word, in a late number of the *Journal of the Archæological*


Association, but as it is not on the shelf of the Museum Reading-room, where it ought to be, I cannot say what Mr Levien has made of these meals. For me, they are just continuations of Russell's in the *Babees Book*; and the cracking of one nut in them pleased me—*samaka*, p. 89.—What it could be I couldn't conceive; perhaps some preserve of salmon, if fish were potted in those days: but the *Forme of Cury's Sambocade*, p. 77, which the excellent Pegge never put in his unalphabetical Glossary that worries everybody who refers to it, proved the needful pair of crackers; it was—'*Sambocade*; as made of the *Sambucus* or Elder' (Pegge): curds, sugar, white of eggs, flavoured with elder-flowers, put in a crust, baked up with 'curose'—whatever that may be: 'curiously!' says Pegge,—and messed forth.

The reader has seen that our gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have Heraldry taught in his *Achademy* (pp. xi, 8). It is beyond question that our ancestors attributed much importance to the study of the art that recorded their descent and alliances; and, no doubt, one's namesakes with the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion thought much of their arms, if they had any, as their Caerlaverock follower had.

This interest of our old men in the subject, is my only excuse for printing the 24th piece in this volume, a Poem on Heraldry (p. 93-102), about gules, and pales, and tortells, and masklewis, &c. &c., which are all Hebrew to me. A wonderful and fearful language it is that Heralds talk; but I've bought a little *Grammar of Heraldry* by Mr Cussans (Longmans, 1866), and hope, by the help of the woodcuts, to understand it some day. Well, in turning over the Harleian Catalogue, I came on the title of this Poem (vol. iii. 332, col. 1), and Mr Bond, the Keeper of the MSS, decided that it was in the same hand as the second treatise in its volume, Harl. 6149, which is described in the Catalogue as "A treatise of the Signification of Armory, . . . and at the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald,' or something near it, with the date 1494."

Not much sense was to be made out of this; but a reference to the MS showed that the rubric printed in the Catalogue, though defaced in parts by dashes of black ink, was yet quite readable with

a little trouble ; and the 'something near it' of the Catalogue, proved to be :

Explicit iste liber honorabili armigero Wilelmo cummyn de Inuerellochy¹ alias Marchemond heraldo per  [=manum] Ade loutfut² Anno Domini M° CCCC° nonagesimo quarto mensis uero Septembris. [Harleian MS 6149, leaf 44.]

Thus one of the many skews in the Harleian Catalogue was set straight. (Don't let any one abuse the first Cataloguer of a Collection for skews. For all Catalogues (as for all Indexes) one ought to be grateful : for those without mistakes, most grateful.)

The questions then were, 1. Who was Sir William Cummyn ? and, 2. was the Poem by him, or at least by a Scotchman, as from its language it seemed to be ? The 2nd question was most kindly answered in the negative by a learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, whose name Mr David Laing mentioned to me, and who responded to the application of me, a stranger, by sending me the valuable notes printed on pages 102—104 below, and in them pointing out that certain marks of cadency mentioned in the poem were never used in Scotch Heraldry, though they were in English. The conclusion then forced on me was, that Adam Loutfut, Sir Wm. Cummyn's scribe, had copied the poem from an English original, and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83—108 of his MS, A "Buk of thordre of Cheualry translatid out of Franche in to Ynglis by me Willzam Caxtonne duelling in Westmynstre ;" which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton's own text, to see what the worthy Adam—who sometimes copied *f* for *s*, *c* for *t*, and vice versâ, &c. &c.—has made of our rare old printer's southern speech.

What made the question of the authorship more important was, that the writer of the poem tells us he has written a Siege of Thebes (l. 30), A Troy-Book (l. 36-9), and a Brut (l. 52) ; perhaps three books : perhaps only one, taking in the three stories generally told separately. Here are the lines ; the reader can judge for himself :

¹ 'Innerellochy,' say the Charters, p. xxii below.

² or loutfut.

The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
 wes at thebes, quhiche at lynth I did write,
 Quhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
 Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite, 32
 Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,
 ffor in *thai* dais heraldis war not create,
 Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.

Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so mony kingis war 36
 Seging without, *and other* within the tounne,
 So mony princis, knychtis, *and* peple there,
 as this my buk *the* most sentence did soune,
 all *thocht* spedful in o conclusiounne, 40
 That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin :

Than troy distroyit, *the* werris endit, *the* lordis
 I seir landis removit ; *and* so brutus,
 (his lif *and* dait my buk efter recordis,) 52
 Come in brutane with folkis populus,
 And brocht with him *this* werly merkis thus,
 quhiche succedis in armes to *this* date ;
 Bot lang efter troy, heraldis war nocht creat. 56

Now Lydgate wrote a Troy-Book and a Siege of Thebes. He may also have written a Brut of some kind ; but I do not believe that he was the English author whom Loutfut scottified. The writer of the poem must surely have been a Herald's clerk, or a Herald of an inferior degree,—though as proud as a peacock of his order and his art, and his fellows, the salt of the earth,—for he thus speaks of the Heralds above him :

How *thai* ¹ be born, in quhat kindis, *and* quhare, 196
 also be quhom, *and* eftir in excellence,
 That I refer to my lordis to declair,
 kingis of armes, *and* heraldis of prudens,
 and persewantis,² *and* grant my negligens 200
that I suld not attempe *thus* to commounne,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctiounne, *and* pardounne, 202

And I confess my simple insufficiens :
 llitil haf I sene, *and* reportit weil less,
 of *this* materis to haf experience.
 Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express, 248

¹ That is, planets, signs of the air, herbs, birds, fishes, borne as arms.

² They, the 3rd and lowest order of Heralds, are yet above the writer.

In my waiknes, *and* not of wilfulnes,
 my seid lordis correk me diligent,
 To maid menis, or sey *the* remanent !

Wanted, then, the author of the present poem and the Siege of Thebes, the Troy Book, and Brut, above named.

It is possible that he may have been a Frenchman, *if* the heraldry suits the French rules—as my Scotch authority tells me it does not, for many reasons, and especially that the classification of *roundles* was quite unknown in France,—for another treatise once in this collection of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, but now cut out, was translated for him from the French, by his obedient son in the office of Arms, Kintyre, Pursevant :

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 78.*]

[H]eir eftyr folouis ane lytil treety of the Instruccioun of the figuris of armes and of the blasoning of the samyn, eftir the fraynche oppinyon,¹ translatit owt of fraynche in Scottis at the command of ane wirschepfull man, Wilzem Cumyn of Inuerellochquy, alias Marchemond herald, be his obedient sone in the office of armes, kintyre, purseuant, and vndir his correccioun, as efter folowis be cheptours

(The treatise itself is cut out from the MS.)

Having looked through the MS and dipped into likely-seeming parts, I think it quite certain that the writer of the poem does not refer to any of the short tracts in this MS volume of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, in none of which tracts could he have written "at linth," as he says, of the Theban War. Mr E. Brock, who has gone in like manner over the volume, is of the same opinion. In the 2nd tract in the volume, "the Signification of Armoury,"—the 1st is the frequent "Gage of Battail"—Julius Cæsar is spoken of, as in the poem (lines 57, 204), as the originator of Arms.

[*Harl. MS 6149, leaf 5.*]

In the tyme that Iulius Cesar, emperour of romme, conquest Afferik, Sumtyme namyt the land lueyant in the partis of Orient, Rychtsua quhen pompe of romme conquest Ewrop, *other* wais callit the land of Ionnet, in the occident, than war maid the rial officis til

¹ MS oppimyon.

wnderstand and govern al thingis pertenyng to the craft of armes, and for to discut and jüge the richtis that followis ther-apon. In the first wes constitut and ordanit be the said princis the office of counstable ; Secoundly, the office of ammerall ; The third, the office of marschall ; The ferd war maid the capitanyis the fift, to be at juge-ment of armes the heraldis, and ilkane of thaim seruand in his degre.

Passing over the 3rd tract in the volume, on the Habiliments of Knights, (leaf 44), and the 4th, on Funerals (leaf 48), we come to the 5th, *Liber Armorum*, of which Mr Brock says,

'There is no account of any wars in the *Liber Armorum*,¹ so far as I can see ; but there is a fabulous story which traces the gradual rise of Arms, &c.² A similar story is given in 'The First Fynding of Armes' at leaf 140.³ It makes mention of Troy and certain Trojans.

Here is an extract :—

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaf 141, back.*]

And for to proced farther in our materis, the quhilk kind of peple of the forsad lemares ; within certane process of 3eris come our lady that I spak of before, the quhilk lemares wes trogelius dochter, that maid troye beforsaid quether for the britons cornfyfe (?), and wald be lawe of petigre chalain kinrend of the vergin our lady, of the fader joachim, because thaj war troians, and come of troye be lynage of trogelius. To pas in our materis ; Trogelius had thre sonnys in troy, The eldast wes callit arbaldus, The secound is callit Erewfilix, The third arbegraganus. [of whom] within v^c 3ere, be rycht lynne come Ectour of troye, throuch al the world anne of the ix worthiest. of the eldast sone arbaldus, efter the distructione of troye xij 3eris, be rycht lynne come brutus, of the quhilk rycht lyne of brutus within certane process of 3eris come arthour, anne of the ix worthi, throuch al the world be law of armes callit. Of the second sone, Erewfilix sargeñ in sertagia, efter the distructione of troe vj^c 3ere xlviiij ; come Iulius Cesar, and enterit in brettane that tyme apon cace, mony wynter befor king arthour.

¹ A book of heraldry, superscribed 'Incipit liber Armorum,' the first chapter of which is, 'How gentilmen shal be knowene from churles, and how thai fyrst began, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his thre sonnes.' *Harl. Catal.*

² The whole MS seems to be written by the same hand, except perhaps these two tracts: Art. 6, lf. 62, **De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differencia.** Art. 7, lf. 79, *Heraldorum nomen et officium vnde extorsum sit Epistola*, &c.

³ "Here begynnys the first fynding of armes callit the origynall. . . ."

I repeat again, then, ‘Wanted, the author of our Poem and his three other Books!’

To hark back to our 2nd question, p. xvii above, ‘Who was Sir William Cummy of Inverellochy?’ The answer is given in the following extract from the Appendix to Mr George Seton’s *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863, to which Mr David Laing was good enough to refer me, and which Appendix Mr Seton states to be greatly indebted to Mr Laing’s researches¹:

‘Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy, Co. Aberdeen—c. 1512. Second son of William Cumyng of Culter and Inverallochy (?), by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Meldrum of Fyvie, and fourth in descent from Jardine, second son of William Cumyng, Earl of Buchan, who got the lands of Inverallochy from his father in the year 1270. (Nisbet’s Heraldry, ii. Appendix, p. 57.) Sir William appears to have held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1499 (Reg. Secreti Sigilli); and the lands of Innerlochy were granted to him and Margaret Hay, his spouse, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 18th January, 1503-4. He was knighted in 1507, and in a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quhyte (31st January, 1513), he is described as “circumspectus vir Will^m Cumyn de Innerlochy, Rex Armorum supremi domini nostri Regis.” (General Hutton’s Transcripts, Adv. Lib.) His character of “circumspectus” (canny) is thus referred to by Bishop Leslie, in connection with the year 1513:—“Leo fecialis Angli Regis responsum sapienter eludit.” (History of Scotland, 1578, p. 361.) In a deed dated 17th July, 1514, he is styled, “Willelmus Cumyng de Innerallochy miles, alias Leo Rex Armorum;” and again, in 1518, he is designed “Lioun King-of-Armes.” The following curious account of Cumyng’s insult by Lord Drummond, in the year 1515, is from the Genealogie of the House of Drummond, compiled by the first Viscount Strathallan in 1681, and printed about thirty years ago:—“John Lord Drummond was a great promoter of the match betwixt his own grandchild, Archibald Earle of Angus, and the widdow Queen of King James the Fourth, Margaret Teudores; for he caused his own brother, Master Walter Drummond’s sone, Mr John Drummond, dean of Dumblane and person of Kinnowl, solemnize the matrimonial bond in the Kirk of Kinnowl, in the year 1514. Bot this marriage begot such jealousie in the rulers of the State, that the Earle of Angus was cited to appear before the Council, and Sir William Cummin of Innerallochy, Knight, Lyon King-at-Armes, appointed to deliver the charge; in doing whereof, he seemed to the Lord Drummond to have approached the Earle with more boldness than discretion, for which he (Lord D.) gave the Lyon a box on the ear; whereof he complained to John Duke of Albany,

¹ See also the note, p. 102 below.

then newly made Governor to King James the Fifth, and the Governor, to give an example of his justice at his first entry to his new office, caused imprison the Lord Drummond's person in the Castle of Blackness, and forfeit his estate to the Crown for his rashness. Bot the Duke considering, after information, what a fyne man the Lord was, and how strongly allyed with most of the great families in the nation, wes well pleased that the Queen-mother and three Estates of Parliament, should interceed for him ; so he was soone restored to his libbertie and fortune."—Page 478 (Appendix, Notices of the Lyon Kings-of-Arms), Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863.

Mr David Laing writes :—

“ ‘*Cumming*’ is the modern mode of spelling the name. In earlier times there are a great variety, such as Cumin, Cumine, Cuming, Cumyng, etc. The form in the Museum MS should be preferred.

The following is copied from the List of Charters under the Great Seal.

Cumming alias Merch-	{	Carta Willielmo, et Margaretæ Hay ejus
mond Herauld		Sponsæ, Terrarum de Innerlochy, 18 Janrij 1503
Cumyn alias Merch-	{	Carta Willielmo, super Maritagijs Suorum
mond Herauld		hæredum 4 Apr 1507
Cumyng filio	{	Carta Willielmo, filio et hæredi Willielmi
		Cumyng de Innerelochy, Militis, Terrarum de Innerelochy &c.” 14 Julij 1513

The 25th piece in our volume was brought under my notice by the note ^k in Warton, ii. 480, on Lyndesay's *Syde Taillis* already quoted in these Forewords at p. xiii, and which the reader will perhaps have characterized, with Warton, as a poem having ‘more humour than decency.’ It is a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, and now in type for the Society's Part V. of Lyndesay's Works, under Mr J. A. H. Murray's editorship. The note in Warton says, ‘Compare a manuscript poem of Occleve: *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men, which is agens her astate*. MSS Laud K. 78, f. 67 b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which, with their fur, amount to more than twenty pounds.’ There are no doubt better MS copies of the poem than that printed here ; but I had not time to hunt for them, and Mr George Parker copied this Laud one, and read it with

the MS, as he did the other pieces from the Bodleian in this volume. It may have been printed before, but is not in the Percy Society's Poems and Songs on Costume, or any other volume that I remember.

The 26th and last piece in Part I. is a short extract from the least uninteresting part of Sir Peter Idle's 'Instructions to his Son' in the Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 4, 37, for which I am indebted to a young friend of Mr H. Bradshaw's, who wisely learns MSS as well as Mathematics, at college. The treatise has been long on our list for printing, Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* having tempted me, with this description, p. 64, to put it there :

IDLE PETER, of Kent, esquire, wrote '*Liber consolacionis et consilii*,' or Instructions to his son, extant in the Bodleian Library (Digby, 181), where his name is 'Peter Idywerte;' in the publick library, Cambridge (MSS More 124, [now Ee. 4, 37]); in the British Museum (MSS Har. 172, leaf 21), and in Trinity College, Dublin, D. 2. 7: 'In the begynnynge of thys lytill werke.'

But on looking through the MS, I found it at first little more than an expansion of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and like poems,¹ while in the latter part it went off into biblical and saints'-lives stories, of little interest to modern ears. So, though we must print the poem some day, it may stand over for a time. Print it, I say, because, if our old people were dull, foolish, and dirty, as well as interesting, wise, noble, and pure, we want the dulness, folly, and dirt, as well as their interestingness, wisdom, nobleness, and purity. We don't want to deceive ourselves about them, or fancy them cherubs without sterner. Let's know their weakness as well as their strength, and not talk gammon about 'the good old times' without looking fairly into them; though, when we have done this, we may still be able to say to the rest of the world, 'Match our old men if you can!'

This volume, then, the reader will see, may be looked on, from one point of view, as a kind of Resurrection Pie like we used to have once a week at school, in which we declared old left bits reappeared. But I prefer another metaphor, and hold, that through all the book's

¹ Our extract should be compared with the *Babees Book* piece, pp. 34 5, 'Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.'

different-looking limbs, one life of old England runs ; and as irreverent friends in the Society have christened the first *Babees Book* my babee, I prefer to look on this present volume as my 2nd babee. Some may care to look at its eyes, some at its toes ; some may perhaps penetrate to its navel, that continual marvel to the infantile mind ¹ ; prigs, no doubt, will scorn it all as trash ; but it may lead some back to knowledge of days nearer England's childhood than our time is ; and if it does, I shall be content.

To Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who has kindly made the Indexes to Part I. ; to Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, and the learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, who have helped in the very difficult Heraldry Poem ; to our copiers and readers, Messrs E. Brock, G. Parker (of Oxford), and W. M. Wood ; and lastly to Mr W. M. Rossetti and Mr Oswald for their valuable and interesting Essays in Part II., I tender hearty thanks.

Nov. 14, 1869.

¹ I wonder whether Chaucerian and Tudor babies kept on asking their daddies 'What's this for?' as they put their little fingers in the hole, and when scolded as naughty boys, answered with 'Gog, gog !' and a grin.

"WILLIAM OF PALERNE."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 6, l. 3. The word indistinctly printed should be *fast*.

p. 42, l. 1069. Restore the MS. reading "wiþ ouer-gart gret ost,"

&c. Mr Morris points out that *ouergart* occurs as a substantive, meaning *arrogance*, in Seinte Marherete, ed. Cockayne, p. 16, l. 13. See also Castle of Love, ed. Weymouth, l. 993, and Ormulum, l. 8163. Hence *ouergart gret* may mean *overweeningly great, excessively large*. See Mr Cockayne's note at p. 106 of Seinte Marherete.

p. 84, l. 2520. Mr Wedgwood suggests that *cayreden* means *turned*, i. e. *charred*, and that here we have the etymology of to *char*. I have translated it by *carried*, which would thus appear to be wrong. But it is rather difficult to be sure about it, for in the passage in Piers Plowman, ed. Wright, p. 37—"Ac thanne cared thei for caples to *carien hem* thider"—I observe that only two MSS. of the B-type have *carien hem*, whilst four read *kairen hem*. The MSS. of the A-type have *carien*.

p. 203, l. 837. *For* has to read *haste*.

p. 238, l. 14. *For Sededen* read *Seseden*.

Add to Glossary, s. v. *Half*:—*Half* = *behalf*, 4831; *pl. halues*, sides, † 344. Also add—*Hauntes*, *pr. s. F. practises*, † 815.



PART I.

Early English Treatises and Poems

diu

Education, Precedence, and Manners

iii

Olden Time.

FROM MSS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN
LIBRARIES, ETC.



Queene Elizabethes Achademy,

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT).

Lansdowne MS. 98, art 1, leaf 2.

The erection of an ¹**Achademy in London** for educacion of her
Maiestes **Wardes**, and others the youth of nobility and gentle-
men.

fforasmuch as (moste excellent soveraigne) the moste parte of
noble men and gentlemen that happen to be your Maiestes **Wardes**,
the Custody of their bodies beinge of bownty grawnted to some, in
rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable Confi-
dence of their good educacion, yet, neverthesse, most commonly by
such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Com-
mittees have sould them, being eyther of will, religion, or insufficient
qualities, are, thorough the defaltes of their guardens, for the moste
parte brought vp, to no small grief of their frendes, in Idlenes and las-
civious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince
and Cowntrey, obscurely drowned in educac[i]on for sparing Charges,
of purpose to abase their mindes, leaste, being better qualified, they
should disdaine to stowpe to the mariage of such purchasers daugh-
ters; As, also, for that the greatest number of younge gentlemen
within this Realme are most Conversant abowte **London**, where your
Maiestes Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence; Yt were good (as I
thincke, vnder Your Highnes most gracious Correction,) that, for

¹ This Clarendon type is used for the words in larger letters in the MS.

their better educaci^ons, there should be an **Achademy** erected in sorte as followeth :—

first, there shalbe one **Scholemaister**, who shall teache **Grammar**, both greke and latine, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 40^{li}.¹

Also there shalbe allowed to him fower **Vshers**, every of them being yerely allowed for the same, 20^{li}, which maketh in the whole by the yeare, 80^{li}.

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache the **Hebrue tounge**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 50^{li}.¹

Also there shalbe one who shall reade and teache bothe **Logick and Rethorick**, and shall weekely, on certen dayes therefore apointed, see his schollers dispute and exercize the same, and shalbe yearely allowed therefore, 40^{li}.¹

[leaf 2, back]

Note.

When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do yt in **Orations** made in English, both politique and militare, taking occasions owt of Discowrses of histories, approving or reproving the matter, not onely by reason, but also with the examples and stratagemmes both antick and moderne. For of what Comodity such vse of arte wilbe in our tounge may partly be seene by the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly Commen from the vniuersities : besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the apliaunce to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale. I omitt to shew what ornament will therby growe to our tounge, and how able yt will appeare for strengthe and plenty when, by such exercizes, learning shall haue brought vnto yt the Choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishmente of figures, and other beautyes of **Oratorie**.—Wherevpon I haue heard that the famous knight **Sir Iohn Cheeke** devised to haue declamaci^ons, and other such exercizes, sometimes in the vniuersities performed in **English**.

My Reason.

This kinde of educaci^on is fittest for them, becawse they are wardes to the prince, by reason of knights service. And also, by this exercize, art shalbe practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble explaytes that ever were or are to be done, togeather with the occasions of their victories or overthrowes, shall continually be kepte in

¹ over 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d struck out.

fresh memory ; Wherby wise counsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. ffor not without Cawse is **Epaminondas** commended, who, riding or Iourneying in time of peace, vsed oftentimes sodenly to appose his Company vpon the oportunity of any place, saying, "What yf *our* enemies were here or there, what were best to doe?"

Also there shalbe one **Reader of morall philosophie**, who shall onely reade the **politique parte** thereof, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li}

Note.

This **philosophor** shall distinctly deuide his **Readinges** by the day into two sortes,—The one concerning **Ciuill pollicie**, The other concerning **Martiall pollicy**.

Of Peace.

[leaf 3]

In the discowrses towchyng **Peace**, he shall alleage particularly the estates of all **monarchies** and best knowen **Common weales or principates** that both haue bene and are, Togeather with the distinct manner of their gouernementes towching **Ciuill pollicie**, And the principall Cawse concerning **Iustice, or their Reuenues**, wherby they [be] any way encreased or diminished. And the same to be done, as neare as Conveniently may be, with speciall apliance of our owne histories, to the present estate and gouernement of this **Realme**. By which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the **ciuill pollicies** of all forraigne Cowntries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue trauiled farthest abroad.

Of Warres.

And towching **warres**, he shall also particularly declare what manner of forces they had and haue, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training and maintaining, of their soldiars in every particuler kind of service.

My Reason.

By directing the **Lectures** to thendes afforesaid, men shalbe taught more witt and pollicy then **Schole learninges** can deliuer. And therefore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly apertaineth to haue the managing of matters of estate and pollicy. ffor the greatest **Schole clarkes** are not alwayes the wisest men.¹ Where-

¹ The grettest clerks beth not the wisest men,
As whilom to the wolf thus spak the mare.

CHAUCER. *Cant. Tales*, l. 4051-2.

vpon **Licurgus**, among other lawes, ordained that **Scholes** should be for childrenen, and not for **philosophie**. ffor suche as governe **Common weales**, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish Circumstances of the same.

Also theré shalbe one **Reader of naturall philosophie**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe placed two **Mathematicians**, And the one of them shall one day reade **Arithmetick**, and the other day **Geometry**, which shalbe onely employed to **Imbattelinges, fortificacions, and matters of warre, with the practiz of Artillery**, and vse of all manner of Instrumentes belonging to the same. And shall once every moneth practize **Canonrie** (shewing the manner of **vndermininges**), and trayne his **Awditorie** to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of **fortificac[i]ons**, as well to prevent the **mine and sappe**, as the **Canon**, with all sortes of **encampinges and Imbattelinges**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100^{li}.

[leaf 3, back] Also this Inginer shalbe yearely allowed for the **powder and shotte** which shalbe employed for the practize of **Canonry** and the vse of **mines**, ... 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe vnder him one **Vsher**, who shall teach his schollers the principles of **Arithmetick**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe one other **Vsher**, who shall teach his **Schollers** the principles of **Geometrie**, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe entertained into the said **Achademy** one good horsman, to teache noble men and gentlemen to ride, make, and handle, a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at **Ringe, Tilte, Towney, and cownse of the felde**, yf they shalbe armed. And also to skirmish on horsbacke with **pistolles**, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10^s. by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shalbe bownd to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercize, beinge yearely allowed therefore, ... 333^{li} 6^s 8^d.

This **Rider** shall haue allowed vnto him at the first erecting of the Stable, to buy his horses, ... 266^{li} 13^s 4^d.

This **Rider**, at his first Coming vnto the office, shall enter into bondes with sufficient sureties to leave vnto the **Achademie**, at his death or departure, the said horses, in as good estate as he receaved them, or others as good, or the full summe which he was allowed for the buying of them.

Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained **Sowldiour**, who shall teach them to handle the **Harquebuz**, and to practize in the said **Achademie** all kindes of **Skirmishings**, **Imbattelings**, and sondery kindes of **marchings**, apointinge amonge them, some one tyme, and some another, to suply the roames of **Capitaines** and other officers, Which they may very well exercise without **armes**, and with light staves, in steade of **Pikes** and **Holbeardes**, beinge yearly allowed for the same, ... 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

[leaf 4] The other **Mathematician** shall reade one day **Cosmographie** and **Astronomy**, and the other day tend the practizes thereof, onely to the arte of **Naugacion**, with the knowledge of necessary **starres**, making vse of **Instrumentes** apertaining to the same; and also shall haue in his **Schole** a shippe *and* gallye, made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache vnto his Awditory as well the knowledge and vse by name of euery parte thereof, as also the perfect arte of a **Shipwright**, and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, *and* shalbe yearly allowed, ... 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

Also there shalbe one who shall teache to draw **mappes**, **Sea chartes**, &c., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the growndes *and* rules of **proportion** and **necessarie perspectiue** and **mensuration** belonging to the same, and shalbe yearly allowed, ... 40^{li}.

Also there shalbe entertained one **Doctor of phisick**, who shall one day reade **phisick**, and another daie **Chirurgerie**, in the **Englishe toung**, towching all kindes of **Vlcers**, **Sores**, **Phistiloes**, **wowndes**, &c. Togeather with all kindes of **medicines** for the same, as well **Chimice** as otherwise, and shalbe yearly allowed, ... 100^{li}.

Note.

This **Reader** shall never alleage any medicine, be yt of **simples**, **salues**, **saltes**, **balmes**, **oyles**, **spirites**, **tinctures**, or otherwise, But that he shall declare the **reason** philosophicall of euery **particuler**

ingredience for such operacion, And shew his hearers the **mechanicall** making and working thereof, with all manner of **vesselles**, **furnishes**, and other **Instrumentes** and **vtensiles** apertaining to the same.

Note.

This **phisition** shall continually practize togeather with the **naturall philosophor**, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try owt the secreates of nature, as many waies as they possiblie may. And shalbe sworne once euery yeare to deliuer into the **Treasorer** his office, faire and plaine written in Parchment, without **Equiuocac[i]ons** or **Enigmaticall phrases**, vnder their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the forepassed yeare, Togeather with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, To thend that their **Successors** may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in **Awcomistrie** there be any such thinges hidden. ffor whose saffetyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of **Henry the 4th** towching **multiplicacion** to be dispensed at large.

[leaf 4, back]

My Reason.

The **Phisition** shall practize to reade **Chirurgerie**, becawse, thorough wante of learning therein, we haue verie few good **Chirurgions**, yf any at all, By reason that **Chirurgerie** is not now to be learned in any other place then in a **Barbors shoppe**, And in that shoppe, most dawngerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for **Clenlynes** must be done by those which haue to do with infected personnes.

Note.

This **Philosophor** and **phisition** shall haue a garden apointed them which they shall furnish and maintaine with all kindes of simples; and shalbe yearely allowed, besides their **Lectures**, for their afforesaid extra ordinarie Charge and practizes, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of the ciuill law**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Reader of diuinitie**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Lawier**, who shall reade the growndes of the **common lawes**, and shall draw the same, as neare as may be, into **Maximes**, as is done in the booke of the **ciuill lawes** entituled **de Regulis Iuris**, for the more facile teachinge of his **Awditorie**.

And also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe**, not meddling with ples or cunning poinctes of the law ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100^{li}.
[over 66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d. struck out.]

My Reason.

It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne Case in law, and to haue some Iudgment in the office of a **Iustice of peace and Sheriffe** ; for thorough the want thereof the beste are oftentimes subiecte to the direction of farre their **Inferiors**.

Note.

I would haue this **Lawier** to traine the younger sorte of his hearers to some exercize therein, wherby they may the better grow to be able to put their owne Cases, and to vnderstand perfectly the offices afforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne of the law theare. ffor yf they desire more knowledg, the **Innes of cowrte** may suffice them.

[leaf 5] Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the french tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wage of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Italian tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Spanish tounge**, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the highe duche tounge**, who shalbe yerely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Master of defence**, who shalbe principally expert in the **Rapier and dagger**, the **Sworde and tergat**, the **gripe of the dagger**, the **battaile axe** and the **pike**, and shall theare publicly teach, who shall also haue a dispensation against the Statute of **Roages** ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one who shall keepe a **dawncing and vawting schole** ; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26^{li}.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of Musick**, and to play one the **Lute**, the **Bandora**, and **Cytterne**, &c. ; who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 26^{li}.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10^{li}.

Also there shalbe yearly allowed for a Steward, **cookes, Butlers,**
and other necessary officers, 100^{li}

Also there shalbe yearly allowed for a **minister and clark,**
66^{li}. 13^s. 4^d.

Also there shalbe one perfect **Harowlde of armes**, who shall teach
noble men *and* gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of
Harrowldrie; togeather with the keeping of a **Register** in the said
Achademy of their discentes *and* **pedigrues**; and shalbe yearly
allowed for the same, 26^{li}

Also there shalbe one keeper of the **Liberarie** of the **Achademy**,
whose Charge shalbe to see the bookes there saffely kepte, to Cawse
them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set, And
shall keepe a **Register** of all the bookes in the said **Liberarie**, that
he may geve accompte of them when the **Master** of the **Wardes**, or
the **Rector of the Achademy** shall apointe; and shalbe yearly
allowed, 26^{li}

[leaf 5, back]

Note.

This **Keeper**, after every marte, shall Cawse the bringers of
bookes into England to exhibit to him their **Registers**, before they
vttre any to any other person, that he may pervse the same, and take
Choyse of such as the **Achademie** shall wante, and shall make the
Master of the **Wardes**, or the **Rector of the Achademy**, privy to his
Choyse, vpon whose warrante the bookes so provided shalbe payed
for. And there shalbe yearly allowed for the buying of bookes for
the said **Library**, and other necessary instrumentes, ... 40^{li}

Note.

All **Printers in England** shall for ever be Charged to deliuer into
the **Library of the Achademy**, at their owne Charges, one Copy,
well bownde, of euery booke, proclamacion, or pamflette, that they
shall printe.

Also there shalbe one **Treasurer of the Achademy**, who shalbe
yearly allowed for the same, 100^{li}

Also there shalbe one **Rector of the said Achademy**, who shall
make tryall of the nature and Inclination of the **wardes**, to thend
that they may, by his direction, be employed principally in suche
profession whereto their nature doth most conforme, the **Master** of
the **wardes** being made privy therevnto; *and* shalbe yearly allowed
100^{li}

Also the **Master** of the **cowrte of wardes**, from tyme to tyme, shalbe the chieffest **gouernor** of this **Achademy**, because the oversight of wardes doth Chieffly belonge vnto him; *and* shalbe yearly allowed for the same 200^{li}.

Also there shalbe geuen in stocke for the furnishing of a **Liberarie** and **Instrumentes** apertaining to the same, Togeather with the buying of horses, as afforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this **Achademy**, 2000^{li}.

The afforesaid whole yearely wages and Charges } 2507^{li} 6^s 8^d.
of this **Achademy** amownteth vnto

The whole yearely Charges for the Commons of } 459^{li} 6^s 8^d.
the said **Readers, officers, and seruantes** in this }
Achademy amownteth vnto

which maketh yearely in all 2966^{li} 13^s 4^d.

Here wanteth leuyes for the building or buying of howses for this **Achademy**.

Certaine orders to be obserued.

[leaf 6]

All the fforesaid **publique Readers of arte and the common lawes** shall once within every six yeares set forth some new bookes in printe, according to their severall professions.

Also every one of those which shall publicly teache any of the languages as afforesaid, shall once every 3 yeares publish in printe some **Translation** into the **English tounge** of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practiced in the said **Achademy**.

All which bookes shall for ever be entituled as set forth by the gentlemen of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**, wherby all the nations of the worlde shall, once every 6 yeares at the furthest, receaue greate benefitt, to *your* highnes immortall fame.

Also for ever, the 7th day of **September** and the 17th day of **Nouember**, there shalbe a **Sermon in the Achademy**, wherby the **Awditory** shalbe put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which meanes the tounge of man shall write for ever in the cares of the living, to the honour of the deade.

There are divers necessary thinges to be further Considered of, all which I omitte vntill your **Maiesty** be resolved what to do herein.

The Comodities which will ensue by erecting this Achademy.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine vp their children within this **Realme** but eyther in **Oxford** or **Cambridge**, whereof this ensueth :

first, being theare, they vtterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. ffor there is no other **gentlemanlike qualitie** to be attained.

Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and Idlenes ; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

[leaf 6, back] And wheareas in the vniuersities men study onely **schole learnings**, in this **Achademy** they shall study matters of accion meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to **letters**, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, Then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman. And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to releive poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen,¹ taking vp their schollarshippes *and* fellowshippes, do disapointe ²the poore² of their livinges and avauncementes.

Also all those gentlemen of the **Innes of cowrte** which shall not apply them selves to *the* study of the lawes, may then exercize them selves in this **Achademy** in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen abowte **London**, having good opportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte loose their times.

further, wheareas by wardship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this **Realme** haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educac[i]ons, your **Maiesty** may by order apointe them to be brought vp during their minorities in this **Achademy**,² from xij to his full age³, if he [be] a gentleman by the father of fise dissentes, and to haue the prynses allowanse towardes *the* same², whosoever haue the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearely dispend 13^{li}. 6^s. 8^d. Both **Plato** and **Licurgus**, withe other greate **Philosophors**, having bene of opinion that the

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xxxvii.

^{2,2} Interlined by another hand.

³ MS. ore ego.

educacion of childeren should not altogether be vnder the puissaunce of their fathers, but vnder the publike power and aucthority, because the publike haue therein more Interesse then their parentes. Werby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in tymes paste knew nothing but to hallow a hownde or lure a hawke¹, which thing will much asswage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure² of wardship. ffor (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also (as yt were) killeth the sowle *and* darkeneth the eyes of reason with Ignorawnce. And when the best shall ordinarily be men of such rare vertue, Then the prince and Realme shall not so much from tyme to tyme be Charged, as they haue bene, in rewarding the well deservers. ffor honnour is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe. Wheareas in tymes paste the poorest sorte were best able to deserve at the princes handes, which, without great Charges to the prince, could not be maintained. So that when theis thinges shalbe performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price. And then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieue to excell; which will bring a blessed emulation to England. It being also no smalle Comodity that the nobility of England shalbe therby in their youthes brought vp in amity and acquintaunce. And above all other, this chiefly is to be accompted of, that, by these meanes, all the best sorte shalbe trained vp in the knowledge of gods word (which is the onely fowndac[i]on of true obedience to the prince), who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

[leaf 7] O noble prince, that god shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely, frosen, Island into such everlasting honnour that all the nations of the World shall knowe and say, when the face of an **English gentleman appeareth**, that he is eyther a **Sowldiour, a philosophor, or a gallant Cowrtier**; wherby in glory your Maiesty shall make your self second to no prince living. ffor, as **Seneca** sayeth, **Cato**, by banishing Vice in **Rome**, did deserve more honnour then **Scipio** did by conquering the **Carthagians**.

And wheareas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is onely renewed by history,—which is knowen but to a few **His-**

¹ See *Babees Book*, p. xiii.

² altered from 'bondage.'

toriographers,—*your maiesty* shall not onely haue *your* share thereof, but also for evermore, once every .3. or 6. yeares at the most, fill the eyes of the world with new and chaunge of matter, wherby all sortes of **Studentes** shalbe alwaies put in minde of **Queene Elizabethes Achademy**. And in the mean tyme, the perving of the old, and expectac[i]on for the new, shall occupy Continually euery mannes tounge with **Queene Elizabethes fame**. So that *your maiesty*, being deade, shall make *your* sepulchre for ever in the mowthes of the livinge. Wherby, also, *your highnes* may saye of *your* predecessors as **Zenobia that famous Queene did to Awrelius Emperor of Rome**, which was to this effecte: “Thy Cowrte,” sayeth she, “is replenished with Ignoraunce and many Vices, wheareas my Cowrte is full fraughted with vertue.” Yea, and what further? By *your highnes* the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Achademy of **Philosophie and Chiualrie**. . . Among the **Lacedemonians** learning bare such price, that the ffather which gaue no learning to his Childe in his youth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his olde age. The **Kinges** of this **Realme** (supplying over their wardes the roames of their deceased parentes) haue the vse of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them vp in vertue, which for Conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

To conclude, by erecting this **Achademie**, there shalbe heareafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this **Realme** but good for some what, Wheareas now the most parte of them are good for nothinge. And yet therby the **Cowrte** shall not onely be greatly encreased with galant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby *your Maiesties* and **Successors cowrtes** shalbe for ever, in steade of a **Nurserie of Idlenes**, become a most noble **Achademy of Chiuallic pollicy and philosophie**, to *your* greate fame. And better it is to haue **Renowme** among the good sorte, then to be lorde over the whole world¹. ffor so shall *your Maiesty* make *your* self to live among men for ever (wheareas all flesh hath but small continuance), and therwithall bringe youre selfe into goddes fauour, so farre as the benefittes of good workes may prevaile:

¹ ‘there being no such riches vnder heaven as to be well thought of,’ struck out.

A Book of Precedence.

[*Harl. MS 1440, leaf 11 (old numbering 8).*]

The Copie of a Booke of Precedence of all estates *and*
playcinge to ther degrees.

Cornellis van dalw.

A DUKE.

A Duke must goe after his creation, and not after his Dukedome; the Dutchesse his wife to goe according to the same; he to haue in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in eury place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same Com not to the ground by halfe a yarde; and likewise a dutchesse may haue her Cloth of Estate, and a barones to beare vp hir trayne in her owne howse.

A Duke may
have a Cloth
of Estate.

And there ought no Earle of Duty to washe with a Duke, but at the duke's pleasure.

Item. a Dukes Eldest sonn is Borne a Marquesse, and shall goe as a Marquisse, and weare as many poudringes¹ as a Marquisse, and haue his Assayes,² the Marquisse being present, saueing he shall goe beneath a Marquisse, and his

A Duke's
eldest son is
a Marquis.

¹ POWDERINGS: Small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermine.—Halliwell. *Powderings*, certain Devices us'd for the filling up of any void space in carved Works, Writings, Escutcheons, &c., which last are sometimes said *To be powder'd with Ermins*.—Kersey's Phillips, 1706. (See p. 28.)

² Tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, 315.

wife beneath the marchionesse, And aboue all dukes daughters; but if so be that a duke haue a daughter which is his whole heyre, if she be the Eldest dukes daughter, Then she shall goe before and aboue the younger dukes Eldest sonns wyfe.

A Duke's daughter is a Marchioness.

Item. a dukes daughter is borne a Marchionesse, and shall weare as many Poudringes as a Marchionesse, Sauing she shall goe beneth all marchionesse[s], and all dukes Eldest sonnes wyues. They shall haue none assayes in the marchionesses presens; and if they be maryed to a barron, they shall goe according to the decree of there husband. And yf they be maryed to a knight, or to men vnder the decree of a knight, then they are to haue place according to theyre Birthe.

Her rank when married.

A Duke's younger sons are Earls.

Item. all Dukes younger sonns be borne as Earles, and shall weare as many poudringes as an Earle, saueing they shall goe beneath all Earles and Marquises eldest sonns, and aboue all viscounts; and there wyues shall go beneath all Countisses and marquises daughters, and aboue all viscountesses next to Marquises daughters.

Item. all Dukes daughters shall goe all-one with a nother, soe that alwayes the Eldest Dukes Daughter go vpermost, vnlesse it be the Princes pleasure to the Contrary.

Of a Duke's creation.

Item. [at] the creation of a duke, he must haue on him his surcoate and hoode, and he must be lead betweene 2 Dukes, if there be any present; if ¹ not, a Marquisse or 2; and for want of a Marquis, an Erle: some ² what before him on the right hand shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the Capp of Estate, with the Coronnett ³ on it; and on the other syde against him shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the rod of goulde: and directly before the duke that is to be created must goe a Marquis of ⁴ the greatest Estate, to beare the sowrd in the scabert by the poynt, with the girdle thereto belonging, the pommell

¹ MS is

² MS sonn

³ MS Coromnett

⁴ MS or

vpward; and before him an Erle to bare the Mantell or Robe of Estate, lying alonge vpon his armes. All these Lords that *doth seruise, must be in ther Robes of Estate. Item. His stile is proclaimed twise, the Largesse thrise.

(* leaf 11, bk 1
(MS repeats
that)

A MARQUESSE, HIS WYFE, AND CHILLDREN.

A Marquesse must goe after his Creation, and not after his marquise, and the Marchionesse his wife according to the same; he to haue a Cloth of Estate in his owne howse, so that it hange a Yarde aboue the ground; and¹ he to haue it [in] every place savinge in a Dukes howse or in the Princes presence. And he to haue none Assayes in a dukes presence, but his cuppes couered; neyther may the marchionesse haue her gowne born in a Dutchesses presents but with a gentile-man,—ffor it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man; but in her owne howse she may haue her gowne borne vp with a knights wife: also, ther ought no viscount to wash with a Marquesse, but at the pleasure of a marquise.

A Marquis to
go by his
creation.

A Marchion-
ess' train,
before a
Duchess, to
be borne by
a man,
and not a
woman.

Item. a Marquesse Eldest sonn is borne an Earle, and shall goe as an Earle, and haue his assaye in an Earles presence, and were as mayny Powdrings as an Earle, saueing he shall goe beneath an Earle, and aboue all dukes younger sonns. And his wife shall goe beneth all Countesses, and aboue all Marquises daughters. But If the Marquesse daughter be his heire, If she be the Elder marquises daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Marquises Eldest sonnes wyues.

A Marquis's
eldest son is
an Earl,

Item. a Marquises daughter is borne a Countisse, and shall weare as mayny powdringes as a Countes, Saueing she shall goe beneath all Countesses and marquises Eldest sonns wyues; but they shall haue no assayes in any Countisses presence. And If they be married to a Barron, or to any other aboue a barron, then they shall goe according to the

his daughter
a Countess;

her rank
when mar-
ried.

¹ MS an

degre of there Husbands; and If they be married to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they shall goe and haue place according to there birth.

A Marquis's
younger sons
are Vis-
counts.

Item. Marquises younger sonns be borne as viscounts, and shall weare as mayny Powdrings as a viscount, saueing onely they¹ shall goe beneath all viscounts and all Earles Eldest sonns, and aboue all barons; and there wyues shall goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles daughters, and aboue all barronesses.

Item. all Marquises daughters to goe one with a nother, so that alwayes the Eldest Marquises daughter goe vppermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrary.

Of the crea-
tion of a Mar-
quis.

Item. at the Creation of a marquisse, he must haue one him his surcourt² and hoode, and Lad by a Duke and Marquise; the sword borne by an Earle, the cappe and Sirculey³ borne by an Earle.

[leaf 12]

AN EARLE, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

An Earle shall goe after his Creation, and not after his Erldome, And the Countisse his wife shall goe according to the same, But he may haue none assayes in a Marquesses presence, but his Cuppe Covred; neither may any Countesse haue her gowne borne in a marchionesses presence with a gentle-woman, but with a gentle-man. Also an Earle may haue in his owne howse a Cloth of Estate, which shall be fringed rounde about, without any pendant. And a barron ought not to washe with any Earle, but at his pleasure.

No Earl to
haue assayes
before a
Marquis.

Barons not
to wash with
Earls.

An Earl's
eldest son is
a Viscount.

Item. an Earles Eldest sonn is borne a viscount, and shall goe as a viscount, and shall weare as mayny poudrings as a viscount; but he shall goe beneath all viscounts, and his wife beneath all viscountesses, and aboue all Earles daughters. But If she be the Earles daughter and heire, and the Elder Earles daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Earle Eldest sonnes wyfe.

¹ MS she

² for surcoat

³ ? circlet, coronet.

Item. all Earles daughters be borne as viscountesses, Earls' daughters are Viscountesses; and shall were as mayny poudrings as a viscountesse;¹ yet shall they goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles eldest sonns wyues. And If they be maried to a Barron, or to Any other aboue a Barron, than they shall go after the decree of there Housbands; And If they be maried to a knight, or vnder the decree of a knight, then they to goe and haue place according to ther birthe.

Item. all Earles youngest sonnes be borne as Barrons, their youngest sons, Barons. and shall were as mayny powdrings as a Baron, saueing they shall goe beneth all Barrons and viscountesses Eldest sonnes, and aboue all barronetts; and there wyues shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscountes Daughters, and aboue all Baneretts wyues.

Item, all Erles daughters to goe, on with a nother, the Elder Earles daughter to goe vpermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrarye.

A VISCOUNT, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDEREN.

[leaf 12, back]

A viscount must goe after his creation, and not after his viscounts[y]; and the visscountesse² his wife must haue place according to the same; and he may haue in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden vnder his Cupp when he drinketh, but none assaye taken;³ he may haue Caruer and Sewer, with there Towells, when they sett there seruise on the table, the viscount being sett at the table. And all viscountesses may haue there gownes borne with a man in the presence of the Countes. Also they may haue Trauers⁴ in there owne howses.

A Viscount

may not have assays taken.

Item. viscounts eldest Sonnes be borne as Barrones, Viscounts' eldest sons are Barons; and shall weare as many Powdringes as a barron, saueing

¹ MS viscountesses² MS visscountesses³ See Russell's Boke of Norture in *Babees Book*, p. 196, l. 1195-8: tasting and credence (or assaying) belong to no rank under that of an Earl.⁴ ? *Traverse*, a moveable screen, a low curtain. *Traves*, State Papers, i. 257. (Halliwell.)

he shall goe beneath all barrons, and aboue all Erles younger sonnys ; And his wyfe shall goe beneath all Barronesses, and aboue all viscounts daughters.

their daughters, Baronesses ; their

Item. Viscounts daughters [be] borne as Barronesses, and shall weare as many powdrings as a Baronesse ; saueing she shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscounts eldest sonns wyues. And yf they be maryed to a Barron, they shall goe after the degree of there husband ; and If they be maryed to a knight, or to any vnder the degree of a knight, then they to go and haue place according to there birth.

youngersons, Bannerets.

Item. Viscountes younger sonns shall goe as Banneretts, and were as many powdrings as a banneret, saueing they¹ shall goe beneath all barenets.

Item. viscounts daughters to goe one with a nother, so that the Elder viscounts daughters do goe vppermost, vnlesse the princes plesure be to the Contrary.

[leaf 13]

A BARON, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Of Barons.

A Barron must go after his Creation, so that the Eldest barron goe vppermost ; and the baronesse his wife must goe according to the same ; and they may haue there gownes borne vpp with a man in the presence of a viscountesse. And a barron may haue the Couer of his cupp holden vnderneath when he drinketh.

Barons' eldest sons are Bannerets.

Item. all Barrons Eldest sonns shall goe and haue place as a Bannerett, and shall haue the vper hand of [a] Bannerett, because his ffather is a peere of the Realme. And all Barrons younger sonns shall goe aboue all batcheler knights, because there ffather is a peere of the Realme.

Of Barons' daughters.

Item. all Barones daughter[s] shall goe aboue all Bannerets² wyues, and shall weare as much as a bannerets³ wyfe, and shall haue the vpper hand of all bannerets wyues. And If they marry husbands vnder the degree of a knight, then shall they goe and haue place vnder all knightes wyues.

¹ MS she

² MS Bamnerets

³ MS bamerets

Item. all barrons daughters to goe one with a Nother, so that alwayes the Eldest barrones daughter goe vppermost.

memorandum. a lord made by writt, and haueing no new somones by writt, hath no place in the parliament howse, but shall retayne and keepe the name of Lord during his life, by Reason of the proclamation and publication of his name in Court Royall, whether the Children¹ of shuch lords shall haue place as the Children of other barrons, or how they shall take there places.

Lords made by writt have no place in Parliament.

Item. a knights wife may haue her kirtle borne in her owne howse, or in any other place, so it be not in her betters presence: and she may haue her sheete in her owne howse.

Be it remembered, that if any of all the degrees aboue written com or be desended of the blood Royall, thay ought to S[t]and and haue place aboue all those that be of the degrees whereof they be themselues²: as a duke of the blood Royall aboue all dukes, and so the like in all other degrees, vnlesse the princes knowne plesure be to the Contrayry.

Blood Royal first.

Item. there are 4 sortes of wayes to make barrons, ether by writt or Creation:—

The 4 wayes of making Barons.

1. The first and most vsiall, when they are called by writt to the parliament by there owne surname, as Lord Latymer of latymer.

2. when they be created by a Nother name in the right of there wif or mother, as pawlet Lord St. Iohn.

3. The 3^d when they be created by the name of some Castle, howse, or manner, as Butlet baron of weme.

4. The 4^d is, when³ they be created by some name of pleasure as the kinge shall best like, as Ratclif Lord Aegrement.

Although they be diuersly Called, yet are they all of like calleing; and though in shew some of there dignities

[leaf 13, back]
All Barons equal.

¹ MS Childrem ² See *Babees Book*, p. 190, 285. ³ MS when

Barons keep
their name
tho' they sell
their estate.

be from the howse, yet is the right and dignitye in the personn of the noble man; for although he sell or exchange¹ that cometh the name of his dignitie of, yet shall he still for euer be called barron of the same place, and haue his seate and voyce in the parliament by the same name he was ffirst called and Created; as, for example,—

The Lord Audlegh of Audlegh and helighe Castle sould Bothe² thour & thorn³, and yet is the Barron as he was before.

[leaf 12 back,
at foot]

The Lord Clifford of Clifford exc[h]aunged his castell of Clifford, with other lands therefore, with king Edward the first, for the honour of Craven and other lands there, and yet is the Lord Clifford as before.

Arthur Lord Grey of wilton sould wilton, and bought other lands, and yet is the barron of wilton notwithstanding.

[leaf 13, back]

THE PROCEEDING TO THE HIGH COURT OF PERLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER, FROM HER HIGHNES ROYALL PALLACE OF WHITEHALL.

ffirst, mesingers of the Chamber
Gentlemen 2 and 2
Esquires 2 and 2
Esquires for the bodye
The 6 Clarkes of Chancery
Clarkes of the signet
Clarkes of the priue seale
Clarkes of the Councell
The maysters of the Chancery
Batcheler knights
Knights Bannerets
The Trumpeters
Sergiants at the law

¹ MS exchange

² MS Bethe

³ Is it 'tower & thorn,' or 'the one & the other'?

The queenes Sergeant alone
 The queenes Attorney and Soliciter together
 Pursuants of Armes
 The Barrons of the exchequer
 Iustices of the kinges benche and of the Common
 place
 The Lord Cheife Baron together
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of the Comon please
 The Lord Cheife Iustice of England and the master of
 the Rowles together
 Knights of the bathe
 Knights of the priuate Councell
 Knights of the garter

¶ He that Carieth the queenes Cloake and hat.

Barones younger sonns
 Viscounts younger sonns
 Barrons Eldest sonns
 Earles younger sonns
 Viscounts Eldest sonnes
 Marquises younger sonnes
 Earles Eldest sonns
 Dukes younger sonns
 Marquises eldest sonns
 Dukes Eldest sonn
 The Cheife Secratary, no barron
 The Tresurer and Comptrouller
 All the barrons in there Roabes, two and 2, the young-
 est for-most
 All Bishopps in there Robes, two *and* 2, the youngest
 ffor-most
 The Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlayne to-
 gether, if they be Barrons and l[i]ke degree
 ¶ Heraldes of Armes on the syde
 Viscounts in there Robes, the youngest formost

[leaf 14]

Earles in there Roabes, 2 and 2, youngest formost

Marquises in there Roabes

Dukes in there Roabes

The *Lord* President of the Councell

and the Lord Priuie Zeale

¶ Clarentius and Norrey kings of Armes

The *Lord* Chancelor and the Lord Tresurer of England
together

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Arc[hbi]shop
of Yorke together

Sergeantes at Armes

Garter Principall King of Armes

The Capp of Estate borne by an Earle, and with him
on the left hand the Earle Marshall of England
with the gilte rodde

The Sworde borne by an Earle

Then the queenes Maiestye on horsbacke, or in chariott,
in her Robes of Estate, her trayne borne by a
Dutchesse or Countisse

The Lord Chamberlayne and vice Chamberlayn on
each side of the queenes Maiestie

Then the Pentioners with ther poleaxes on each side of
her Maiestie

And a litle behinde her the *Master* of the horsse, lead-
ing a Spare horse.

Then Laydyes and gentileweomen, according to there
Estates, 2 and 2

Then the Captayne of the Guard, with all the guard
following him, 2 and 2.

Be it noted, that in proceeding to the parliament, these
5 bishoppes following keepe there playces ordinariley, who-
so is in them, viz.—

The Archbishopp of Canterbury	} so placed by there dignitie
The Archbishopp of Yorke, 2	
The Bishopp of London, 3	

The Bishopp of Durham, 5

The Bishop of winchester, 4 { the prelate of
winchester heare

(The bishoppes of London, winchester, and Durham, so placed by act of parliament.)

All other bishoppes take there places according to there creations.

THE PLACEING OF GREATE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO AN [leaf 14, back]

ACT OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN ANNO XXXj HENRICUS
OCTAUI [A.D. 1539]

These 4, viz.

The Lord vicegarent is to be placed on the bishops side,
aboue all

1. The lord Chancellor
2. The Lord Tresurer
3. The Lord President of the Councell
4. The Lord Priuy seale

Being of the decree of A Baron or aboue, shall sit
in the perlament and all Assembles of Councell,
and aboue all Dukes not being of the blood Royall,
viz.,

The kinges Brother, Vncle, or Nephew.

These Sixe, viz.,

1. The lord C[h]amberlayne of England
2. The lord Constable of England
3. The lord Marshall of England
4. The lord Admirall of England
5. The lord Greate Master or Lord Steward of the
kinges howse

6. The kings Chamberlayne

Are to be playsed in all assemblyes of Councell
after the lord priuate seale, according to there
degrees and estates; viz., if he be a barron, aboue
all barrons; if he be an Earle, aboue all Earles.

The Kinges Secretary

being a barron of perliament, shall sitt aboue all barrons; and if he be of higher degree then a barron, he shall sit and be playced according to his degree.

If any of these xi officers aboue mentioned be not of the degre of a barron of *Parliament*, whereby he hath not power to assendt or dissent in the high Court of *Perliament*, Then he or they are to sitt vppon the vppermost wolsack in the *parliament* Chamber, the one aboue the other, in like order as is aboue specified.

THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT FUNIRALLS, ACCORDING TO
THE DEGREE AND ESTATE OF THE DEFUNCT.

A King to haue mourners	xv
A Queene or a prince	xiiij
A Duke or a Marquisse	xi
An Earle or a Viscount	ix
A Barron	vij
A Knight	v
An Esquire or gentlemen	3

LLIERYES FOR NOBLE MEN AND GENTILEMEN AT THE
PARLIAMENT, OF EURY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS ESTATE.

A Duke to haue for his gowne, sloppe, and mantell, a xvi yards, and liury for 2 [?] xvij seruauents.

A Marquesse for his gowne, slope, and mantell, xvj yards, and liury for xvj seruants.

An Archbishop, as a Duke.

An Earle for his gowne, sloope, and Mantell, xiiij yards, and liury for xij Seruants.

A viscount for his Gowne and Mantle, xij yards, and liury for x seruants.

A barron or Barranett, being knight of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, viij yardes, and Liury for viij Seruants.

A knight, vi yardes, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

An Esquire for the bodye, as a knight, and liuery for iiij Seruants.

All other Esquires and Gentlemen, v yardes, and liuery for 2 seruants.

Be it Remembred, that none may weare a hood vnder the degree of an Esquire of the Kinges houshold, but only tippets of a quarter of a yarde broade; and in tyme of need they to weare hoodes.

Nether may any weare hoodes with a Rowle slyued ouer there heades, or other wayes being of that fashon, vnder the decree of a barron or an Erles sonn, an here bit¹ only without Rowle.

[WHAT SERVANTS NOBLEMEN MAY KEEP.]

A Duke may haue a Tresuror, A Chamberlayne, 4 greate hushers, A steward, A Comptrouller, A master of his howse.

An Erle may haue a secretary, A Comptrouller, A Steward, 2 great hushers, A gentile-man for his howse.

A Baron may haue A Steward, A Clarke of his kitchin, A yeoman of his horse, A gentileman husher (but Couered, and not bare-Hedded when he goeth abroad), And a Yeamon Husher, A grome of his Chamber, A yemon husher of his hall, and his grome, (but no Marshall,) A Sewer Armed, A Caruer, (but vnmarried,) A foreman [?]

his cup couered, t[h]oughe in the presence of his better, but no assay taken at any tyme; his foote Carpit single.

[A BARONESS'S RIGHTS.]

A Baronesse Lying in Childbed may haue single carpetts round about her bead, but no foot sheete, with degrees nor with-out.

¹ ? a hair bit

A Baronesse may haue no trayne borne ; but haueing a gowne with a trayne, she ought to beare it her selfe. Quere, whether she may haue any trayne borne to the greate chamber doore in Court, or noe.

Her gentileman husher goeing before her abroad, ought to goe vncouered.

LIUERYES FFOR NOBLE WOMEN AT THE INTERTAYNEMENT
OF ANY GREATE ESTATE.

A DUTCHESE.

for her selfe xvi yards
for her trapper of her horse, of veluet . . . xvi yardes
and of Cloth v yards
for her 3 gentle weman,¹ 5 yardes a
peece, fiftene yardes xv
for her 3 gentlemen xv yardes
ffor her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, 4
kerchiefes
And Liury for 12 seruants.

A COUNTISSE.

for her selfe 12 yardes
for her traper 5 yardes
for her 3 gentilewomen 15 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, on barbe, one frontlet, 3
kerchiefes
for her gentle weoman, of Lynen all points as before
a Liury for 8 seruants.

A BARRONESSE.

for her selfe 12 yards
for her tray[er] 5 yardes
for her 2 gentlewomen 10 yardes
for her 2 gentlemen 10 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
2 kerchiefes

¹ ? '&' struck out here

for her 2 gentleweomen, 2 mantlets, 2 barbes, 2 frontlets, and one kerchief.

for her owne gentleweoman, 2 elles of fyne holland,
And liuery for 4 seruants.

LADYES AND GENTLE WEOMEN.

for her selfe 6 yards

for her trayer 4 yarges

for her gentle weomen 3 yards

for her selfe, on Mantelet, one barbe, one frontlet, and
2 kerchifes

And liuery for 4 seruants.

THE ORDER OF ALL ESTATES.

A Dukes Eldest sonnes be Earles, and all the rest of his sonns are Lords, with the Addition of there Christen name, as Lord Thomas, Lord Henry.

Item. if the Dukes Eldest sonn, being an Earle, haue yssue male, his Eldest son shall be called lord of a place or barrony, and all his other sonns no Lordes but in Curtisy; but all his daughters be Ladyes.

The Dukes Eldest sonn, being of the blood Royall, shall sit or goe aboue a marquesse.

All marquises Eldest sonnes are named no Earles, but lord of a place or barrony, without any Adission of his Christen name; and all his other bretheren, Lordes, with the Addition of there Christened name.

A Marquesse Eldest sonn of the blood Royall shall sit or goe aboue an Earle.

An Earles Eldest sonn is called a lord of a place or Baron[y], and all his other sonnes no lords, but all his daughters are Ladyes

Earles Eldest sonn, if he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe aboue a Viscount. If he be not, the[n] aboue a barron. [leaf 15, back]

A viscounts Eldest sonn is no Lord, nor no other of his sonns, nor none of his daughter[s] ladyes.

A viscounts eldest sonn, yf he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe a-boue A baron; yf not, then a-boue a barons sonn; and so of all other dignities.

A slope is a morning Cassock for Ladyes and gentile wemen, not open before.

A surcoate is a mor[n]ing garment mad lyke a Close or straight-bodied gowne, which is worne vnder the mantell; the same for a Countesse must haue a trayne before, A nother behind: for a baronesse no trayne.

The trayne before to be narrow, not exceding the brea[d]th of 8 inches, and must be trussed vp before vnder the girdle, or borne vppon her left Arme.

p. 13, *Powdringes*; p. 15, *Marchioness's train*. Lord Leonfield writes: "So far as I can learn from others, it is not usual to carry out at State Ceremonies now, the rules laid down in this Book of Precedence with regard to the bearing of the trains of a Marchioness and Duchess.

"The *Powderings* are, I am informed, bands of ermine, called also *Miniver*; but I cannot learn what number is allotted to each order of Peers. They are worn on the Cape of the Robe."

Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, writes: "the *Powderings* are surely the same as 'the guards of ermine' in Clark's *Heraldry*, edited by J. R. Planché (Bell and Daldy, 1866). p. 224, 'A Duke's mantle has only 4 guards of ermine with a gold lace above each, that of the Prince having 5.' 'The mantle which a duke wears at the *Coronation* is doubled with ermine below the elbow, and spotted with 4 rows of spots on *each* shoulder.'

"From the same book it appears that

a Marquess	has	3½	guards	on	the	shoulder
an Earl	"	3	"	"	"	"
a Viscount	"	2½	"	"	"	"
a Baron	"	2	"	"	"	"

And that the *Coronation robes*

of a Marquess	have	{	4 rows of spots on the right shoulder	
		3	"	on the left
of an Earl	"	3	"	on each
		{	3	on the right
of a Viscount	"	2	"	on the left
		{	2	on each
of a Baron	"	2	"	"

The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time.¹

[MS Cott. Julius B. xii. leaf 7, back—leaf 8.]

This Is the ordynauce And guyding that perteyneth vnto the worshippfull Beryyng of Any Astate, to be done in maner And fourrme ensuyng.

ffurst, to be offerde A swerde, by the moost worshippfull of the kyn of the saide Estate, And ony² bee presente; elles by the moost worshippfull Man that is present there, on his partie.

Item, In like wise his Shelde, his Coote of worship, his helme and creste.

Item, to be hadde A banere of the Trinitie, A baner of oure Lady, A bannere of Seint george, A baner of the Seynt that was his aduoure, And A Baner of his Armes/ Item A penon of his Armes; Item A Standarde, and his beste therein: Item A geton³ of his devise with his worde.

¹ This heading is in a late hand.

² MS only

³ "Euery baronet, euery estat aboue hym shal have hys baner displayd in y^e feild, yf he be chyef capteyn; euery knyght, his penoun; euery squier or gentleman, his *getoun* or standard, &c. . . . Item, Y^e meyst lawfully fle fro y^e standard & *getoun*, but not fro y^e baner ne penon. . . . Nota, a stremer shal stand in a top of a schyp, or in y^e forecastel: a stremer shal be slyt, & so shal a standard, as welle as a *getoun*: a *getoun* shal berr y^e lenght of ij yardes, a standard of iii or 4 yardes, & a stremer of xii. xx. xl. or lx. yardes longe." MS. Harl. 838, quoted by Sir F. Madden in *Archæol.* xxii. 396-7. He adds that Sir H. Nicolas, in the *Retrospect*. N.S. i. 511, quotes MS. Harl. 2258 and Lansd. leaf 431, the former of which states, "Euery standard & *Guydhome* [whence the etymology of the word is obvious (? F.)] to have in the chief the crosse of St George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the creste or supporter, with the posey, worde, and devise of the owner . . . a *guydhome* must be two yardes and a halfe, or three yardes longe." But in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 327, is a bill, with "Item, a *gyton* for the shippe of viij yerdis long, poudrid full of raggid staves; for the lymmyng and workmanship, ij s." *Ret.* i. 511, *ib.*

Item. A doubble valance Aboute the herce, both aboute And by-neith, with his worde And his devise written therine.

Item, xij Sc[oc]hons of his Armes to bee sett vpon the barves withoute And within the herce, And iij dosen penselles to stande aboute vpon the herce Amonge the lightes.

Item, to be ordeignede as many scochons as be pilers In the Chirche; And Scochons to bee sett In the iiij quarters of the saide chirche, as best is to be sette by discrecion.

Item, as many Torchis as the saide Astate was of yeres of Age; And on euery torchis A scochon hanging; And the berers of the torches In blakke.

Item, it is to bee ordeignede standing .v. officers of Armes Aboute the saide herce, that Is to say, one byfore the saide herce, bering the cote of Armes worship, And he standing at the hede in the mydewarde of the saide hers. The ij^{de} standing on the right Side of the herce in the fore fronte, bering his Swerde. The iiij^{de} standing on the lifte Side of the saide herce, bering his helmet and creste; The iiijth on the Right Side of the saide hers, in the Nethere parte of the hers, bering his baner of Armes; And the vth standing on the lifte side, In the nethere parte, he bering his penon, So standing till the offering. And the baners of the trinitie, oure lady, Seinct george, And the baner of his Aduoure¹ to bee sett Aboute In parties of the saide Hers, And his standarde also.

Item. to bee ordeynede certeyne clothes of golde for the ladies of his kyn being within the saide hers; And they to offer the saide clothes of golde.

Item, a certeyne of Innocentes clothed In white, euery Innocent bering A Taper in his hande.

Item, the hors of the saide estate, trappede with his Armes; And a man of armes, being of his kinne, vpon the same hors, or elles eny other man of worship in his name, hauyng In his hande A Spere, Swirde, or Axe, so to be presentede to the offering in the Chirche with ij worshipfull men, on goyng on that on Side of the hors,

¹ Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his *avowrye*. Lansd. MS cited by Douce in *Archæologia*, xvii. 296, and explained by him '*Avowrye*, cognizance, badge, distinction.' See p. 33, below, l. 6.

And that other' oñ that other' Side of the hors, And a man leding the same hors.

Item, the heire of the saide estate, after he hath offrede, shaft Stande vpon the lifte Side of the preste Receyving the Offering of the Swerde, helme, *and* Creste, Baner of Armes, Cote of worship, And penoñ.

Item, ij men of worship to stonde oñ the same Side of the preste, holding A bason, with therin for the offering.

A Funeral in Popish times.

[*Ashmole MS 837, art. vi. leaf 133-9, written in the time of Charles I. or II.*]

The manner of Ordering of every man att y^e setting forth of the Cors, and how every man shall goe after y^e estate and Degree that they bee of, in dew order.

The order of the procession is :

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| First, The Orders of Freres as they bee accustomed. | 1. Friars. |
| Then the monkys and Chanons ; after them the Clarkys ; then the Priests ; and then they of [the] Church where y ^e Body shalbe buried must have the preeminence to goe nearest the Corse within their juri[s]diction. | 2. Monks. |
| Then y ^e Prælates that bee in Pontificabilibus ; Then sertayne gentlemen in Dowle, ¹ their hood vppon their sholders ; Then the Chaplyn or Chaplyns of the defunct ; next them the Overseers ; Then the executours weryng their hoods ² on their Heddes, going in good Order, ij and ij. | 3. Clerks. |
| Then a gentylman in a mourning habit, with a hood on his face, to bere y ^e Banner of his Armes, if hee bee not vnder y ^e degree of a Baneret ; and if hee bee but a Bachelour Knight, hee to have but a Penon of his Armes, and a guidon with his Creste, And a paust (<i>sic</i>) writyng therein, and y ^e Crose of Saint George. | 4. Priests. |
| * In y ^e first quarter the Banarette to have his Standard made in likewyse, with his Crest, the Bannor or Pennon on y ^e right side before the Corps, and the Standard or guidon on the other side before the Corps, and y ^e Herald of Armes betweene them, a space before theme. | 5. Church-attendants. |
| Then the Corps and 4 Banners of | 6. Prelates. |
| | 7. Men in black. |
| | 8. Chaplain. |
| | 9. Overseers. |
| | 10. Executors. |
| | 11. Banner-bearers. |
| | 12. Herald. |
| | 13. The Corpse, and four gentle- |

[* leaf 133, back.]

¹ mourning. Cf. 'mourning habit,' 6 lines down.

² MS has 'Heddes on their hoods.'

sanctes¹ att the fower Corners, borne by 4 gentilmen in mourning habattes, with hoddys on their faces, Te one of the Trynity att y^e Hede, on y^e right side; the other, of our Lady, att the Hede on the other side; The third, of the Armes of *Saint George*, att y^e Feet on the ryght side; The 4th, of his avowry², of the other syde: Then next after the Corps, the Chiefe mournour alone, and the other mournours to goe two *and* two, ceartayne space one from another; and next theyme the greatest statys, and a space after theyme all other to follow as *servantes*, and theyme that will. and when y^e Corps commyth, where y^e shall remayne, att the West dore of the Church, A prælät shall sens the *Corps, which shall do the devyne service; then sixe of theyme of y^e place, being prestys or religious, whither they bee, bere y^e Corps, or else so many gentylmen; and att y^e 4 Corners of the rych Cloth, fower of the greatest estates of the sayd Church must bee supportyng of y^e iiij Corners, as if they bare him; and so had into the Quier, where must bee a goodly herse well garnished with *Lighthes*, *pencelles*, and *scochyns* of his Armes; and if hee bee an Earle, hee must have a Cloth of Magesty, with a Vallance fryngyd; and if hee bee a Knight Banarett, hee may have a vallance fryngyd, and a Bachelour Knight none. The sayd herse must bee raylyd about, and hangyd with blake Cloth; and the Grownd within the Rayles must bee coveryd with blake Cloth; And the fourmes that the mourners do lene vppon within the Rayles; the Chiefe morner att the Head, the other morner att the sydes; and the Helme, Crest, wreth, and mantyll must bee att the Hede vppon the bere, the shild over the left syde, and y^e sword on the right side; The *Cote of Armes on the bere, the *banneres* to be holdyn without the rayles, in forme as they wente; The Herauld to stand

men bearing
4 banners.

14. Chief Mourner.

15. Other Mourners.

16. Nobles.

17. Servants.

At the west door,
the corpse is
censed,

[* leaf 134]

then borne into
the Quire, where
is a herse, with
lights,

hung with black
cloth.

[* leaf 134, back]

¹ saints. MS sanctes.

² See p. 30, note.

att the Hedde without the rayles, weryng the Kings Cote of Armes. The derge don, the prelates and pontificalles to Fence the Corps within the rayles, and all the Covente standing about y^e Herse, without the rayles, sing antheims, and say prayers. singing diuerse antems ; and att every Kyrie lyson, one to say with an high voice for y^e sowle A Pater noster : the sayd morneres to bee gon their way before that the Seremonyes bee don : then the iiij banneres to bee borne to the grave, but nothing else, then to bee sett agayne att y^e Herse till over the morow that y^e Masses bee sayd : The executoris must see y^e buryng of the Corps ; the Helme, Crest, shilde, Coote of Armes, and swerde, must bee taking away, and sitt upon the high Awter, till over the morow att y^e massis ; then to bee sette over y^e bere.

[leaf 135]

The manner att the Offering att the interrement of
Noble-men.

Next morning all the mourners hear Mass, and make their offerings.

First in y^e morning betymes, Masse of our Lady bee [said], the banners to bee holdyn, the helme, Childe,¹ sword, the Cote of Armes, to bee layd vpon y^e bere in dew order, and the morner in there places : Att the offering tyme the cheife morner, accompanyd with all the other, to goe forth att y^e hede, att the left hede of the herse, and none to offer but y^e chiefe mourner att that masse, and hee to offer iijs iiijd, and then to retorne, on the other side, to his place that hee came fro ; the harald weryng his Cote if the mourners bee not present att y^e sayd masse ; The executores to goe in like mannour to y^e offeryng, and none to offer but one of theyme, and then to goe to their places that they came fro.

The Chief Mourner offers 3s. 4d.

The Executors offer one by one.

The 2nd Mass is of the Trinity.

The second masse of the trynite att y^e offering likewise, as before fanyng.² That hee shall offer 5s ; and the third masse must bee of *Requiem), and that to bee song

[* leaf 136, back]

¹ Shield.² not 'sauyng' ? (G. P.)

by y^e noblest prelat Pontificalibus. The chefe morn-
 eres, accompanyd as before, shall offer for the masse
 pene vijs viiiij^d; then to their places as they came fro,
 att every tyme; the Heraulde or Heraulds there beyng,
 weryng their Masteres Cote of Armes, going before the
 morners to and fro the offeryng, and so to bring theyme
 to their places agayne on the other side; and the sayd
 officers of Armes to stand without the rayles att the
 Hede.

The Chief Mourn-
 ers offer 7s. 9d. for
 the mass-penny.

Item, there must bee offeryd the Cote of Armes by
 two of the gretyst gentylmen.

The deceased's
 Coat of Arms,

Item, too other to offer his swerd, the pomell and
 the Crosse foreward.

sword,

Item, ij to offer his Helme and Crest, and if hee
 bee of y^e degree of a Earle, then a Knight rydyng on a
 Corser trapyd with the Armes of y^e defunct, the sayd
 Knight armyd att all peces savyng the hede, having in
 his hand a battle-axe, the poynt downeward, led by
 *twey too other Knightes from the west dore of the
 Church tyll hee came to the dext.¹ in the quire, the
 officer or offycers att Armes going before hym; and
 there the sayd Knight to alight, and the sexton there to
 take y^e Horse as is fee, and the Knight to bee ledd to
 the offeryng, and there to offer y^e axe, and the poynt
 downeward; then y^e sayd Knight to bee convayd into
 the revestre, and there to bee vnarmyd.

helm and crest,
 are offered.
 If he was an Earl,

[* leaf 137]

his horse goes as
 the Sexton's fee,
 and his axe to the
 church.

Then the rest of the mornys to goe, too and too, to
 the offeryng; and so to their placys.

Also, yf it bee an Earle, there must bee too gentyl-
 men to bryng too Clothes of bawdkyn from the one
 syde of the quire, and deliver them to the Herald,
 which shall deliver^r them to too of y^e grettest estatys,
 which must offer theyme, the lowest estate first, and
 then the other, some men calles this Clothys 'pawlles,'
 and sume 'Clothys of gold,' which shall remayne in y^e

For an Earl too,

palls, or cloths of
 gold, must be
 offered.

¹ desk :—the Litany or fald-stool.

Lastly, all offer
that will.

[* leaf 137, back]

Church; then all the othyr to offer that wyll,¹ the
gretyst estatys to * offyr first, next after the executores.
The offering don, the *sermon* to begyn; and att y^e last
end of the masse, Att 'Verbum Caro,' the banner of
Armes or pennon shalbe offeryd, as y^e state is of degre.

The Nombre of morners, after y^e degre of the defunct.

A King has
15 Mourners,

The King to have xv.

A Earle to have ix.

A Duke to have xiiij.

A Baron to have viij.

and a Knight 5.

A Marcus to have xj.

A Knight to have v.

Syttynge of Noblemen.

Blood royal gives
precedence to a
noble.

A Dukes sonn *and* heire, beyng of the blood royall,
shalbe sett above A Marquis; and if hee bee not of y^e
blood Royall, hee shall sitt above an Earle; And an
Erles eldest sonn, if hee bee of blood ryall, shall sitt
above a Vicount; and if hee bee not of blood riall,
hee shall sitt above a Baron.

[* leaf 138]
Ladies take their
husbands' rank.

* And as for all Ladyes and gentylwomen: to bee
sytt after the degree of their husbendes; and if any of
the Ladyes or gentylwomen bee of the blood ryall, the
King may command them att his plesure.

Libertes for Noblemen att Interyments, every man
acording to his estat.

A Duke, for his owne slope and mantyl, 16 yerdes
att xs the yerde, and Livery for eighteene; And a
Erle, for his gowne, slope, and mantyll, sixteene yerdes
att viijs. the yerd, and Livery for 12 *servantes*.

Allowances for a
Baron, who is a
Knight of the
Garter.

A Baron or Banneret, beyng Knight of the Garter,
for his gowne and hood, sixe yerdes; and Livery for
viij *servantes*.

A Knight, 5 yards, six shillings eight pence y^e yard,
and liuerie for fower *servantes*.

¹ After þat, fast at hande
Comes þo time of offrande:
Offer or leue, wheþer þe lyst.

A Squyer for y^e Body, as a Knight, and Livery for iij *servantes*.

All other *Esquires* and gentylmen, att five shillinges y^e yard; and *livery for iij *servantes*. And every gentylman *servant* iiij yards.

Non to were no hoodes vnder the degree of a *Esquier* of Household, bot onely typpettes of a quarter of a yard brode; and in tyme of ned the[y] mey wher hoddys.

Hoods worn by Esquires and their superiors: tippetts by their inferiors.

Also, non to wher no hoddys with a Roll slyvyd, on his hede, or otherwise beyng of that fasion, vnder y^e degree of a Baron, or an Erles sonn and heire; bott onely hoddys without Rolles.

No hoods with rolls to be worn by any one below a Baron.

Item appertayning to y^e Officers att Armys.

Item, att y^e Buryall of on, being a Pere of y^e Realme, of the bloode Ryall, or elles in any of theis Offices, as Conestable, Mareshall, Chancelour, Heph Tresorer, Chamberlayn, Steward, Admirall, or Lord Privy Seale, there hath been accustomed, all y^e officers of Armys to wher their Cottys of y^e Kings armys, and to have their gownes, and hoddys; and five Pounds to bee divided amongst them. *In likewys, yf any Lord of the parlement chance to dye duryng the tyme of y^e parlement, they to have as affor is sed.

At the burial of a Peer of the Blood Royal,

or one in the high offices, or Parliament,

the Officers of Arms wear their coats-of-arms,

and have 5l. between them.

[* leaf 139]

P. 29. Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, says: "No doubt 'his beste' means his crest; and query if it is not a miswriting of the MS for *crest* instead of *beast*. For it would not follow that a man has a beast for his crest: mine is (a beast of) a Bird, and that of Lord Hill 'a Castle,' no beast at all. No doubt, however, beasts, or bits of them, are most common. In olden time (days of *gold* for us) the Heralds arranged all the state funerals. The Lord Chamberlain is an innovation, introduced to manage the *private* funerals of Royalty, as being more under the Sovereign's thumb than the 'Earl Marshal' (an hereditary office) and his Heralds. The Lord Chamberlain has even now only to do with *private* funerals, such as those of the Duchess of Kent, and of 'Albert the Good,' &c. &c. Those of the Dukes of York and Kent, of George III. and IV., William IV., Duke of Wellington, &c., devolved on us."

The definition of an Esquire, and the severall sortes of them according to the Custome and Usage of England.

[*Ashmole MS 837, art. viii. fol. 162.*]

An Esquire, called in latine Armiger, Scutifer, et homo ad arma, is he that in times past was Costrell to a Knight, the bearer of his sheild and helme, a faithfull companion and associate to him in the Warrs, serving on horsebacke; whereof euery knight had twoe at the least [in] attendance upon him, in respect of the fee, For they held their land of the Knight by Cottage, as the Knight held his of the King by Knight service.

At this day, that Vocation is growne to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service in the warrs, from whence all the other degrees of nobility are borrowed.

The first sort of them, and the most ancient, are the Eldest sonnes of Knightes, and the eldest sonnes of them successively in infinitum.

The second sort, are the eldest sonnes of the younger sonnes of Barons and noblemen of higher degree, which taketh end, and are determined, when the Cheife Males of such Elder sonnes doe fayle, and that the in-heritance goeth away with the heires female.

The third sort, are those that by the King are Created Esquires by the gift of a collar of SS, or such bearing armes are the principall and cheife of that Coate Armour, and of there wholle race; out of whose familys, although divers other houses doe spring and Issue, yet the Eldest of that Coate armure only is an Esquire, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fourth and last sort of Esquires, are such, as bearing office in the Commonwealth or in the Kinges house, are therefore called and reputed to be Esquires, as the Sergeants at the law, the Escheators in Euery Shire and in the Kings house, the heralds of armes, the Sergeants at Armes, and the Sergeants of Euery office, who haue the Coller of SS given them, but hauing noe Armes, that degree dieth with them, and their Issue is not Ennobled thereby.

The good wyfe wold a pylgremage.

[*Porkington MS, No. 10, leaf 135, back, ab. 1460—70 A.D.*]

The good wyf wold a pylgremage
vnto þ^e holly londe :

¶ sche sayd, “ my dere doȝttur,
þou most vndor² stonde

¶ For to gowerne well this hous,
and saue thy selfe frow schond.

¶ For to do as I þ^e teche,
I charge the þou fonde.

¶ Witt an O & a ny,
seyd hit ys full ȝore,¹

¶ That lothe chylde lore be-howytt,
and leue chyld moche more.

¶ When I am out of þ^e tounē,
loke that [thou] be wyse,

¶ And rene þou not fro hous to house
lyke a nantyny gryce ;

¶ For þ^e yonge men cheres the,
they wyll sey þou art nyce,

¶ And euery boy wyll wex bold
to stere þ^e to lovd² wysse.

¶ Witt añ O & a I,
my talle þou atende :

¶ Sylton mossyth the stone
þat oftyn ys tornnyd & wende.

The good wife

tells her
daughter

[leaf 136]
how to
manage her
house and
herself.

12

When I'm away,

don't run about
like a St
Anthony's Pig,

or every boy
will want to
seduce you.

24

¹ This line, like many others in the poem, is written in the MS as part of the one above it.

² ? lewd.

Don't show off
to attract men's
notice.

¶ Schowe not thy selfe to proude,
passynge thyn a-stat,
¶ To make men loke aftur þ^e,
and aske, "who ys that?" 28

[leaf 136, back]

¶ A gentyll woman, or' a callot,
men wyll deme thow arte.
¶ Were no nodor' a-ray this weke
þen thow meyst were all gatt. 32
¶ Witt an O & a I,
men wyll sey þis,
"Be wyne hope men mey se
where þ^e tawerne ys." 36

On holy days,
when you sing
or dance, don't
hang your girdle
too low

¶ Doȝttur, in all company
vppon þ^e hally day,
¶ Wheþer þou wyll daunce or synge,
or' witt thy fellowys pley, 40
¶ Honge thy gordoff nott to lowe,
but take þ^e knot a-way.
¶ Where no beydis a-bout þe,
but hit fall for' thyn a-rye. 44
¶ Witt an O & a I,
thus men wyll tell,
¶ "The corsser' hathe his palfrey dyȝt
all reydy for' to sell." 48

Also, hide your
white legs, and
don't show your
stockings
(or drawers)

¶ Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
¶ And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt; 52
¶ Thow hit plese hem for' a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
¶ And men wyll sey
"of þi body þou carst but lytt." 56

[leaf 137]

like a butcher
the flesh he
wants to sell.

¶ Witt an O and an I,
seyd Hit is full ryve,
¶ "The bocher' schewyth feyre his flesche,
for' he wold sell hit full blythe." 60

- ¶ Be þou noþȝt of lowȝttur lyȝt,
nor' of contenance lyȝt ;
- ¶ Ouer homly ys not best,
men may dem Aryȝt. 64
- ¶ Tyk not witt hondis nor' fette,
hit ys not a goodly syȝt ;
- ¶ Schamfast schuld maydons be,
and stronge witt aȝt ther' myȝt. 68
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
þ^e mon ys at þ^e foll,
- ¶ That he wyll lowys scheppis flesche,
That wettytt his bred in woll. 72
- ¶ Take hede to þⁱ byssenis,
& make not out of sesson ;
- ¶ Syt not witt no man a-loune,
for' oft in trust ys tressoun ; 76
- ¶ Thow þou thenk no þenke a-myse,
ȝett feyre wordis be gayssoun ;
- ¶ Feyre and towe I-leyde to-gedore,
kyndoll hit woll, be resson. 80
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
wett ore euer þou wende,
- ¶ A fyre of sponys, and lowe of gromis,
Fult soun woll be att a nende. 84
- ¶ Doȝttur, temper well þⁱ tonge,
& vse not monny tallis,
- ¶ For' lessynggis wyll lepe out amonge,
that oftyn brewis ballys. 88
- ¶ Bost not to meche of thy selfe,
but kepe a mese for' allys ;
- ¶ Take not euery roppys-end
witt euery man þat hallis. 92
- ¶ Witt an O & a I,
I wolde þou vnder-stode,
- ¶ A follis bolt ys son I-schot,
and dothe but lyttyll gode. 96

Don't indulge in
light laughter
or looks.

Don't tap (P)
with your
hands or feet.

Don't sit alone
with men :

fire and tow
will kindle.

[leaf 137, back]
Don't talk too
much:

a fool's bolt
is soon shot.

Don't change
friends too often.

- ¶ Change not thy frend aft day
for' no feyre speche ;
- ¶ A trusty frende ys good I-fonde,
who-so may hyme reche, 100
- ¶ 3efe anny fortun fast amysse,
then mey he be thy leche ;
- ¶ 3efe he fynde þ^e in anny wronge,
then meyst þou wyne his wreche. 104
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
a flent wol make a slyde ;
- ¶ So gothe þ^e frendles þorowe þ^e toun,
no man bydyth hym a-byde. 108

Don't swear,

- ¶ Doztur, O þinge I þ^e for'-bede ;
vse not for' to swere ;
- ¶ keppe thy hondis, & geyfe no trevthe,
for weddynggis bythe in were ; 112
- ¶ He is a foll þat wyll be bonde
whyll he mey for'-bere.

or give pledges
hastily.
[leaf 138]

- A lowely lokynge & a porse
makys follys her and þere. 116

Try before you
trust.

- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
a-say or' euer þow trust ;
- ¶ When dede is down, hit ys to lat ;
be ware of hady-wyst. 120

Don't be fond
of slander,

- ¶ Loke what woman þou wolt be,
and there-on set thy thowzt ;
- ¶ Tallis flatteryng nor scandorynge,
loke thowe loue hem nowzt ; 124

and keep a
stedfast mind.

- ¶ A stydfast wett ys meeche I-prevyde ¹ [1 ? approved]
there womens wytt ys sowzt,
- ¶ And þer þat wette wanttythe longe,
full dere hit ys I-bowzt. 128
- ¶ Witt a O & a I,
men wyll sey so,
- ¶ "3efe þou þenke to do no syne,
do no þynge þat longythe there-to." 132

- ¶ Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon croun,
¶ Ren not a-bout in eueri pley,
nor to tawern in tovn; 136
¶ Syt sadly in þin arey;
let mournynge be þⁱ gown;
¶ Byd þi priers spessyally
witt good devossyon, 140
¶ Witt a O & a I,
al day men mey see,
¶ "The tre crokothe son
þat good cambrel¹ wyll be." 144
- ¶ Revle þ^e well in met & drenke,
doȝttur, it is nede;
¶ lechery, sclanderynge, & gret dyssece,
commythe of dronken hede; 148
¶ Fatt mosellis & swett, makyth
mony on to begge there brede;
¶ He þat spendyth more þen he gettythe,
a beggerris lyfe he schaff lede. 152
¶ Witt a O & a I,
seyd hit ys be southe,
¶ Wynttur ettyþ^e þat somer gettyþ,
to olde men is vnkoth[e]. 156
- ¶ Far-well douȝttur, far-well nowē!
I go vn-to my pylgremage;
¶ kepe þ^e wel on my blessynge
tyl þou be more of a[ge], 160
¶ let no merth ner' Iollyte
þis lesson frowe þ^e swage;
¶ Then þou schalt have þ^e blys of heyvyn
to thy errytagē. 164
¶ Witt a O & a I,
doȝttur, pray for me;
¶ A schort prayer wyunnythe heyvyn),
the patter noster and an ave . . . Amen. 168

If you want to
remain a maid,

don't gad about
to taverns.

[leaf 138, back]

Don't drink too
much or gorge.

Don't spend more
than you earn.

Farewell,

keep to my
precepts,

and you shall
go to heaven.

¹ From *cam*, crooked. Topsell uses *cambril* for the back of a horse (Halliwell). "We allus gives 'em a little *gamber*, Sir," said a Cambridge boat-builder to me in 1844, when I complained that a funny he was making was not on a straight keel.

How þe Goode Wyfe tauzt hyr Doutter,

quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 7.]

	L yst and lythe A lytell space, Y schafft 3ou telle A praty cace, How þ ^e gode wyfe tauzt hyr' doutter To mend hyr' lyfe, <i>and</i> make her' better. ¹	4
Hear how the Good Wife taught her Daughter!	Doutter, <i>and</i> þou wylle be A wyfe, Wysely to wyrche, in All þ ⁱ lyfe :— Serue god, <i>and</i> kepe thy chyrche, And myche þ ^e better þou sh[alt] wyrche.	8
If you want to marry, serve God,	To go to þe chyrch, lette for no reyne, And þat schaff helpe þe in thy peyne.	
and don't let rain stop your going to church.	Gladly loke þou pay thy tythes, Also thy offeringes loke þou not mysse ; Of pore men be þou not lothe, bot gyff þou them both mete <i>and</i> clothe ; And to pore folke be þou not herde, Bot be to them thyn owen stowarde ; For where þat A gode stowerde is, Wantys seldome any ryches.	12
Pay your tithes, and feed the poor.	When þou arte in þ ^e chyrch, my chylde, loke þat þou be bothe meke <i>and</i> myld, And bydde þ ⁱ bedes. A-bouen alle thinge, With sybbe ne fremde make no Iangelynge.	16
In church, pray, and don't chatter.		20

¹ The original is not divided into stanzas.

lauzhe þou to scorne noþer olde ne ʒonge ;		Scorn no one.
Be of gode berynge <i>and</i> of gode tonge ;	24	Good behaviour
Yn thi gode berynge be-gynnes þ ⁱ worschype,		wins honour.
My dere douzter, of þis take kepe.		
Yf any man profer þee to wede,		If a wooer comes,
A curtas ansuer to hym be seyde,	28	
And schew hym to thy frendes alle ;		show him to
For any thing þat may be-fawle,		your friends.
Syt not by hym, ne stand þou nouzht		
Yn sych place þer synne mey be wroʒht.	32	
What man þat þee doth wedde <i>with</i> rynge,		Love your
loke þou hym loue A-bouen Alle thinge ;		husband,
Yf þat it forteyne þus <i>with</i> the		and if he gets
That he be wroth, <i>and</i> angery be,	36	angry,
loke þou mekly ansuere hym,		don't answer
And meue hym noþer lyth ne lymme ;		him.
And þat schaff slake hym of hys mode ;		
Than schaff þou be hys derlynge gode :	40	
Fayre wordes wreth do slake ;		Fair words
Fayre wordes wreth schaff neuer make ;		
Ne fayre wordes brake neuer bone,		break no bones.
Ne neuer schaff in no wone.	44	
Be fayre of semblant, my dere douzter,		Keep a fair
Change not þ ⁱ countenans <i>with</i> grete lauʒter ;		countenance ;
And wyse of maneres loke þou be gode,		
Ne for no taylor change þ ⁱ mode ;	48	
Ne fare not as þou A gyglot were,		don't be giddy,
Ne lauʒe þou not low, be þou þer-of sore.		
luke þou also gape not to wyde,		or gape too wide.
For Any thing þat may be-tytde (<i>sic</i>).	52	
Suete of speche, loke þat thow be ;		Be sweet of
Trow in worde <i>and</i> dede : lerne þus of me.		speech.

- Thof' he wold be Aqueynted *with* the ;
 Grete hym *curtasly*, and late hym be ;
 loke by hym not longe þou stond,
 That thorow no vylony þ¹ hert fond : 88
 Alle þ^e men be not trew
That fare speche to þee can schew.
 Fair talkers are
 not all true.
- For' no couetys, no 3iftys þou take ;
 Bot þou wyte why, sone them for-sake ; 92
 For' gode women, *with* gyftes
 Me þer honour fro them lyftes,
 Thofe þat þei wer Añ trew
 As Any stele þat bereth hew ; 96
 For' *with* ther' giftes men þem ouer gone,
 Thof þei wer trew as ony stone ;
 Bounde þei be þat giftys take,
 Ther-for' thes giftes þou for-sake. 100
- ¹ Yn oper mens houses make þou no maystry,
 For' drede no vylony to þee be spyde.
 loke þou chyd no wordes bolde,
 To myssey noþer 3onge ne olde ; 104
 For' and þou any chyder be,
 Thy ney3bors wyll speke þee vylony.
- ² Be þou not to enuyos,
 For' drede thi ney3bors wyll þee curse : 108
 Enuyos hert hym-selue fretys,
 And of gode werky[s] hym-selue lettys.
- ³ houswyfely wyñ þou gone
 On werke deys in thine Awne wone. 112
 Pryde, rest, and ydell-schy[pe],⁴
 Fro þes werkes þou the kepe ;
- [leaf 8]
 Don't make a
 fuss in other
 people's houses,
 and don't chide.
- Don't be envious.
- Work on wora-
 days,

¹ See the first stanza (from the Trin. Coll. Camb. MS) in *Babees Book*, p. 42, note.

² This stanza is not in the *Babees-Book* copy.

³ l. 153, *Babees Book*, p. 43.

⁴ a *d* at end partly blotted out.

- and worship God
on holy days. And kepe þou welle thy holy dey,
And thy god worschype whe[n] þou may, 116
More for' worschype than for' pride ;
And styfly in thy feyth þou byde.
- Don't ape ladies
with rich robes. ¹ loke þou were no ryche robys ;
Ne counterfyte þou no ladys ; 120
For' myche schame do them' be-tyde
þat lese þer worschipe thorow þer pride.
- Be a good
housewife, and
gentle. ² Be þou, douzter, A hous-wyfe gode,
And euer-more of mylde mode. 124
Wysely loke thi hous And men-eze ;
The beter to do þei schall be.
Women þat be of yueft name,
Be ze not to-gedere in-same ; 128
- Get work wanted,
done quickly. loke what moste nede is to done,
And sette þ¹ men[é] þer-to ryzt sone :
That thinge þat is be-fore done dede,
Redy it is when þou ³ hast nede. 132
- When your
husband 's away,
set your people
to work. And if thy lord be fro home,
lat not thy men-eze I-dell gone ;
And loke þou wele who do hys dede,
Quyte hym þer-after to his mede ; 136
And þei þat wyll bot lytell do,
Ther'-after þou quite is mede also.
- If you've a heavy
job, go at one end
of it at once. A grete dede if þou haue to done,
At þ^e tone ende þou be ryzt sone ; 140
And if þat þou fynd any fawte,
Amend it sone, and tarrye note :
Mych thyng be-houen them'
þat gode housold schall kepyn. 144
- Amend thy hous or þou haue nede,
For' better after þou schafft spede ;

¹ See the first stanza of the note, p. 45 of *Babees Book*.² See l. 102, p. 41, *Babees Book*.³ MS þou thow.

- And if þat thy nede be grete,
 And in þ^e country courne¹ be stryte,
 Make An hous-wyfe on thy-selue,
 Thy bred þou bake for² hous-wyfs helthe.
 Amonge þⁱ seruantes if þou stondyne,
 Thy werke it schall be soner³ done ;
 To helpe them sone þou sterte,
 For⁴ many handes make lyght werke.
- 148 When need is,
work yourself,
and bake your
own bread.
- 152
- ² By-syde þee if thy neghbores thryue,
 Ther-fore þou make no stryfe ;
 Bot thanke god of all thi gode
 þat he sende þee to thy fode ;
 And þan thou schall lyue gode lyfe,
 And so to be A gode hous-wyfe.
 At es he lyues þat Awe[s] no dette ;
 Yt is no les, with-outeⁿ lette.
- 156 Don't grudge
your neighbour's
success, but
thank God for
your own.
- 160
- ³ Syte not to longe vppe At euene,
 For drede with Ale þou be ouer-sene ;
 loke þou go to bede by tyme ;
 Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne.
 And so þou schalle be, my dere chyld,
 Be welle dysposed, both meke and myld,
 For aft þer es may þei not haue,
 þat wyth thryue, and þer gode saue,
- 164 [leaf 8, back]
- Go to bed
betimes, and
rise early :
- 168
- you can't take
your ease if
you'll thrive.
- ⁴ And if it þus the be-tyde,
 þat frendes falle þee fro on euery syde,
 And god fro þee thi chyld take ;
 Thy wreke oñe god do þou not take,
- 172 If friends fall
away, or your
child dies, don't
abuse God.

¹ The Lambeth MS 853 in *Babees Book*, p. 41, l. 116, reads
'tyme.'

² See l. 146, p. 43 of *Babees Book*.

³ See the last stanza in the note, p. 44 of *Babees Book*.

⁴ This stanza is not in the Lambeth or Trin. Coll. Camb.
MSS in the *Babees Book*.

	For thy-selue it wyll vn-do, And alle thes þat þee longes to : Many one for þer Awne foly Spyllys them-selue vn-thyrtlyly.	176
	¹ loke, douzter, no thing þou lese, Ne þ ⁱ housbond þou not desples.	180
Marry your daughters early :	And if þou haue A douzter of age, Pute here sone to maryage ;	
girls are un- certain things.	Fore meydens, þei be lonely, And no thing sykter þer-by	184
Don't borrow,	Borow þou not, if þat thou meye, For drede thi neybour wyll sey naye ; Ne take þou nouȝt to fyrste, Bot þou be Inne more bryste. ²	188
or spend other men's money.	Make þee not ryche of oþer mens thyngt, þe bolder to spend be one ferthyngt ; Borowyd thinge muste nedes go home, Yf þat þou wyll to heuen gone.	192
Pay servants when their work is done.	³ When þ ⁱ seruantes haue do þer worke, To pay þer hyre loke þou be smerte, Wheþer þei byde o ^r þei do wende : Thus schaff þou kepe þ ^m euer þ ⁱ frende : And þus thi frendes wyll be glade þat thou dispos þe wyslye and sade.	196
This is what my mother taught me.	Now I haue taught þee, my dere douzter, The same techyng I hade of my modour :	200
Forget it not !	Thinke þer-on both nyght and dey ; For-gette them not if þat þou may ; For A chyld vn-borne wer better Than be vn-taught, þus seys þe letter.	204

¹ See l. 193-201, p. 46 of *Babees Book*.² Corrupt. See l. 181-2, p. 45 of *Babees Book*, and the last stanza in the note.³ See l. 139, p. 43, *Babees Book*.

Ther'for' aȝ-myȝhty god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe euen *and* morne;
And bringe vs to thy hyȝhe blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schaff mysse!

God speed and
save us all!

208

Amen, *quod* Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish (? a jack) and a flower underneath.
A fish is also drawn at bottom of leaf 7, back.]

How a Wyse Man taught his Sone,

quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 6.]

Lordynges, *and* 3e wyll here
 How A wyse man taught his sone,
 Take god hede to *his* matere,
 And fynd ¹ to lerne it yff 3e canne. 4
his songe for 3onge men was be-gone,
 To make them trew *and* stedfaste ;
 For 3erne þat is euylle sponne,
 Euylle it comes out at þ^e laste. 8

 Yt was A wyse man had A chyld
 Was fully xv wynter of Age,
 Of maneres he was meke *and* myld,
 Gentyll of body *and* of vsage ² ; 12
 By-cause he was his faderes Ayere,
 His fader þus on þis langage
 Taught his sone wele *and* feyre,
 Gentyll of kynd *and* of corage, 16

 And seyð, “sone, haue þis word in herte,
 And thynke þer-on when I ame dede,
 Euery dey þe fyrst werke,
 loke it be done in euery stede, 20
 Go se þⁱ god in forme of brede,
 And thanke þⁱ god of his godnesse;
 And after-ward, sore, be my rede
 Go do þⁱ werldes besy^{ness}e ; 24

[¹ fond, *try*.]This Song is to
make young men
true and stedfast.A wyse man had
a son of 15,[² þ visage.]and taught him
thus :“Go daily first to
Mass ;

then to business ;

- Bot fyrst worscype god *on þe dey,*
 And þou wyll haue to þⁱ mede ;
 Skylfully, what þou wyll praye,
 He wylle þe send *with-uten drede,*
 And send þe all þat thou hast nede. 28 *and your reason-
able prayers will
be granted.*
- Als ferre as mesure wyll destreche,
 luke, mesurly thy lyfe þou lede,
 And of þ^e remynant þer þe not reche. 32
- And, son, þⁱ tonge þou kepe Al-so, *Hold your tongue.*
 ¶ And tell not all thynges þat þou maye,
 For þⁱ tonge may be thy fo ;
 þer-fo^r, my sone, thynke what I sey, 36
 Where *and* when þat thou schall praye,
 And be whome þat thou seyst^towht ;
 For þou may sey A word to-dey,
 That vij zere *after* may be for^t-thought. 40 *7 years hence you
may repent a
hasty word.*
- With loue *and* Awe þⁱ wyfe þou chastys,
 And late feyre wordes be þⁱ zerd^t ;
 For Awe, it is þ^e best gyse
 Forto make þⁱ wyfe Aferd. 44
 Sone, þⁱ wyfe þou schall not chyde,
 Ne caule he[r] by no vylons name ;
 For sche þat schall ly by thy syde,
 To calle hyr wykyd, it is thy schame. 48 *Don't chide or
abuse your wife :*
- When þou schaff thy wyfe defame,
 Wele may An oper man do so ;
 Bot, sofer^e-*and*¹, A man may tame
 hert *and* hynd, *and* þe wylde ro. 52 *Patience 'll
tame wild
animals.*
 Sone, be þou not gelos by no wey,
 For if þou falle in gelosye,
 late not þⁱ wyfe wyte be no weye ;
 For þou mayst do no more folye : 56 *Don't be jealous,*

¹ suffering

for if your wife
sees it,

For' if thi wyfe myȝht ons A-spye
þat thou to her' wolde not tryste,

she 'll pay you
out.

Yn spy[t]e of All þⁱ fantysye,

To wreke hyr' werst, þat is herre lyste.

60

Pay your tithes,
and give to the
poor.

Sone, vnto þⁱⁱ god pay welle þⁱ tythe,

And pore men of thy gode þou dele.

Stand stiff against
the devil.

Ageyn þe deuell be stronge and styfe,

And helpe þⁱ soule fro peyne of helle ;

64

Thys werlð is bote fantesye fele,

And dey by dey it wylle A-pare ;

þer-fore be[ware] þe werlðes wele ;

Yt farys as A chery feyre.

68

Men gather goods

Many man here gederes gode

Aff hys lyfe tyme for' odour mene,

þat he may not—be the rode—

Not A² tyme to ete A hene.

72

for another, when
they die,

When he is doluen in his den,

An oper schall comme at þ^e last ende,

And haue hys wyfe and catell than ;

to spend.

þat he has sparyd, An oper wyff spende.

76

For' aff þat euer A man doth here

With bysenes and trauell bothe

All þis is, with-uten were,

Not bot for' mete and drynke and clothe ;

80

Men can but get
food and clothes,

More getes he not, with-uten hothe :

Kyng' ne prince, wheþer he be,

Be he lefe o' be he lothe,

be they poor
or rich ;

A pore man schall haue als mych as he.

84

þer-for', sone, be my counselle,

More þan I-nowȝhe þou neuer couete ;

therefore don't
covet more than
enough,

Thou wotyste not when deth wylle þee A-saylle ;

þis werlð is bot deth and debate.

88

loke þou be not to hyze of state.

By ryches here sette þou no price,
For þis werlde is full of deseyt ;

Ther¹-for¹ purchasse¹ paradyce ;

92

For¹ deth, my chyld, is, as Y trow,

The most ryȝht *serteyn* [thing] it is ;

for nothing is so
certain as Death,

No thing¹ so vn-*serteyne* to vn-know

As is þe tyme of deth I-wys ;

tho' its time is
uncertain.

96

And *per*-for¹, soñe, thinke oñe thys,

And all þat I haue seyde be-forne ;

And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,

The chyld þat w[as] in bedleme borne.

Jesu, save us !"

100

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish underneath.]

¹ MS Ther purchasse for

Stans puer ad mensam,¹

quod Kate.

(According to Grostete and Doctor Palere, 1463-83 A.D.)

[*Ashmole MS 61, leaf 17, back*]

Christ,	I hesus cryste, þat dyed vpon A tree To bye mans saule þat ons was for ^l -lorn, Helpe þem wele in All þer degre That doth euer ryght be-hynd <i>and</i> be-for ⁿ) ! 4
give us grace	And gyffe me grace þat I may so teche That some man þer-for ^þ þ ^e better maye be, to teach children And to be to chylder ^þ A bodely leche, to flee vice! And euer-more Alle vyces þei may fere <i>and</i> Fle ! 8
To teach them courtesy is my intent.	To teche chylder <i>curtasy</i> is myne entent, And þus forth my proces I purpos to be-gynne ; The trinyte me sped, <i>and</i> gode seynt clement, Yn what countrey þat euer y be Inne ! 12 The child þat euer thinkes þat he wold thryue o ^r the, My counsell in þis to hym þat he take ; And euer-more <i>curtayse</i> luke þat he be, And euer all evylle vices to fle <i>and</i> for ^þ -sake. 16
Courtesy is sure to pay.	The child þat is <i>curtas</i> , be he pore or ryche, Yt schall hym A-vaylle, þer-off ^þ haue no drede, And euer to hym-selue forto be A leche, When he is in <i>quarel</i> or Any oþer nede. 20

¹ There is no title in the MS.

And iff¹ he be *vicius*, *and* no thing¹ wiłł lerne, A vicious child

[.]

To fader *and* to modour be statly *and* sterne, 23 never thrives;

He may neuer thryffe well, fore no thing¹ þat he canne.

Ne no man¹ off hym reiosynge wiłł haue, no one likes him;

Yn what lond of crysdome þat he commys Inne, and he gets called knave;

Bot oft-tymes rebukyd, *and* be callyd knaue,

Ne neuer is Abulł worschippe to wyne. 28

Ther-for þis scryptour, my sone, iff¹ þou rede, therefore

And thinke in þ¹ selue þat þou wold¹ be a man,

Vn-to syche poyntes I rede þou take hede attend to me.

As þou schall here-after rede iff¹ þou canne. 32

And labour thi-selue while þou arte 3onge,

Work while you're young,

For þou schall be more perfyte, when þou arte of Age,

To helpe þ¹ selue þ¹ better *with* hond *and* *with* tonge and learn to help yourself.

Than he þat lernes no thing¹ bot to pley *and* rage: 36

The sothe treuly thi-selue þou may see

By experience, by many in þe werld.

þat Are vnthrifty, ne no tyme wiłł the,

How þei¹ be trobyles, *and* oft-tymes ille horlde. 40

Ther-for þis doctrine to þee² I rede þou take,

To occupy *and* vse bothe by dey *and* nyght;

Neuer no maystrys I rede þat thou make,

Never act against reason and right.

þe which be *contrary* A-3en reson *and* ryght. 44

Now chyld, take gode hede what þat I wyłł sey;

My doctryne to þee I purpos to be-gyne;

Hearken to my teaching!

Herkyn¹ well þer-to, *and* go not Awey 47

Goddes grace be *with* vs now *and* euer-more. Amen!

My dere child, fyrst þ¹ selue þou vn-Abulle

With all þ¹ herte to vertuous disciplyne,—

Afore þ¹ soueryn, standyng¹ at þ^e tabulle—

Before your master,

Dispos þ¹ 3outhen After my doctryne, 52

¹ MS þ¹, the same as for 'thy.' ² MS þ^e, the same as for 'the.'

- [leaf 15] To All nourtour þⁱ currage þou enclyne.
 don't speak reck- Fyrst, when þou spekys, luke þou be not rekles,
 lessly; Be-hold to þⁱ souereyn in þ^e face with they eyene,
 and don't fidget. Kepe fete and fynghers and hondes styll in pese. 56
- Don't stare about, Be simpyll of chere, caste not þⁱ luke off^r syde,
 Gase not A-boute, turnyngⁱ thy hede ouer Alle;
 or stick your back Ageyn the post luke not þⁱ bake A-byde;
 to a post. Make not þ^e myrrour Also off^r þ^e walle; 60
- Don't pick your Pyke not þⁱ nose All-so in especyalle,
 nose, Be ryght wele wer, and sette þer-vn þⁱ thought,
 or scratch Crache not þⁱ fleche for ouzht þat may be-falle, 63
 yourself. Hede and hond, ne oþer thinge þat is vpon þee wrought.
- Don't look on the To þe erth þou luke not when Any man spekes to þee,
 ground when a Bot be-hold vn-to his face; take gode tente þer-to.
 man speaks to you. Go pesably by þ^e wey, wer-so-euer it be, 67
 That no man vex þee in Iorney wer þou schalle gone.
 Change not þⁱ colour by no maner wyse,
 les þou be prouyd gylty in All þⁱ mysdede;
 Mock no one. Moke not, ne scorne not, noþer man ne wyfe,
 Ne no noþer person; þer-to þou take gode hede. 72
- Wash your hands Ete þou not mete with þⁱ vn-wasche hondes,
 before eating. For dred of mych¹ hurte þat may come þer-bye;
 Don't sit till Ne syte not vn-byden wer-so-euer þou stondes,
 you're told. lesse þ^e pepyll sey þou canne no curtasye. 76
 Take A-boffe þee thi better whe[n] þou schalt sytte,
 Els folke wyll sey þat thou canne no gode.
 When grace is Take þou no mete (be welle wer off^r itte)
 said, doff your hood. Vnto grace be seyde, and þer-to veylle þⁱ hode. 80
- Don't eat too When þou etys þⁱ mete, be not to hasty,
 hastily. (Be well wer þer-of) be it befe o^r moton),
 Or Any oþer metys, oþer pye or pastye,
 leste þou be callyd els both cherle or gloton. 84

¹ MS nych.

- When þou has done *with* A dysch, calle it not A-geyn, Don't ask for a dish twice.
 For þat is no *curtassy*; þer-offe þou take gode hede.
 What-so-euer þou be *seruyd*, loke þou be feyn,
 For' els þou may want' it when þou hast nede. 88
- Reuyle þou no metes, what-so-euer it be, Don't abuse the food you're going to eat.
 Yff þou *purpos* After-ward of it forto ete;
 Fro Alle sych *vncurtasnes* I rede þat þou fle;
 And euer to be *curtas*, þ' hert þer-in þou sette. 92
 Kepe þ' spone cle[ne] from All maner of fylthe;
 longe In thi dysch late it not A-byde. Keep your spoon clean.
 Be wer wele þer-of, þat þou no thyng' spylleth,
 That þei do not moke þee þat standes þe be-syde. 96 Spill nothing.
- luke þ' hondes be clene when þou etys þ' mete;
 Pare clene þ' nayles for' ought þat may be, Have clean hands.
 Make þem chere *curtasy* þat by the do sytte,
 And kepe wele þ' counſenans, for' þat is *curtasy*. 100 Make yourself agreeable.
 Dele not þ' mete A-wey, bot if þou haue leue,
 Yff þou sytte *with* Any man þat may be þ' better, Don't give away your food, except by leave,
 For' els þou may þer-for' haue A grete repreue:
 þus seys *grossum caput*, in doctrine of letter. 104 says Grostete.
- When þou etys þ' mete, take gode hede of þis [leaf 18, back]
 Yn þ' o syde of thi mouthe ete þou thi mete, Fill only one cheek at a time,
 That both þin chekys be not full at ons,
 For' þat is no *curtassy*, and so þou schall fynde itte.
 When mete is in thi mo[u]th, lauzhe þou ryght nought, and don't speak when your mouth 's full.
 Ne speke þou to no man in syche tyme,
 For' drede þat thy mete oute off' þ' mouth be brought,
 And lepe Inne þ' dyssche *with* Ale o' *with* wyne. 112
- kytte þou no mete—þer-offe take þou gode tente— Empty your trencher before taking a second help.
 When mete is on þ' trenchere vn-eten' some dele.
 Ne moke þou no man þat at þ' bord is lente, 115
 For' drede þat mysfortune sone After may þee spylle.
 Yf þat þou wyll off' *nourtyre*, my sone, be-fore,
 Sette þou no dysche neuer oñe þ' trenchere.

Make no noise
when you sup
your broth.

Wipe your mouth
when you drink.

When þou sowpys þⁱ potage—be wele wer offⁱ þis—

Make no grete sownð in suppyng of þⁱ dysche ; 120

And wpe wele þⁱ mowth when þou drynke schalle take,

Ne no thyngⁱ hafe þer-Inne þat may do A-mysse ;

For iffⁱ Any mete þⁱ mowth be with-Inne,

When þou schuldⁱ drynke of coppe or offⁱ canne, 124

Sum wyffⁱ drinke, be it thyke or thynne,—

Than schaff þou be mokyd both offⁱ wyffⁱ and man.

Don't spit over
the table ;
[1 P MS spytle.]

When þou syttes at þ^e tabull, þis is curtasy,

Ouer þⁱ tabull luke þou not spytle,¹ 128

les[t] it falle onⁱ mete þat stondes þee by,

For þat is A cherles dede, who so doth it.

or pick your teeth
till you've done.

Pyke not þⁱ tethe—þer-offⁱ be þou were—

Tyff þat thow haue etyne All þat thow wylle, 132

Ne noy not þⁱ felew—offⁱ þat loke þou spere—

Drynke salt ne potage, þer-offⁱ none þou sp[i]lle.

Blow not in þⁱ dysche, be it mete or drynke,

For þat is no curtasy, þer-offⁱ take þou tente ; 136

Don't sleep or
doze at meals.

Ne when þou Arte at Any mete, noþer slepe ne wynke :

For mokyng^e of pepull where þat þou arte lente.

Keep your nose
clean, and don't
forswear your-
self.

Kepe clene þⁱ nose with napkynⁱ and clote,

That no fylthe be sene þat schuld þee dyshonour. 140

Ne swere þou to no manⁱ A for-suorne othe,

For þat schaff be repreue, and to þee non honour.

At meals, don't
play with a dog
or cat.

Pley þou not with A dogge ne ȝit with A cate

Be-fore þⁱ better at þ^e tabull, ne be syde ; 144

For it is no curtasy—be þou sure of þat—

In what place of crystendome þat þou dwelle o^r byde.

Don't dip your
meat in the salt-
cellar.

When þou etys þⁱ mete,—of þis þou take hede—

Touche not þ^e salte beyngⁱ in þⁱ salt-salerⁱ, 148

Ne with flesch ne fyssche with oþer mete ne brede,

For þat is no curtassy : so seys doctour palerⁱ.

That's not
courtesy, says
Dr Paler.

ley salt on þⁱ trenchere with knyfe þat be clene ;

Not to myche, be þou were, for þat is not gode, 152

That all maner of *curtassy* of þee may be sene ;

And euer to þⁱ better luke þou A-veylle þⁱ hode.

Yff þou wasche with A better mane than þⁱ selfe Arte, [leaf 19]

Spytt^t not on thy hondes—þer-of take gode hede— Don't spit on
your hands, or be
too pert.

And be þou not to crueH, at no tyme ouer perte ; 157

The better þou schaff lyke when þou hast nede.

Preeys not to hye where þⁱ better is,

Don't press up too
high at table.

Bot stond lawly on þⁱ fete be-fore thi hey tabulle ; 160

And loke þou be seruys-AbuH at euery mese

And Iangelle not to moch for' makyng^t off' A fabulle. Don't chatter too
much,

Take hede of one thing^t þat I wyH þe seye,

For' it is gret *curtasy*, and schaff to þee A-veyle : 164

Out off' no mans mouth—for'bere it if þou may—

or take a tale out
of a man's
mouth.

To take Any comenyng o^r ȝit Any tale.

Com not to counseH bot if' þou be callyd,

[1 MS it.]

For' dred^t of repreue, wer as euer þou gos ; 168

Ne neuer moke non old man, thofe he be old,

Don't mock old
men.

For' sych vn-*curtasy* may cause þee to haue foyes.²

[2 foyes.]

When þou hast^t dyned, be redy taryse

Some-what or þⁱ beter, for' þat is *curtasy* ; 172

And els þⁱ souerand he wyH þee dyspise,

And think' þat þou arte prow^t, and bere þi-selue to hy.

Crombys A-boute þⁱ trencher, luke þat þou leue none,

Clean crumbs off
your trencher
with your knife.

Bot clens þem A-wey with þⁱ knyfe þat be clene. 176

Obeysens þou make o^r þou ferther' gone,

Bow to all before
you leave.

That alle þat sytes at þ^e tabull þⁱ *curtasy* may sene.

Yff þou haue A fader þat be of' lyfe here,

Honour your
father

Honour hym with wyschype,—my counsell I þee

And also þⁱ modour þat is thi faderes fere. [gyffe,— and mother.

And euer-more after þ^e better þou schaff fare ;

And iffe þou rebukes þem oþer in word o^r dede,

If you set not by
them,

And to be presumptous, and set þem not bye, 184

þou schall neuer thryue when þat þou hast^t nede,

you shall never
thrive.

Ne ȝit kepe þ^e statutes off' þⁱ *curtasye*.

Don't put your
elbows too far on
the table,

Thy elbow *and* armys haue in thi thougt ;

To fere on þⁱ tabulle do them not ley.

188

To mych mete at ons in þⁱ mouth be not brougt,

For' than þou art not curtas, þⁱ better wyll seye.

or wear laced
sleeues.

Kepe wele þⁱ sleuys for' touchyngⁱ off' mete,

Ne no longe sleuys lasyd ¹ luke þat þou haue. 192

Kepe wele þⁱ k[n]yfe for' castyngⁱ vnder fete ;

The more lawde of peple I wote þou schaff haue.

Keep your better
on your right
hand ;

Euer on þi ryght hond take þou thy better,

Where þat euer þou go, be wey o^r by strete. 196

And iff' þou se Any man be redyng of A letter,

Come not to nyze hym, for' dred of rehet.

¹ The mention of these laced sleeves fixes the date of this poem to Edward IV.'s reign, 1461-83. See drawings of the laced sleeves on the left-hand figure on p. 154, and the right-hand one on p. 159, of Fairholt's *History of Costume in England*. The former, of 'a dandy of the period,' is copied from a curious painting which formerly existed on the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, but which is now destroyed : it has been engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." . . His sleeves are large, and open at the sides, to display the shirt beneath, which is loose, and projects from between the *lacings* of the opening. In some instances we find the sleeves slit immediately above and beneath the elbow, with a narrow piece of cloth to cover it, the whole being held together by wide *lacing*, leaving some inches' space between each portion of the sleeve, which is padded at the shoulders with wadding, to give a broad appearance to the chest : these sleeves [that is, 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.'] were, by a law of the third year of Edward [the Fourth]'s reign [A.D. 1463] prohibited to be worn by any yeoman or person under that degree, under a penalty of six and eightpence, and 20s. fine for the tailor who manufactured them.'—*Fairholt*, p. 154-5. The Statute of Edw. IV. says : "And also he [the King] hath ordained and stablished, That no Yeoman, nor none other Person under the same Degree, from the said Feast of Saint Peter called *ad vincula*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCC lxxv. shall use nor wear in Array for his Body, any Bolsters nor stuffing of Wool, Cotton, nor Cadas, nor any stuffing in his Doublet, but only Lining according to the same ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King's Use for every such Default Six Shillings and Eight-Pence. Also our said Sovereign Lord the King, by the Advice and assent aforesaid, hath ordained and established, That no Knight under the Estate of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor none other person, shall use or wear from the Feast of All Saints, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCC lxxv. any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, unless it be of such Length that the same may cover his privy Members and Buttocks ; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every default Twenty Shillings. Also by the Assent aforesaid it is ordained, That no Taylor after the said Feast shall make to any Person, any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, of less Length, or Doublet stuffed, contrary to the Premises, upon the same Pain for every Default."—3 Edw. IV. cap. 5. A.D. 1463.

And iff' þou go *with* Any man In felde o' in towne, give the wall side
to all you meet,
Be wall o' by hege, by pales o' by pale, 200

To go *with*-oute hym luke þou be bowne,

And take hym by-twyx þee *and* þat same walle ;

And if þou mete hym, luke þou be sure

þat thou go *with*-oute hym, *and* leue hym nexte þe
walle. 204

And iff' ȝe schuld entere in at Any dore,

Putt' be-fore þee þ' better, for' ouȝte þat may be-falle. and let your
better enter first.

Stare not on A strange man to mych, be þou ware,

For' þat is no *curtassy*, þer- to þou take gode hede ; 208 [leaf 19, back]
Don't stare too
hard at strangers,

Ne speke not to mych,—þus seys doctour paler',—

Bot iff' it be in þ' pater noster, þ' Aue *and* þ' crede. or talk too much,
says Dr Paler.

And þou passe be-fore A man, *wer*-so-euer it be,

At fyre o' in oper place, luke þou aske leue ; 212

And euer thinke *on* worschype *and* thy oneste,

And kepe þee euer fro rebuke *and* All maner repreue

And if þat it fortен so by nyght o' Any tyme

That þou schalt lye *with* Any man þat is better þan
thou, 216 Let your better
choose which side
of the bed he'll
lie on ;

Spyre hym what syde of' þ' bedd' þat most' best wyll
ples hym,

And lye þou on þ' toþer syde, for' þat is for' þ'
prow ;

Ne go þou not to bede before bot þ' better cause þe,

For' þat is no *curtasy*, þus seys doctour paler'. 220 don't go to bed
first, till he asks
you to,

Hose *and* schone to powle off, loke þou redy be,

And oper gere þat to hym langes, for' þou may fare þ'
better. (says Dr Paler,)
and first pull off
his hose, shoes,
&c.

And when þou arte in þ' bed, þis is *curtasy*, 223

Stryght downe þat þou lye both *with* fote *and* hond. When you're both
in bed, lie
straight,

When ȝe haue talkyd what ȝe wyll, byd hym gode
nyght in hye, and say ' Good
night ' when
you've done your
chat.

For' þat is gret *curtasy*, so schalt þou vnderstond.

Next morning,
wish your fellow
'Good morrow'
tho' he's asleep.

Yf þou ryse be-fore At morow, take gode hede of þis,
Byð hym gode morow oʀ þou go, thof þat he be on
slepe ; 228

Ne do no thinge in þat hous þat schuld be A-mysse,
Bot euer-more aft curtesy I rede to þee þou kepe.

Anoþur thingⁱ at þⁱ table, for^s soth I wyth þee telle,
That is gret curtesy,—þus seys doctour paler,— 232

Don't put your
knife in your
mouth, says
Dr Paler,

On þⁱ tabulle kepe þⁱ k[nyf]¹—luke þou befelle—
When þou putes mete in þⁱ mouthe, for^s þat is þⁱ be-
hauour.

or speak to your
better, when he is
drinking.

And if þou be in Any place wer þⁱ better is drynkyng,
So þat þe coppe be at his hede, odour with Ale or wyne,
Doctour paler seys þee þus, and byddes þee sey no-
thing, 237

For brekyngⁱ of þⁱ curtesy in syche A curtas tyme.

When your lord
washes, don't
forget his basin
and towel.

And if þou be in Any plas wer þⁱ souerand schall
wessche,

luke þou be redy Anonⁱ with water in some vessell, 240
For-geate not þe towell, noþer for^s hard ne nessche,

For^s þat is grete curtesy, þ^e soth I do þee telle.

Off All maner of thinges, one I wylle þee schew :

Never defile your
mouth with
ribaldry.

Neuer with Any rebaudry do not fyle þⁱ mouthe, 244

For^s þat is no curtesy ; þou schall fynde it trew,

Wher^s þou go, est or weste, oþer north oʀ southe.

If your lord want
to drink at night,

And if þin souereynⁱ drynkyng be in þe tyme of nyght,

Yf þou be standingⁱ in þⁱ hous, oʀ sytyng in Any syde,

hold a candle for
him till he has
done.

Take A candell in þⁱ hond Anonⁱ, and hold hym lyght ;

To he haue drownkynⁱ what he wyth, styth by hym þou
byde. 250

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a sketch of a flower underneath, and a fish at the
bottom of leaf 18, back.]

¹ blotted out.

The Abce of Aristotill.

[*Harl. MS 1304, leaf 103; ab. 1450 A.D.*]

Wo-so wil be wise, And worshiþe desireth,
 Lett hym^l lerne on^l letter, And loke on^l A-noper
 Of Abce of Aristotill: non^l Argument Ageyn^l þat:
 And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyghtis a thousand^l; 4
 Yutt it myte A man^l Amend^l ful ofte,
 The lernynge of on^l letter, And his lif safe.
 Blame not Beerne þat the Abce made,
 But the wikkið will And the werke After; 8
 For it shaft greue A good man^l, þow gilty be mendyð,
 Now herkeneth And hereth how þat I begynne:

Attemperance in Alle thyng, Affe-myghty god loueth;
 Better^l bowe þan^l breke; obey to þⁱ bettere; 12
 Care for þⁱ Conscience, & kepe it ai clene;
 Dred god, And do well; þan nede þ^e not Dowte;
 Ese þine euen^l cristen^l; euer thynke on^l þⁱne ende;
 Fle falsnes And foli; And for thi feith fight; 16
 Gete god þⁱ gouernour, And grace shaft the grete;
 Halow þⁱ holi day, And heuen^l I the hote,
 In Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
 Kyng, keyser, And knyght, are knytte for to ke[pe] 20
 Lawes of owre lord god: bothe lewid And lerid,
 Mangnifie his mageste þat most is of myght.
 Norshe nott þⁱ nature to nyce li for no thyng;

^l MS men man.

On god Allonli euer haue in þⁱ thought ; 24
 Preise prestis And prechours þat pray for the people ; [leaf 103 b.]
 Quenche fals querelour ; þ^e quene of heven þ^e wið quite ;
 Rewle wel þⁱ Regalli, as right is And Reson ;
 See to thi sogettis, and sei þemⁱ hure sothes ; 28
 Temper hure tongis fro tellynge of talis ;
 Voide vices ; vertues shaß vaunce vs all :
 þus Rede we in bokys And Rollis A-bowte.

Thus god þat is begynners & former of alle thyng, 32
 In nombre, weyght, & mesure, alle þis world wrought he ;
 And mesure he taughte us in alle his wise werkis,
 Ensample by the extremites þat vicious Arn Euer.
 A Coward, And Contacowre, manhod is þ^e mene ; 36
 A wrecche, And wastour, mesure is be-twene ;
 For to moche of on¹ thyng was neuer holsome.

Be not to Amerows, to Auenturous, ne Angur not to ofte ;
 Be not to bolde, to besi, ne bowrde not to brode ;
 Be not to cursed, to crueß,² And care not to sore ;
 Be not to Duße, ne to Dredfuß, & Drink not to moche ; 4
 Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to ernesful noper ;
 Be not to fers, to familiary, but frendli of chere ;
 Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide ;
 Be not to hasti, to hardi, ne to heuy in harte, 8
 Be not to Iettyng, to Iangelyng, ne Iape not to ofte ;
 Be not to kynde, to kepyng, & ware knaues tacches ;
³ Be not to lothe, to lovyng, ne to liberall of goodys ;
 Be not to mellous, to meri, but as mene askith ; 12
 Be not to noyows, to nyce, ne to newfangle ;
 Be not to orped, to overthwarte, & opus⁴ þou hate ;
 Be not to pressing, ne to preuy with princes ne with Dukys ;

¹ MS on¹ on¹.

² ? MS coueß.

³ These lines to the end are in a later hand, Peter Le Neve's. He has written in the margin : ' M^d this was on the other leafe, but I took it out & writt it here. Peter Le Neve 1695.'

⁴ MS first written 'opus.'

Be not to queynte, to querellous; queme¹ will y^e maystri; 16
Be not to Riatous, to revelling, ne rage not to ofte;
Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep;
Be not to toyllous, to talewise, for temperance it hatyth;
Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche; 20
for a mesurable mene is best for vs alle. Explicit.

¹ MS ? querne.

The MS, Harl. 1304, up to leaf 99, contains Lydgate's *Life of the Virgin Mary*. Leaf 100 begins the "*Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke*"; and leaf 103 contains the *Abce* above, and finishes the MS.

Proverbs of Good Counsel.

[Harl. MS 2252, leaf 3.]

PROVERBUS.

Be charitable to the needy;	At owur begynny[n]ge, god be owur spede	
	In grace & vertue to prosede !	
	Be petuus & eke merciabyH ;	
	To nedy folke be CherytabyH.	4
do well, and fear no man.	A man with-owte mercy, of mercye shall mys ;	
	& he shaH haue mercy þat mercifuH ys.	
	By mercye & mekenes all thyng chevythe,	
	by foly & hate, AH wysdom ¹ Remevythe.	8
	The beste wysdom þat I Can,	
	ys to doe weH, & drede no man.	
	He þat yn yowþ ^e no vertue wyll vse,	
	In Age aH honour wyH hym Refuse.	12
Give true weight.	Spend no manus good in vayne,	
	For borowurd thyng wyll home Agayne.	
	gyve thow trewe weyghite, mete, & measure,	
	And then shall grace with the Indure.	16
Hear both sides.	Be not to bold for to blame,	
	leste þou be found in the same ;	
	And yff on party wold fayne be Awreke,	
	yet man of Ryghte here þ ^e toper party speke.	20
	over þ ⁱ hed loke thowe never hewe ;	
	poverte hathe but frendis fewe.	

¹ This *m̃* is generally used for the old *mer* ; but here it is used for a curly-tailed *m*, and the mark of contraction has no value, I think.

- Whoo-so of welthe takythe no hede,
 he shall fynde fawte In tyme of nede.
 þis world ys mvtabyH, so saythe sage,
 þerfor gader or thow fall in Age.
 Kepe not þⁱ tresure aye Closyd in mew ;
 suche old^e tresure wyll þ^e shame ynowe.
 whate prophytis plente & grete tresure,
 & in povertē A wreche Alway to endure ?
 Man, sobyrly þⁱ howse begyn,
 & spende nomore then þou mayste wyn,
 for A nyse wyfe, & A backe dore,
 Makyth oftyⁿ tymus A ryche man pore.
 Wysdomⁿ stondyth not all by speche ;
 A wyfull shrew can noman teche.
 he hathe wysdomⁿ at hys wyll
 þat can with Angry harte be styll.
¹lett never þⁱ wyH þⁱ wytt over-lede ;
 whate man þou serue, Alway hyⁿ drede,
 and hys good as þⁱne Awne spare ;
 be lowly & seruysabyH, & love hys welfare.
 And yf þou wylte be owt of sorow & care,
 hyt ys to kepe & Refrayne þⁱ Tonge,
 for þis lernyth Chyldren when they be yonge.
 [.]
² & ever in welth be ware of woo,
 Son, yf þou wyste whate thyng hyt were,
 Connyngē to lerne, & with þ^e to bere,
 Thow wold^e not myspend^e on howre ;
 for of all Tresure, Conny[n]ge ys flowur.
 yf þou wylte leve in peas & Reste,
 here, & see, & sey the beste.
 where ever þou be, in bowur or haH,
 be mery, honeste, & lyberaH.
 Beware, my son, ever of ' had-I-wyste ' ;
- 24 Earn money in
your youth,

but don't be a
miser
28

32 A foolish wife and
a back door pooren
a man.

36

40 Be true and
humble to your
master.

44 Bridle your
tongue.

48
Misspend not
an hour.
Get Knowledge,
the flower of all
treasures.
52

56 Be merry and
liberal.

¹ This line is put two lower in the MS.

² This line is put one lower in the MS.

	hard ys to know whom on may trust[e]; A tr[u]sty frende ys hard to fynde, none ys more foo þen on vnkynd[e].	
Don't be too anxious about anything.	Care not to myche for ony thyng, Thowghte wyll þ ^e sone to erþ ^e brynge. serve god weH, & haue no drede, he wyll þ ^e helpe in tyme of nede ; drede owur lord god boþ ^e nyght & day,	60 64
Don't swear.	Swere none othys in ernyste or pley ; for who so dothe,—screpture sayth soo,— þ ^e plage from hys howse shaH not go.	
Pray to God every dawn.	Erly in the dawns[n]ge of þ ^e day, my son, to god loke þat þou praye ; & ever haue in þ ⁱ memory for to seke hevyn moste besyly.	68
Choose good companions :	Acompany with them þat be oneste, and they wyll reporte of þ ^e þ ^e beste, As for þis proverbe dothe specify,	72
"Like will to like."	"lyke wyll to lyke in eche company." grace & good maners makyþ ^e A man ; woo may he be þat no good Can !	76
Virtue and Knowledge are better than Riches. Don't be moody.	Better ys to have vertu & Connyng, þan to be lewde with Ryches of A kyng. hevy of þ ⁱ herte loke þou not be ; let honeste Company Comfort the. yf þou be trobyllyd with ynconvenyens, arme þ ^e alway with Inward pacyens ;	80
Associate with the wise.	Invre þ ^e with them þat byn wyse, then to Ryches thow shalt Aryse.	84

How to rule one's Self and one's House.

[*Harl. MS 787*,¹ leaf 9.]

Temperance.	Domus.
1 Be humble in thyne owne sight.	Seeke thy wife for uertue onely.
2 Mistrust thyne owne judgment.	Seeke noe Match aboue thy degree.
3 Be in gesture & behauiour comely ;	Liue together in <i>the</i> feare of God.
4 In Apparell, neyther curious nor costly.	Loue, & liue with her in peace.
5 Thinke nothing uncomly which is honest, for nothing is comely <i>that</i> is not honest.	Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge ;
6 Be temperate in dyett.	Teach <i>them</i> to knowe & feare God ;
7 Be moderate & honest in Expences.	Keep them in due obedyence ;
8 Be neuer idle, but euer well busied.	Nourish <i>them</i> not in delicacye,
9 Remember how precious a thing tyme is, & spend it thereafter.	Gouerne thy House in order, for in disorder noe House may stand.
10 Liue within thy compass.	Provide before hand, & order thy Expences : so shall thy House continue.
11 Exceed in nothinge.	Keep hospitallity amonge thy Neighbours, but neuer aboue thy power.
12 Be spare of wordes.	Spare in tyme, & spend in tyme.
13 In serious things, thinke first, and speake after.	
14 Speake well of all, euill of none.	
15 Speak neuer uainly.	
16 Speake neuer untruly.	

¹ The MS has a late title : "Seuerall papers found in Mr Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury." 1601 is the latest date I see in the volume.

Good Advice to a Gouvernour.

[Harl. MS 787, leaf 123, back.]

1. Take not all *that* you can gett, nor doe all *that* you may. For there is noe greater danger to a Noble man, then to let slippe *the* Raines of his lust, & not to restraints them with *the* stronge Bitt of Reason.

2. Let noe Ambicion entangle *your* mynde, for her nature is to ouerthrow her self. Let all untruth be farre from you, *that* your thoughts be not able to accuse *your* Conscience. Soe use *your* Riches as they be receyued into *your* House, but not into *your* heart; for where Couetousness raigneth, there noe other uice is longe absent.

3. Beware *that* in all things *which* concerne your Honour, Person, & Substance, you put not fortune in trust. For he *that* is wise will neuer hazard *that* danger, wening to haue remedy at her handes.

4. In strange affaires goe not too nigh *the* bottome; and in your owne, doe not streyne or enforce tymes. For, demeaning you soe, you may remaine as you now be, or else you may happe to remember what you were.

5. The danger of Noblemen is, *that* they can not descend, but fall. To the defence whereof nature ordeyneth *the* best Freinds. Therefore perseuere in amity with such as will rather stay you from falling, then sett to theyr hands to helpe you up.

6. Be more carefull of Conscience then of Honour, & doe well till you can noe more; but neuer doe euill, though you may.

7. Let not cruelty, but mercy & pittie ouercome you. For *the* tears & Complaints of *the* wronged will come to Gods presence for your Correccion, & to *the* Princes eares for your discreditt.

8. In *the* Offices *that* you bestowe, haue rather before *your* Eyes *the* worthy then your Freinds. For, amonge your Freinds, depart your Goods, but not your Conscience.

9. In *that* you counsell, be not affectionate: in *that* you discoursell, be not passionate: in *that* you commande, be not absolute. In whatsoeuer you doe, be neyther hasty nor disadvised; for *the* faults be yours, but *the* Iudgment is *the* worlds. And *the* greater *the* man is, *the* more is he noted.

10. If you will not swerue in your Counsell, nor stumble in *your* Actes, nor fall from *that* you haue, then fauour him *that* telleth you *the* truth, yea, though it be displeasing; & abhorre him *that* telleth you any untruth, seem it neuer soe pleasant. For you ought rather to loue him *that* aduiseth you now, then those *that* will make semblance to pitty you hereafter.

Finis.

Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen,

A.D. 1577.

[*Lansdowne MS 98, art. 2, leaf 8: follows Queene Elizabethes
Achademy.*]

Aduertisementes and counsaillies verie necessarye for all noble men
and counsaillors gathered owt of Divers Authours, bothe Italian
and spanish. 1577.

1. Tell not all that yo^w thinke, nor showe all that yo^w have, nor
take all *that* yo^w Desire, nor saie all *that* yo^w knowe, or do all *that*
yo^w can; for lightlie shall he lose the favour of his prince *that*
followeth the comaundement of his lustes *and* restryneth not them
with the bitt of reason.

2. Beware yo^w put not fortune in trust with those things *that*
apperteyneth to *your* person, honnour, substance, or conscience;
for the noble man *which* is wise will not Hasarde him self in hope to
have relief at her *handes* as often as he shall nede.

3. Although all men promyse to helpe yo^w yf yo^w had neade, yet
nevertheles, trust not too muche thereunto; manie of them *which*
nowe do offer to take Armour for *your* sake, yf occasion be offered,
will be the fyrst to stryke yo^w, to gyve yo^w the overthrowe.

4. In other mens cawses meddle not to much, nor in *your* owne
enforce not tyme; for governinge yo^w so, yo^w maie remaine in *that*
good estate yo^w be, or els maie easilie happen yo^w to remember what
yo^w were.

5. The daunger of noble men is like to them *that* be in the toppe
of high and sharpe mountaines, whence they cannot descende, but
fall. Wherefore, procure vnto *your* self suche faithfull frendes as
will rather staie yo^w from fallinge, then suche as wold reche vnto yo^w
their *handes* to helpe yo^w vp when yo^w be Downe.

6. Do good whiles yo^w have poure thereunto, and never do hurte though^e yo^w maie ; for the Teares of the offended, and *the* compleintes of the greved, maye one daie have place in the sight of god, to move him to chastise yo^w, and be also occasion to make the prince to hate yo^u.

7. Bestowe *your* benefittes and offices rather vpon the good, then vpon *your* frendes ; for amonges *your* frendes it is lawefull to departe *your* goodes, but not *your* censure.

8. In *that* yo^w counsaill, be not affectionat : in *that* yo^w discourcell, be not passionate : what soever yo^w do, do aduisedly ; for although in the Courtes of princes every man beholdeth the worthines and nobilitie of the person, yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. Yf yo^w will not Erre in *your* counsailes, nor stamble in *your* actes, imbrace them *that* tell yo^w trueth, and hate them *that* flatter yo^w ; for muche more ought yo^w to love them *that* adviseth yo^w nowe, then those *that* will seame to pitie yo^w when yo^w are in Daunger.

10. Have alwaies in memory the benefittes yo^w have receaved of others, and enforce *your* self to forgett suche iniuries as others have Don vnto yo^w.

11. Esteeme muche *that* litle of *your* owne, and regarde not thaboundaunce of other.

12. Indevour *your* self to do good to all men, and never speke eve^r of them *that* be absente.

13. Ieopardie not the losse of many thinges for the gaine of one thinge, neither adventure the losse of one thinge certē for manie thinges Dovtfull.

14. Make muche of *your* dearest frendes, and do not procure anie Enemies.

15. ¹ Exalte not the riche Tyraunte, neither abhore the pooer which is righteouse.

16. Denye not iustice vnto the pooer, because he is pooer ; neither pardoñ the riche because he is ryche.

17. Do not good onelie for love, neither chastice onelie for hatred.

¹ This paragraph has been marked through.

18. In Evident causes abyde not the counsaillies of others, *and* in Dovtfull cawses Determyne not of *your* self.

19. suffer not synne vnponished, nor well-doing without rewarde.

[leaf 9] 20. Denie not Iustice to him *that* asketh, nor mereye to him *that* deserueth it.

21. Chastise¹ not when thou arte Angrye ; neither promyse anie thinge in thy myrthe.

22. Do eveH to no mañ for malice, neither commyt anie vice for covetousn[ess].

23. Open not thy gate to flatterers, nor thy eares to backbyters.

24. Becomē not proude in thi² prosperitie, nor desperate in thyne aduersitie. stody alwaies to be loved of good meñ, *and* seeke nat to be hated of the EveH.

25. Be favorable vnto the pooer, *which* maie be litle, yf thou wylt be ayded of god against them *that* be mightie.

¹ ? MS Chastice

² MS this

The Sage Fool's Testament.

(A SATIRE ON THE ILL DOINGS OF LORDS AND
THEIR SERVANTS.)

[*Harl. MS 2252, leaf 85, ? ab. 1475 A.D.*]

There was A grete lorde þat had A Sage fole, the whyche he lovyd Marvaylous well, Be Cawse of hys pastyme. And the Fole in lyke wyse lovyd well hys lorde A-Bove All hother. And at lenthe the lorde desesyð, for the whyche the fole was in grete sorow. And the sonne of þis lorde had All hys faders possesyons, & was lorde after hys¹ fadyr, & he lovyd hys fole in lyke wyse as hys fadyr dyde. And with-in A yere or ij^e After, Thys sage fole Fyll Seke, & made hys Testamente: And Bequethyd hys sowle to the devyß, And hys body to be Beryed in the Chyrche yerde; And hys Folyß hode he bequethed to hys lordis Steward, & hys Babyß to hys lordis Amner. And to hys lorde he Bequete All hys money þat he had gaderyd in Bothe hys lordis seruyce./ And when the lorde had knowlege herof./ [he] Marvaylyd therof, & whate þat he mente therbye. And the lorde wente to see the sayd fole. And Askyd hym 'why he gave hys Sowle to the devyß And all hothe[r] legacyes in hys wyll.' The Fole Answeryd the lorde & sayd: "I haue lovyd so well your fadyr, þat I Covett & Dessyre to be in hys Company

A Lord loves his Fool,

and dies.

The Lord's son loves the Fool too.

The Fool falls sick, and makes his Will: gives
1. his soul to the Devil,

2. his hood to the Steward,
3. his bable to the Almoner,
4. his money to his Lord's son,

1. because his dead Lord's in hell, and he wants to join him.

¹ MS hyr.

2. because the
Steward won't
hear the poor.

3. because the
Almoier beats the
poor with his
staff.

4. because all the
son's money, and
the Fool's too,

will not repair the
wrongs the old
Lord did.

Above All thyngis, for he lovycð me so weH./ And I know weH þat he ys in heH; wherfor I wolde be with hym./ And I gyve to my lady *your* wyffe my Bedde, be Cawse þat she myghte lye on hyt; for now she lyethe so softe, þat hyt ys All-moste none every day or þat she Ryse. And to *your* Steward, my hode; be Cawse hyt hathe iiij erys. for where ye put All *your* truste in hym, to pay *your* Credytour & the pore pepyH, he may not here. And to *your* Amner, my BabyH: Be Cawse when he delyueryth *your* Almys A-monge the pore pepyH, they prese on hym, & thene he betis them with hys Staffe, þat the Blode Ron Abowte there erys; & my babyll ys Softer. And, my lorde, to yow I geve All my money þat I haue gatheryd, bothe in *your* seruyse & my lord *your* fadyrs, to geve in *Almus*." "Whye," seyð the lorde, "thowe knoweste þat I haue money more then thou." Then sayð the fole "All that money þat ye haue, & I to, wyll not Restore the wronge þat *your* fader hathe don, whyche ys in heH. And thedyr ye goe with-owte Amendment; & therfor I geve yow AH my money."

[The next piece in the MS is the *Le Morte Arthur*, in a hand of ab. 1440 A.D., that I edited for Messrs Macmillan a few years ago. Mr Panton had previously edited it for the Roxburghe Club.]

Lydgate's Order of Fools:

IN NUMBER THREESCORE AND THREE.

A COPY of this Poem, with three additional stanzas, but with a different concluding one from that of the present copy, was printed by Mr Halliwell in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society. The scarcity of that volume, and the certainty that this print will reach many eyes that have not seen the Percy Society's volume, induce me to print the following poem, though most of its differences from the Harleian MS 2251 that Mr Halliwell followed, are for the worse. As fools have not died out of the world, it may be both interesting and useful to compare the notions of 1460 about them, with those of 1869.

[*Cott. MS Nero A vi., leaf 193 back ; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.*]

The ordre of folys ful [yore ago] ¹ begonne,	
Nwly professyd, encreasithe ² the couente ;	
Bacus and Iuno hath set abroche a tonne,	
[And] Brouthe the[r] braynys vn-to exigente,	4
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente ;	
Noumbre of thys frary, iij score and iij,	
Echone registred be grete avysement,	
Endosyd theyre patente that they shale neuer the.	8
Chyffe of folis, men yn bokys redythe,	Fool, No. 1.
Able yn hys foly to holde residence,	
Ys he that nowther god louethe nor dredethe, ³	Fool, No. 2.
Nor to his chyrche hathe none aduertence,	12

¹ ? MS tuore. ² h is printed he : cp. 'lythe,' l. 39.

³ ? MS dredethe

- Fool, No. 3. Nor to his seyntes dothe none reuerence,
 Fool, No. 4. And [hathe] dysdeyne to folke yn pouerte,
 Fool, No. 5. To fadyr and moder dothe none benyuolence :
 A-sele hys patent, for he shal neuer the. 16
- Fool, No. 6. The vj fole thys Frary to begynne,
 More than a fole, braynles *and* wode,
 Ys he that neuer wul forsake synne,
 Fool, No. 7. Nor he þat can nought, nor lerne wul no goed, 20
 Fool, No. 8. Nor he þat hathe too faces yn on hode
 May be enrollyd yn þys fraternyte,¹
 Fool, No. 9. Cherle of condicion, and borne of gentil blode,
 May clayme of righte þat he shal neuer the. 24
- Fool, No. 10. The x fole may hoppe vp-on the rynge,
 Fote al aforne, *and* lede ryghte the dawnce ;
 He þat al yewythe,² *and* kepethe hym selfe no thyng.
 Fool, No. 11. þ° double herte, feyre feynd countenawnce 28
 Fool, No. 12. A pretens³ face treble yn hys dalyaunce,
 Fool, No. 13. Tonge spreynthe *with* suger, the galle kepte secrete,
 Fool, No. 14. A perilous mouthe ys wors þan spere or launce, 31
 Thought they be cheryssed, god lete hym neuer the.⁴
- Fool, No. 15. A Face vnstabyl, gasyng est and sowthe,
 Fool, No. 16. *With* loude laughtrys entrithe⁵ langage,
 Gapithe as a roke, abrode gothe Lowe *and* mowthe
 Lyke a Iay enfamynyd yn hys cage, 36
 Fool, No. 17. Malaparte of chere and of wysage,
 Fool, No. 18. Comethe to counsel or he callyd be,
 Fool, No. 19. Of eche þyng medelythe ; hysthryfte lythe yn morgage ;
 Auant a knawe ! for he shal neuer the. 40
- In the boke of prudence cypryane,⁶
 Whyche callyd ys " a gardeyne of hys flowres,"

¹ MS *fraternyte*² giveth³ ? MS.⁴ Harl. 2251 has another stanza before the next.⁵ *vttrithe*. Harl.⁶ H. prudent Cipiouñ.

He seythe a pulter þat sellythe a fatte swanne Fool, No. 20.

For a gosselyng, þat grasethe on bareyne clowrys, 44

And he þat castythe hys cloke yn showrys Fool, No. 21.

Oute of the tempest whan he may flee,

Or whan þat spado lowythe paramours, Fool, No. 22.

[Is oon] of hem that shalle neuer the. 48

[And he also, that holt hymself so wise,] Fool, No. 23.

Whyche yn workyn[g] hath non experiens,

Whos chaunce gothe nether yñ synke or syse, Fool, No. 24.

With ambes ase encessithe hys dispence, 52

A Foltysse face, rude of eloquence, Fool, No. 25.

Bostys with borias, and [at] a brownte wul flee ;

Betwene wolle and gossomer is a grete difference ;

Stuffe of a chappman that ys not like to the. 56

I rede also of othyr folis too,

Thynge to chalange to whyche he hathe no ryghte ; Fool, No. 26.

And he yn trowthe a more fole ys al so, Fool, No. 27.

Whyche alle requirethe that commethe yn hys sighte ;

And he ys a fole whyche [to] euery wyghte 61 Fool, No. 28.

Tellethe hys counselle and hys pryuyte :

Who sekythe werre, and hathe hym selfe no myghte, Fool, No. 29.

Hit were meruelle þat euer he shuld the. 64

Another fole with counterfete wesage Fool, No. 30.

Ys he þat falsluy wul fage¹ and feyne,

Whedyr that he be olde or yynge² of age,

Seythe he ys syke, and felythe no maner payne ; 68

And he þat dothe hys owne wyfe disseyne,³ Fool, No. 31.

And holdythe another, of what asstate he be,

With othyr folis enbrace hym yn the cheyne,

A warantyse for he shal neuer the. 72

Of thys frary mo folys to expresse,

He that ys to euery man contrary,

¹ flater. *Harl.*

² MS þynge

³ disdayne. *Harl.*

- Fool, No. 32. And he þat bostyth of hys cursidnes,
 Fool, No. 33. And he also that dothe prolonge and tarie 76
With faire [be]hestis, fro hys promys to warye ;
 Beseluy to telle I can no noþer see,
 He ys like a fugetyf þat fleth to santuarie
 For drede of hangyng, for he shal neuer the. 80
- Fool, No. 34. He ys a fole eke, as senek seythe,
 That long delaythe hys purpose to spede.
 Fool, No. 35. A gretter fole ys he þat brekythe hys feythe ;
 Fool, No. 36. And he ys a fole þat no sh[ame dothe] dre[de], 84
 Fool, No. 37. And he that hotythe, and faylythe hys frynde at nede,
 Whos promys braydythe on duplicite ;
 A hardy mouse that ys bolde to brede
 In cattis erys ; þat brode shal neuer the 88
- Fool, No. 38. And he ys a fole þat yeuythe al-so credens
 To nwe rumoris and euery foltishe fable ;
 Fool, No. 39. A dronglew fole þat sparythe for no dispence
 To drynk a-taunte til he slepe at þ^e tabille ; 92
 Fool, No. 40. Among al folis þat fole/ is most culpabulle
 That ys cursyd, and hathe therof deynte ;
 Fool, No. 41. A pore be[ge]re, to be vengeable,
 [Withe] purs penyles, may neuer the 96
- Fool, No. 42. And he þat holdythe a quarel a-yenst righte,
 Hold[yng]¹ hys purpose styburne a-geyn reson ;
 Fool, No. 43. And he ys a fole þat ys ay gladde to fighte,
 And to debate sekethe occasioun ; 100
 Fool, No. 44. Abyde so long to he be betyn downe,
 Dronkyn, lame, þat he may not flee ;
 Fool, No. 45. And who so reioysethe to soiorne in prisoun,
 Enrolle hym vppe, for he shal neuer the. 104
- Fool, No. 46. A lusty galant þat weddythe a olde wiche
 For grete tresoure, be-cause hys purse ys bare ;

¹ MS Holde.

- A hungrey hunter þat holdythe hym ¹ A biche Fool, No. 47.
 Nemyll of mouthe for to mordyr A hare ; 108
 Nyghte riotours ² þat wil no waryn spare, Fool, No. 48.
 Wythe-uten licens or eny liberte,
 Tyl sodyn perel bryng hem yn þ^e snare,
 A preperatif þat þey shal neuer the. 112
- Who dothe amysse, or lawghethe hym selfe to skorne, Fool, No. 49.
 Or com to counsel or þat he be callyd, Fool, No. 50.
 Or lowde lawghys whan he dothe ³ morne, Fool, No. 51.
 Amonge foles of riȝt he may be stallyd ; 116
 [That] purposithe hys wyage whan hys hors ys gallyd, Fool, No. 52.
 [And] pluckethe of hys shone toward hys iorney, Fool, No. 53.
 Forsakythe fresshe wyne, And drynkythe Ale Apallyd ; Fool, No. 54.
 Suche foltishe taste, ⁴ god let hem neuer the. 120
- And he þat is a riatter al hys life, Fool, No. 55.
 And [hathe] hys felow and hys neghbor yn dispite, Fool, No. 56.
 And wondythe hym selfe with hys owne knyfe, Fool, No. 57.
 Of j. candyl wenethe ij. were lighte, 124
 Slepethe on the day and wacchis al þ^e nyghte ;
 Alle masse be done long or he redy be ;
 Suche I may clayme, be very titul of riȝte,
 To be a brothyr of hem þat shal neuer the. 128
- Who holdythe hys tresoure þat he wissethe, Fool, No. 58.
 And gaderithe hym gossomer to packe hytfor hys wolle,
 And he ys a fole afore the nette þat fysshes, ⁵ Fool, No. 59.
 And he ys a fole þat dothe Federys pulle 132 Fool, No. 60.
 Of fat caponys vp mwyd to the fulle,
 Hath no thyng but bonys for hys fee ;
 N[u]llatensis a-sesythe ⁶ hath hys bulle
 To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the, 136
- When þat gander grasythe on þ^e grene, Fool, No. 61.
 The sleyghty fox dothe hys brode beholde,

¹ houndithe on. *Harl.*

² motoners. *Harl.*

³ laughyng. whan that he shuld. *Harl.* ⁴ foolis. *Harl.*

⁵ dothe wisshithe. *Harl.*

⁶ ensealed. *Harl.*

He takythe the fatte [and] cast a-way the lene,
 And [sigrums]¹ chefe wardyn of the folde, 140
 Takythe to hys lard[er] at what pryse þey be solde,
 Grettest lamber, on or to, to or iij.;
 [In wynter n]ythys the frostis be so colde,
 The shepard slepyth; god let thym neuer the! 144

Fool, No. 62.

[A fo]ryn² likenes whych shal no man displece,
 [By] a strange vncouthe comparisoun,
 [W]hen the belwedyr pasturythe at hys ese,
 [T]how alle the flocke hawe but smal foysoun, 148
 [S]lepethe at leyser, makythe noyse none nor soune,
 [Ca]rethe for no more so he haue plente:
 [A]l tho þat make suche a departysowne
 [A]mong her suggettis, god lett hem neuer the! 152

Fool, No. 63.

With ful wombe þey prechyd of Abstinence,
 Ther botel Fyllyd of freshe wyne or ale,
 Loue rownyng, loutyng *and* reuerence,
 Nwe fals reporte *with* many glosyng tale; 156
 The Iay more cherychyð þan the nyȝtyngale,
 Tabourers *with* her duplicite
 Plesithe more þys days, when stuffyd ys þer male
 Farsed *with* flateryng; god let hem neuer the! 160

³[L]ete thys frary a confirmacioun,
 [And] som worthy byshoppe nullatence,
 [And] graunten hem a general pardoun
 [And] a patent to be-gyn her dispence, 164
 [Er]ly *and* late to walke *with* licence
 [With] opyn walet frely en eche countre,
 [He]r bul enselyd, concludyng in sentence 167
 [Th]at none of al þys ordyr ys neuer like to the. Amen.

¹ Harl.² A foreyn. Harl.³ Pared off. Harl. 2251 has three different stanzas for this last one.

A Prophecy, &c.

[*Additional MS 8151, leaf 200, back ; at the end of
William of Nassington's 'Mirror of Life,' and in the
same hand as that.*]

¶ De propheta.

¶ Whene pryde is moste in prys,
Ande couetyse moste wys,
Ande luccchery moste in vse,
þefe maade reue,
þenne schaff englonde mys-chewe.

When England
shall come to
grief.

4

[What can man possess ?]

þat .I. ete *and* þat .I. drynke, þat may .I. haue ;
þat .I. lene fals mene, longer .I. may hyt craue ;
þat .I. dele for my soule, þat may .I. fynde ;
þat .I. lefe my sekatores, þat is longer by-hynde.

8 Gifts to God
come back.

All hyt is fantome þat we wibe fare,
Ande for opere mennes goode is all oure care ;
Alle come we hyder nakude *and* bare,
Whenne we heþene passe, is þere no mare.

12 Naked we came,
naked we go.

[Alls of our time. See p. 88.]

Gyfte is domusmane,
Gyle is chapemane ;
Lordes bene lawles,
Chyldere bene awles ;
Wysemene are blynde,
Deþe is oute of mynde,
Cosyns bene vnkynde,
A goode sykere frende is yuell to fynde ;
Ande euere, in weele *and* in woo,
þenke one þe ioy þat lasteþe for oo.

Bribery is Judge,

16

children aweless,

20

sure friends
are scarce.

What shall I do?

(A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE UNKINDNESS AND
BASENESS OF FALSE FRIENDS.)

[*Egerton MS 1624, leaf 1, ? ab. 1470 A.D.*]

als I me sat my self allon, in my hart makand ¹ my mon, I said "allas, my gammys ar gon ! qwat sal I do ? that I most trayste, it is all waste ! sor may me rew !	4
My hert was set ful stedfastly on <i>tham</i> <i>that</i> noȝt was set on me ; <i>thus</i> am I sted ful heuely. god lord, qwat sal worth of me ? qwat sall I do &c'	8 12
I wold fayn lof w[<i>ith</i>]out verraunce <i>tham</i> <i>that</i> my hert I haf gyffyn to : it wyllnot be, for no kyn chauns, <i>that</i> I can audur say or do. v[t] supra	16

¹ This *-and*, with the *qwat*, *sall*, *haf*, *lof*, *thai* *puttis*, point to a Northern writer.

- deer god ! qwat may *this* mene ?
 qwy is *this* ward¹ *thus* fals to me ?
 I am *the* creatur *that* il kan fene 20
 any falsed or trechere :
 qwat sall I do ? &c'
- with* care my hert is vmbe-set ;
 qwat I sal do I cannot say ; 24
tham for to lof I cannot let,
that me has brogħt vn- to *this* fray :
 [qwāt sal I do ?] &c'
- wold god *that* I war brogħt in clay ! 28
 ful hard it is *this* lyf to lede !
 I pray god qwyttē *tham* nyȝt and day,
that me *thus* make to haue *this* nede !
 [qwāt sal I do, &c] 32
- god wot, ȝit was I neuer vnkynd
 to *tham*, ne ȝit to non of *thayrs* ;
ther was neuer non so mykyll² in my mynde,
 qwo^t so I haue don to *tham* and *thers*. 36
 [qwāt sal I do, &c]
- that* *thai* me puttis *thus* out of mynde,
 qwat *that* *thai* men I wold fayne wytte.
 god wot I was neuer ȝit vn-kynde, 40
 of no thyng *that* *thai* hafter³ me ȝit.
 [qwāt sal I do ?
 that I most trayste,
 it is all waste ! 44
 sor may Me rew !]

¹ world.² MS mylkyll.³ This word is doubtful—qⁿ, or q^u with a long curl to the u, has been written under it, and the curl carried into the aft. *Hasked*, for *asked*, was no doubt meant.

Ylls of our Time.

(A better copy than that on p. 85. The stops are those
of the MS.)

[Harleian MS 2251 (? in Shirley's hand), leaf 153.]

¶ <i>Munus fit</i> ¹ <i>Iudex. fraus est mercator in vrbe</i> <i>Non lex est dominis. nec timor est pueris</i>	
¶ Yift is made. domesman	
Gyle is made. chapman	4
Lordes ben lawles	
And children ben awles	
¶ <i>Ingen</i> [i] <i>um dolus est. amor omnis cera</i> ² <i>voluptas</i> <i>Ludus rusticitas. et gula festa dies.</i>	8
Witte is tourned. to trechery	
Love is tourned. to lechery	
Pleye is tourne[d] to vilany	
And haliday. to gloteny	12
¶ <i>Etas ridetur. mulier pulsatur amore</i> <i>Dives laudatur. pauper</i> ³ <i>adheret hvmō</i>	
Olde men. ben skorned	
Wymmen. ben wowed	16
Riche men. bien pleasid	
And pore men. ben diseasid	
¶ <i>Prudentes ceci. cognati degeneres sunt</i> <i>Mortuus Ignotus. nullus amicus amat</i>	20
Wise men. bien blynde	
And kynrede. is vnkynde	
The dede is. out of mynde	
Triew friende. can noman fynde.	24

¹ MS sit ² ? for certa or mera. ³ MS paupere

The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V.,

24 FEB., 1421.¹

[*MS Addit.* 18,752, leaf 162.]

*Thetramamaton.*²

THE CORONACION OFF *THE* QWENE.

THE QWENES BORDE THE DAY OFF THE CORONACION.

On *the* ryght hond of the qwene, the Erchebysshope off *Canterbury* // The Bysshope off *Wynchester* // On the lyfte hond off the qwene / The kyng off *Scottes yn A State* // At the End off the qwene-ys borde / The duchesse of *yorke*, The Cowntes off *hunthyngton* // Vnder the borde. / wayting on the Qwene / The Cowntes off *kente*, The count[e]z marchall // On the ryght syde of the qwene knelyd / The Erle of *the marche* holdyng *the* Ceptre And on the lyfte syde knelyd / *the* Erle off *Stafford* holdyng the yarde //

The Secownd Borde of *the* ladys

The cowntes off *Stafford* // The Cowntez off *marche*. The Cowntez off *Arundell* // The Cowntez off *Westmorland* The Cowntez off *Northumburland* // The cowntez off *Oxonford* The lady *Nevyle* // My lady *Ione Somersett* // My lady *Moumbrey*, doughtere off *the* Erle *MarchaH* // My lady *Margarete Somersett* // The lady *Roos* // The lady *Clyfforde*, The lady *Burgeveny* // The lady *Talbott* // The lady *Wylloby* // The lady *Mawley* // *Alice Neveff*, wyffe to *sir Richard Neyle* // The *Mayde Grey*, doughter to *the* lord *Grey* // Oon of *the* doughters of *Westemoreland* // The lordes doughtere *fythzhug* // ij *Susters of the* lord *Wylleby*.

THE SECONDE DAY AFTER THE CORONACION

ATT THE QWENE-YS BORDE

The Duchesse off *yorke* // The Countesse off *huntyngton* //

Att the Second borde.

The Cowntez off *Stafforde* // The Cowntez off *March*, The Cowntez off *kente* // The cowntez off *Arundell*, The Cowntez *Marchall* /

And othere ladys afture the Cowrs of the day a-flore-Seyde //

¹ *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 11848-53, printed 1868, p. 145.

² So in MS.

Courses of a Dinner and Supper giben to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornwett.

[Additional MS 18,752, leaf 162, back.]

Hoc festum fecit dominus Iohannes Cornewett Regi Anglie // ²

A

[The rest of the page is blank.]

[leaf 163]

Thetragramaton ³

In prandio

The 2. course

ffrumenty with veneson ⁴	} primus	Nonbles ⁶	} 2 ^{us} .
Blawmanger ⁵		Gelee ⁷	
Beffe and Moton		ffesaunte	
Signetys		pygg	
Capons off haute grece		kydde	
vele		Pygeons	
heronseux		Partryeches	
venyson y-bake		venyson roste	
leche floree		Crustades ⁸ blanc; bake	
		leche dalmayn	
		Semaka ⁹ frye;	

¹ *Catal. of Addit. MSS, Brit. Mus.*, 1868, p. 145-6.

² The Additional MSS-Catalogue applies this heading to the piece before it, printed on p. 92 here, though the hand-writing and colour of the ink seem to connect the heading with what follows on the next leaf (163) of the MS. The whole of this piece on leaf 163 is in the same hand and ink as the Coronation, whilst the piece printed on p. 92 here is in paler ink and different writing,—earlier, as I think.

³ This is at the top of the page.

⁴ 'For to make Furmenty' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 91, "messe yt forthe wyth fat venyson and fresh moton." See also the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279. Pegge, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 157.

⁵ Recipe for 'Blonc Manger' in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 9; 'Blomanger' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 93.

⁶ Recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 16, 94; *H. Ord.*, p. 427; *Lib. C. Coc.*, p. 10.

⁷ Recipe for 'mete Gelee,' clear, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 103; 'Gele of Fyssh,' *ib.* p. 50; 'Gele of Flessh,' *ib.* p. 51. See *H. Ord.*, p. 437.

⁸ Recipe for 'Crustade' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 442.

⁹ 'On Flessh-Day . . At the seconde course . . a leche, and samakade, and bake mete,' *H. Ord.*, p. 450. See the recipe for *Sambocade*—curd, eggs, &c., flavoured with elder flowers: *Sambucus*, the Elder,—in *Forme of Cury*, p. 77.

The 3 course

Mameny ¹ ryall	}	3 ^{me}
Chare de wardon ²		
Rabetys		
Byteres ³		
Egretys		
Popelers ⁴		
Quayles		
Plouers		
Smañ byrdis ⁵		
larkes		
Payn pufte ⁶		
leche lumbarde ⁷		
Cryspes frye ⁸		

In Cena

Venyson on broche
 Creme boylle⁹
 Pygg in Sauge¹⁰
 Schuldres of Moton
 Capons of haute grece
 Heronseux
 Partrych
 Chekyns y-bake
 lete¹¹ lardes y-fryed

The last course

Colde Creme¹²
 Gele
 Venyson roste
 kyde roste
 Rabetis
 Pegeons
 Egretys
 Quayles
 Smañ byrdis
 Doucetis¹³ y-bake
 Leche damasque

Nota bene the coronacion yn the leffe nexte be-fore thus

¹ Recipes in *Forme of Cury*, p. 19, 88; *H. Ord.*, p. 430.

² ? Apple marmalade.

³ Bitterns. See 'Betowre' in *Babees Book* index.

⁴ *Popple*, to move quickly up and down, as a cork dropped on water. *Webster*.

⁵ See *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 36, l. 8.

⁶ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 450; *Forme of Cury*, p. 89.

⁷ Recipe in *H. Ord.*, p. 438; *Forme of Cury*, p. 36; *Babees Book*, Pt II, p. 95.

⁸ Recipes for 'Cryspes' and 'Cryspels' in *Forme of Cury*, p. 73; for 'Cryppys,' *ib.* p. 99.

⁹ Recipe for 'Crem Boyled' in *H. Ord.*, p. 447, p. 463.

¹⁰ 'Pigge en Sage' at the Earl of Devon's Feast in *Harl. Misc.*, No. 279. *Pegge*.

¹¹ See the recipes for 'Letlardys' (Leche Lardys), in *Liber Cure Coc.*, p. 13, and 'Leche Lardys' in *H. Ord.*, p. 439.

¹² On Flessh-Day . . . At the thridde cours, *colde creme*, and *gele* to potage; and therwith fylettes of *venyson*, roasted *pejons*, *egretys*, *partoriches*, *rabettes* and *qwales* . . . and *cuspis* and *doucettes*. *H. Ord.*, p. 450.

¹³ Recipe in *Babees Book*, p. 60; and see Index to *B. B.*

Courses of a Meal or Banquet.

[*MS Addit. Brit. Mus. No. 18752, leaf 162, back.*¹]

Grene pese, with venesoñ.	} 1 st cursus
Graunte chare. ²	
Capoñ of hawte grece.	
Signet. ³	
Blawnohe custarde, dyaburde with byrdys. leche maskelyñ.	

Roo in brothe. ⁴	} 2 nd cursus
Rosey. ⁵	
Kydde.	
Heronsewe.	
Mownter in manteñ.	
Chykyñ dyaburde. venesoñ y-bake. firuter lumbarde. leche rubby.	

Datys in composte.	} Suggearke [Sugar-work?]
Blawnohe creme, with annys in confete.	
Lardys of venesoñ.	
Rabbettis.	
Qwayle.	
larkys.	
Ryssshewes. ⁶ vyandys cowched with ryons. 1 leche of his Armyes.	

¹ In different ink and hand from the *Coronation*, page 89, above.

² A great joint. Cp. 'and therwith *gret flesh* weel roasted, and *chapon*, and *swan* roasted.' *Househ. Ord.*, p. 450.

³ cygnet, swanling.

⁴ See recipe in *Househ. Ord.*, p. 428; and 'Roo in a Sewe,' *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 23.

⁵ 'For to make Rosee,' *Forme of Cury*, p. 105, 108; 'Rosee,' *ib.* p. 31; 'Rose to potage' in *Household Ordinances*, p. 430; 'Rose' in *Lib. Cure Coc.* p. 13; 'Rose dalmoyne,' *ib.* p. 19.

⁶ Ryshews of Fruyt, in *Forme of Cury*, p. 82, No. 182. See too 'Rissheus' (of pork, eggs, &c.) in *Lib. C. Coc.* p. 39.

A Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

[*Harleian MS 6149, leaves 151—155, from a book of Sir William Cummyn's of Inverallochy, Marchmond Herald, ab. 1500 A.D.*]

THIS poem appears to have been composed late in the 15th century, by one of that unwise class of writers on Heraldry, who, not content with assigning to that science its proper place as a handmaid to History (which, by enabling the ownership and dates of various buildings, charters, monuments, &c., to be identified, the matrimonial alliances of noble families to be proved, &c. &c., it certainly is) by claiming for it a fabulous origin, and one so manifestly capable of disproof, brought the whole subject into such contempt and ridicule, that the study of it in later generations was almost entirely neglected. Such, in 1661 A.D., was Sylvanus Morgan, who ascribes arms to Adam, Eve, Joseph, &c.; and various others both in England and Scotland.—G. E. ADAMS. (The heraldic footnotes are Mr Adams's too.)

First as ¹the ert^h incresith populus,
So convalit variance *and* vicis,²

As people and
vices increase,

Amang men materis maliciouse,

So *that* few mycht laubour for discrepancis,
quhill nobilnes in armes, lordly pusancis,
and of heraldis *the* werschipful ordour,
Of quham I think to tret, set weyis sure.

4 few men work for
the distinctions
which heralds
deal with.

In weris of thebes, athenis, *and* troyis tounis,
with *otheris* mo of gret antiquiteis,

8 In the wars of
Thebes, Athens,
and Troy,
banners, &c.,
were borne by
nobles and others.

Banneris, standeris, gittovnis,³ pensalis, penonis,
borne by princis, nobillis, *and* commyniteis,

In ferre of werre, pes, or ony degreis,

12

I find *thai* war most merkis, as merchandis
Beris toknis or signetis on ther handis.

¹ *th* = *y* of MS.

² MS *vics* & variance

³ *Getoun*, a banner, properly 2 yards in length.—*Archæol.*
xxii. 397. See note, p. 29, above.

Afterwards, Quhill efter euer *the* langest leving men
 heris, speris, and lernis more felle *and* wit, 16
ingenious folk Diuerse folkis ingenyouse fyndene *thene*
 In well degest myndis considerit,
inspired by God, Be celestial inspiring part tuk it,
set Arms in To set armes in metallis *and* colouris, 20
figures of ffor seir causis bering sertyn figuris,

Sum sonne, sum monne, sum sternis, sum elementis,
beasts, birds, &c., Sum best, sum bird, sum fische, sum frut, sum flouris,
and mony mo siclik ; Sum *with* defferentis, 24
some like Nature Sum alterit, als sum in *ther* awin nature ;
and some not. Sum, not *the* hole, bot part in rasehit¹ figuris,
As my simplest consate sal suin mak clere,
With correctioun, *and* now quha likis heir. 28

In the Theban The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
war (which I wes at thebes, quhiche at lenth I did write,
wrote of at Quhare palamonne and arsiste, woundit there,
length) Palamon Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite, 32
and Arcite were Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot *that* I nyte,²
known by their ffor in *thai* dais heraldis war not create,
arms. Nor *that* armes set in propir estate.

After the siege Bot eftir *that* troy, quhar so many kingis war 36
of Troy (about Seging without, *and* other within the toune,
the knights at So many princis, knyghtis, *and* peple there,
which my Book as this my buk *the* most sentence did soune,
tells), all thocht spedful in o conclusioun, 40
nobles wore That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
marks to record *ther* douchtynes in dedis of armes schawin :
their doughtiness,

¹ Erased. See l. 168. 'In Heraldry, the Member of any Beast which seems torn from the Body, is called *Erased*.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*

² Deny. Chaucer is one of the 'sum' contradicted ; see his *Knightes Tale*, A. 1016-17, Ellesmere MS,

But by here Cote Armures / and by hir gere
The *heraudes* / knewe hem best in special

- The fader *the hole*, *the eldast son* deffer[e]nt,¹
 quhiche a *labelle* ; a *cressent the secound* ; 44 and the sons
 third a *molet* ; *the fourt a merl to tent* ; bore distinctions
 fift *anne aglot* ;² *the vj a flour had fond*, on their fathers'
 Clepit *delice*.³ *than fader* or we the *suld grond* arms.
 Armes to mo, gif *thai* be with difference 48
 As plesit him : *thus armes* begoñ frōm thenis.
- Than troy distroyit, *the werris endit, the lordis*
 I seir *landis* removit ; and so brutus
 (his lif and dait my buk efter *recordis*,) 52 After the
 Come in brutane with *folkis* *populus*, destruction of
 And brocht with him *this werly merkis* thus, Troy, Brutus
 quhiche *succedis* in armes to *this date* ; (whose life my
 Bot lang efter troy, *heraldis* war nocht creat. 56 Book tells)
 brought these
 marks into
 Britain.
- Mony *haldis* that gret *Iulius cesar*
 fand, and did mast be wit and *discrecioun*,
 how in *metallis* and *colouris* armes ar
 Now *propir* set with hie *perfectioun* 60 Many think
 In braid *feldis* to bere and to *blasoun*. Julius Cæsar was
 the first to blaze
 arms properly
 (see l. 204); and
 I think he was
 wise enough
 for it.
- Gold and siluer, ij *precieuse* *metallis* pure, 64 With gold and
 flour *colouris* bene *propir*, and the[r]-with mixt, silver are mixed

¹ These differences or distinctions of houses (which are only used in British heraldry) were invented about the time of Richard II. The eldest son (in the lifetime of his father) bears a label over the arms of his father ; the second son, a crescent ; the third, a mullet, i. e. spur-rowel ; the fourth, a martlet, the heraldic name of the house-marten ; the fifth an annulet (here called "aglot") ; the sixth, a fleur-de-lis ; the seventh, a rose ; the eighth, a cross moline ; the ninth, a double quarter-foil.

² *Aglot* = annulet. Richardson says *aglet* or *aiglet*, diminutives of *acus*, a point ; and quotes Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, b. 11, c. 3—who mentions a garment besprinkled "with golden *aygulets*." Query, If these were not *annulets*? *Aglot* in our text is certainly used for annulet. (But annulets were very rarely used as marks of cadency in Scottish heraldry, says a Scotch friend. See note, p. 103.)

³ de lys.

black, red, blue,
green; but not
purple.

Sable, goulis, asur, vert : *perpure*
the[r]-with¹ wnproper, as *proportis* the text ;
In it apperis diuerse colouris befixt, 68
therfor it is not o *propir* colour,
Bot sufferit so in armes of honour.

What precious
stones represent
the heraldic
metals and
colours.

To blasoune *therin* vertuys stanis, gold Is
more *precius* than oucht *that* ma be set. 72
In it bot stonne goldy, as *thopasis* ;
Siluer is perl ; sable, *diamond*² of det ;
Goulis, ruby ; asur, *the* saphir set ;
Vert, *emeraut* ; pu[r]pour, *the* amathis. 76
Tovny colour, sum *haldis* cassidone Is.

Silver and sable
are said to be the
richest arms.

Sum seis siluer *and* sable ar *the* richest,
ffior in *tho* two most *cristin* *and* hethin kingis
makis *and* brekis *ther* lawis As *thai* lust best ; 80
and quhen *thai* tak honour othir or sic thingis,
thai sit in sable *and* siluer *that* euery bringis ;
and of brutane³ *the* duk, bering *the* sammyñ,
Richast armes is, as I lernit am. 84

The Duke of
Brittany bears
them,

¹ I read it, "Gold and silver are two pure precious metals. There are four colours proper, and therewith mixed, viz. sable, gules, azure, and vert.—Purpure (to mix) therewith is improper, as says the text, &c."

Purple is very seldom used in English heraldry. It is nonsense, however, to say it is *improper* to use it, as it is quite good heraldry. A purple lion was borne by the De Lacy family, Earls of Lincoln, and is (accordingly) the arms of Lincoln's Inn.

'Proper' above means 'properly so called.' In blazoning the arms of nobles, the ancient heralds called "or," topaz ; "argent," pearl ; "sable," diamond ; "gules," ruby ; "azure," sapphire ; "vert," emerald ; and "purpure," amethyst. In all the books of *English* heraldry two other colours are allowed, viz. 'Tenné' or tawny, i. e. orange colour, and 'Sanguiné,' i. e. blood colour. There is, however, no instance of their occurrence.

² *Sable*, the Heralds Word for a black Colour in the Arms of Gentlemen ; but in those of the Nobility they call it *Diamond*, and in the Coats of Sovereign Princes *Saturn*. 'Tis expressed in Engraving by strokes drawn perpendicularly across.—*Gloss. Angl. Nova*. 1719.

³ The arms of Brittany were "Ermine," i. e. *white*, with *black* ermine spots.

- All writ in world most be as siluer and sable ;
 quhite leiff, blak Ink, *that* al kingis, for most part, and so do most
 Cristin and hethin, beris gold and siluer able kings.
 thing of riches riolest to aduert, 88
 and most noble, for no colouris astert
 So preciose as gold to set in it, Metals and
 ffor siluer [than] perll more riche to wit ; colours exceed
 in worth the
 precious stones
- Goullis, ruby ; asur, saphire excedis ; 92 that represent
 Vert, emerautis ; and amatist, purpur ; them.
 therof gold is moche rich in werely wedis.
 ffour thingis in armes brekis thaim in *ther* natur : Arms are broken
 Bendis, sic,¹ cheveroune, and barris² sure ; 96 Chevrons, and
 Bars.
 Thaim blason first, gif therin *the* feld be ;
 quhat euer he bere, and be it quarterlie.³
- Than to begin at colour in *the* rycht sid :
 and it is said, non armes may be cald 100 It is said that no
 propirly set, bot *therin* be to-gid arms are proper,
 Gold or siluer in *the* sammyn to behold.⁴ unless gold and
 And for repreve to blase, men wise be schuld. silver are in
 flour thingis in armes bot onys suld namyt be, 104 them.
 Onis of, onis in, onys withe, and onys to see ;
- Quhiche, gif he may forbere, it is *the* bet. Roundles have
 and als in armis ar sertene rondis,⁵ as ball, diverse names,

¹ ? fess, the *fece* of l. 113, which is another ordinary.

² Bends, chevrons, and bars are three of the somewhat numerous "ordinaries" so called from their frequent use. In "*blazoning*" (i. e. describing the coat in words) the ordinary is always mentioned before any other charge (such as bird, beast, &c.), that there may be in the arms. *Query*, What are the four things in the line above? only three are mentioned. Can "sic" be a mistake for "fess," which is another ordinary?

³ If the coat is quarterly, the colour (or metal) on the dexter side of the coat (i. e. that opposite one's left hand) is to be "*blazoned*" as the first.

⁴ Some say no arms are correct unless therein is either gold or silver.

⁵ In arms are certain Roundles, which, when gold, are called "*bezants*," when silver, "*plates*," when sable, "*pellets*," when gules, "*torteaux*," when azure, "*hurts*," when vert,

- according to
their colours. Metalis, colouris forsaid figourit *and* set, 108
Gold, besentis ; siluer, plateis to call ;
Sable, poletis ; goulis, tortes at al ;
Asur, hurtis ; verte, pomme ; wyndows,¹ purpur.
3hit four thingis longis to armis in colour, 112
- Of the Pale, That is, pales, bendis, feces, cheveronis.
perpale, evin douñ extendis through the myd feild ;
Fess, perfess, ourthwert from sid to sid it gonne Is ;
Bend, perbend, from rycht corner to left it held ; 116
Chevron, and
Baton. per cheveroune, part devid wnto iij the feild ;
Onne bastone is contrary to a bend :
The tonne frome left, the tother frome rycht sid tend.
- None but gentles
should wear
arms. Non bot gentillis suld cotis of armes were, 120
Cummyn of stok noble, or maid be kingis ;
3it fold² wil say of men hernest in gere,
Don't call armed
men 'men of
arms' unless they
are all 'gentle.'
"llo men of armis !" that is wntrew seyng,
bot al be gentil ; therfor see suthfast thing, 124
"llo armit men !" 3it to know neidful is
xv maneris of lionys in armys,
- Of the 15
kinds of Lions
in Heraldry. first, a lionne [statant] ; on-vthir, lyone rampand ;
Third, saliant ; the fourt, passand I-wis ; 128
the v. seand ; vj mordand ; vij euchand ;
the viij dormand ; the ix regardand is ;
The x endorsit ; xj copray schawis ;
The xij copy conter changit aduert ; 132
xiij in nomer [morné] ; xiiij, liouñ cower ;
And the xv combatand,³ als to see.
xv maner of crocis armis bere :

"pommès," when purple, "*golpes*,"—*Query*, in text called "windows." (Perhaps from the slanting parallel lines that represent purple in heraldry : compare the fourth meaning of "*window*" in Mahn's Webster, 'A figure formed of lines crossing each other [Rare] "Till he has *windows* on his bread and butter." *King*.'—F.)

¹ ? for 'wounds.'

² fool, or folk.

³ combatand.

- The first, hole croce ; *the tother*, engrelit be ;² 136 Of the 15 kinds
The third, awndi ; *the iiij*, paty in feir ;¹ of Crosses in
the v. a crois ; *vj*, crois flarait cleir ; Heraldry.
vij botand ; viij crosolat ; ix batone ;
x fovrmie ; xj crois fichye ; 140
- xij sarsile fere ; demolyn xiiij ;
xiiij regle ; xv sucylie, sey.
quhat maner of best or bird goith rond to sene,
About *the feld blase* it heroune verray.² 144
Twa thingis in armis sal end in schewis a[l]wey ; Three or more
Gif *ther* be mo off *thaim than* ij *that* schewis, Lions and Herons
As lionne-sewys,³ to sey, and heronne-sewis ; are called Lioncels
and Heronsews ;
- Bot onne or⁴ ij call lion or heroun. 148 but 1 or 2, Lion
or Heron.
Armis vmdois, ij strakis myd feld devid,
ffet⁵ ar in armis, and ij thingis compone
lik to *vther*, barr and fete⁵ brode to-gid.
Als certane thingis plurar in armis go, 152
As flouris to blase, and pellettis with thoo
- Not be to namyt, gif he beire mo *than* ij,
Bot *thus* flowris florite to blase rycht.
thre thingis in armes zit be lik *vtheris* evin, 156 Of Torteaux,
Tortes, tortell pellettis, pellett hecht, Tortell-pellets,
Fussewis,⁶ masklewis, and losingis *thus* plicht. and Pellets.
Be ther mony fussewis,⁷ masklewis⁸ *thaim* call, Of Fusils,
And losengis zit in armys *with-all*. 160 Mascles, and
Lozenges.
- Ale maner of best to blase, sey 'be armit,'
and al birdis, sey 'membrit' saufly :
Girphinne,⁹ baith bird and best, we suld call it
Call beasts
armed ;
birds, membred ;
griffins, membred
and armed.

¹ ? for 'entair.'² ? for 'inurne.'³ lioncel. 'Lioncels, the Heralds Term for Lions, when there is more than Two of them born in any Coat of Arms, and no Ordinary between them ; and 'tis all one with a small or young Lion.'—*Gloss. Angl. Nova*.⁴ MS on.⁵ ? fret or fess.⁶ ? MS 'Suffewis.' The same things elsewhere in the MS are called 'fusees' and 'fussel.'⁷ ? MS 'fuffewis.'⁸ mascle.⁹ Griffons.

- To blase, 'membrit *and* armyt' boith Iustly. 164
 3it in armes, picles¹ *and* delphes espy.
 Billettis, hewmatis,² *and* ij indenturis be,
 Perpale cheveroune, perpale glondes to se.
- Legs and heads
 may be erased.
 [See note to l. 26.] Thire be also raschit, as lege or heid, 168
 wiche gerondy³ verry *and* belly told : [?]
 In quhat metallis or colouris *that* thai sted,
 quhat thingis *thai* be, ful attently behold :
 ffigour, forme, flour, or quhat mater on mold, 172
 In armes set, *and* so blase discretly ;
 And quho siche beris, study weil, *and* espy.
- You may blazon
 Ermine and
 Vair, furs of
 beasts, 3hit sum haldis in armis ij certane thingis,
 Nothir metallis nor colouris to blasoune, 176
 Ermyne *and* werr, callit panis, bestly furring,⁴
 And haldin so *without other* discripcioune.
 All attentik armys of hie renoune
 Of al estatiss, and general of al manis, 180
 Bene set in this metallis, colouris, *and* panyis.
- which were found
 after the
 precious stones, Quhiche honorable in al armis forsaid,
 war first fundyn eftir *the* preciouss stanys,
 In nombyr few, and so costly araid, 184
 That al noblay may not gudly at anys
 Actene *therto* : *than* law of armys disponys
 ffor *theme* be sett *and* portrait with pictouris,
 In feildis, *the* seid metallis *and* *ther* colouris ; 188
- that came first
 from Paradise. The quhiche stanis come first frome paradise,
 thairfor *thai* ar so precyus singlare.
 quha will study his wittis, *and* conterpace
- How planets, The hie planetis, and signis of the aire, 192
 Symylitudis of *thaim* he may fynd there
 ffor to blasoun, *and* alse in bestiall,
 In erbis, foullis, *and* fischis *therwithall* ;
- beasts, herbs, &c.,
 may be blazoned,

¹ ? for 'pikes.'² humet.³ gyronny.⁴ furs, called less properly *pann* (or cloth).

- How *thai* be born, in quhat kindis, and quhare, 196
 also be quhom, and eftir in excellence,
 That I refer to my lordis to declair,
 kingis of armes, and heraldis of prudens,
 and persewantis, and grant my negligens 200
that I suld not attempe *thus* to commounne,
 Bot of *ther* grace, correctiounne, and pardounne,
- ffor, as I red, princis of nobillest mynd,
 And specialy *this* seid Iulius cesar, 204
ther attentik worthi ordour did fynd,
 fful honorable in erth, and necesser,
 To bere armes, blasounne, and to prefer
 Vthir officiaris in honour, as I schall 208
 Schaw causis quhy of *this* ordour regall,
- Quhiche ascendis, create be greis thre :
 first, persewant ; syn, herald ; and than king ;
 Ichone of *this* being gre aboue gre, 212
 Be land and see preuilegit in al thing,
 In werre and peice, batell, province and ring,
 Ceté, castellis, parliamentis prerogative,
 Amang princis trew reuerendaris to schrive. 216
- Oure al the world, and erast Amang the best,
 thir preambulis and discripcionis procedis,
 all thingis be takin treuly as *thai* attest,
 ay liscenciat and lovit with al ledis, 220
 Noblis, vergynis, and wedois in *ther* nedis,
 Of holy chirche the sure feith *thai* support,
 At *ther* poweris causing to al consort.
- Withoutin quham, honerable actis in armis 224
 wirschipfully is seldim donne, we se,
 ffor ded of lif, fauour, hatrent, or harmis,
 Euer *thai* attest the verray verite,
 quhar na man may laubour for Inmyte, 228
ther *thai* proced, euer schawing the best ;
 withoutin quham, quha mycht materis degest.
- I refer to my
 lords, the King
 of Arms, and
 Heralds,
- who were
 honoured by
 Julius Cæsar and
 other princes of
 the noblest mind.
- Of Heralds are
 3 orders :
 1. Poursuivant.
 2. Herald.
 3. King, the
 highest.
- Heralds' decrees
 are obeyed by all,
 as Heralds are
 loved by all, are
 the protectors of
 all needy, and the
 support of
 Holy Church.
- Without Heralds
 great deeds of
 arms are
 seldom done.

This noble Order,	This hie ourdour noble <i>and</i> necessary, prince of peté, <i>and</i> Iuge amang gentrice,	232
movers of good, wells of knowledge,	most behuffull tretaris of trowith no vary, Mewaris of goud, <i>and</i> mesaris of malice, wellis of cunnyng, <i>and</i> trowit in kingly wise, Mansuete maneryt so <i>ther</i> meritis requiris,	236
may God the Trinity, <i>and</i> the Blessed Virgin, save,	Ther dewiteis al digniteis desiris. Señ it is so, our souerane Lord most hie, The thre personis resting in o godheid, and one in thre, <i>the</i> hali trinite,	240
to promote love among Christian kings!	the blissit vergin of quhom god tuk manheid, Saif <i>this</i> ordour, prudently to proceid Amang kingis, princis, liegis <i>and</i> lordis ; Of cristindome to cause luf <i>and</i> concordis !	244
And my insufficiency, do you, Herald,	And I confess my simple insufficiens : llitil haf I sene, <i>and</i> reportit weil less, of <i>this</i> materis to haf experience. Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express,	248
my lords, correct and complete!	In my waiknes, <i>and</i> not of wilfulness, my seid lordis correk me diligent, To maid menis, or sey <i>the</i> remanent !	

NOTES TO A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman : its English origin appears clearly from the phraseology, distinctions and conceits, e. g. the nomenclature of *roundles*, which was never adopted in Scotland, where the simpler phraseology employed in France was in use. The spelling (*quhill*, *quham*, &c.) is certainly often Scotch, but for that the Scotch transcriber, Loutfut, is doubtless answerable. Sir William Comyn (or Cumming), of Inverallochy, described in the heading of the poem Marchmont Herald, is best known as Lyon king of Arms from 1512 onwards, an office in which he seems to have immediately preceded Sir David Lyndsay. It is no small indication of the weight attached to Lyon's office, and the sacredness of his person, at that period, that in 1515 Lord Drummond, one of the most powerful of the Scotch nobles of his day, was declared guilty of treason, attainted, and sentenced to confinement in Blackness castle, for giving Comyn a blow with his fist, 'dum eum de ineptiis suis admoneret.' The poem seems to belong to a period later than Nicolas Upton (1440) and the Book of St Albans (1486), but must be earlier than Gerard Legh (1562), John Boswell (1572), and Sir John Ferne (1586), the three principal heraldic writers of the Elizabethan age. No very

old Scotch systematic treatises on Heraldry exist in print, and apparently none in manuscript, though there are numerous books of blazonry and illuminated collections of arms in MS. of the 16th century. Mackenzie in the 17th, and the more elaborate Nisbet in the 18th century, are the great Scotch authorities. Loutfut the transcriber had probably not been very thoroughly instructed in the science of arms, as he has mistaken words, and made blunders of copyism to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to unravel the meaning of the text.

l. 46. 'Aglot,' a misreading for annulet, the usual difference for a fifth son. The 'eaglet,' or young eagle, for which the transcriber has taken the word, is a common bearing in English heraldry, though not one of the recognized marks of cadency.

l. 51-53. The mention of the settlement of Britain by Brutus is sufficient proof of the English origin of the poem. From the 14th century downwards, one of the principal points on which the hotly-contested question of Scottish independence was supposed to hinge, was whether the English story of the colonization of Britain by the sons of the Trojan hero Brutus was true or false. It was stoutly denied by the Scots, who traced the foundation of their nationality up to the Greek Gathelus and his wife Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh who protected the infant Moses; and no Scotsman of the 15th or 16th century would have given his *imprimatur* to the Brutus story.

l. 64-70. Four colours are proper, being pure colours: purpure, being a mixed colour, is less proper though 'suffered' in arms: an assertion to be found in nearly similar words in various old French and Spanish as well as English works on arms. Numerical conceits were greatly in favour among the old heralds, and are a key to half the pedantries and anomalies that have crept into heraldic nomenclature and classification. *Four* and *fifteen* are numbers especially favoured by the author of this poem—and the impropriety of purpure is set forth in order to show four to be the proper number of colours. A great many of the old writers on arms, including particularly Dame Juliana Berners and Gerard Legh, favour nine above all other numbers. It was three times the number of the Trinity,—there were nine virtues, nine orders of angels, nine muses, nine beatitudes, nine male worthies, and nine female worthies. The Book of St Albans says: 'This lawe of armys was founded on the IX order of angellys in heven encrownyd vith precyous stonys of colour and of vertues dyvers. Also of theym are fygyured the colours in armys.' Dame Juliana Legh, and other writers, to obtain their nine tinctures (colours and metals), bring in not only purpure, which was rare, but sanguine and tenny, which were never in use. Sylvanus Morgan (1661), on the other hand, inclines to reject purpure altogether, while Spelman exalts it above every other tincture. One of the results of this determination to resolve everything to nine, was the addition by Legh to the six marks of cadency in actual use, of the rose, crossmoline, and double quaterfoil, which were never really used. They are again rejected in the latest edition of Legh's 'Accedens,' as also by Bosswell: but are nevertheless retained in many of the modern elementary works on Heraldry.

l. 96. One would almost be inclined to think that the word printed 'sic' must have been originally 'pale' rather than fess, or else that 'barris' stands for 'pales;' it seems unlikely that both bar and fess would be enumerated and pale omitted among the four things that 'brekis' arms; a more correct idea, by the way, of the common character of the 'Honourable Ordinaries' than is to be found in most of the old authorities.

l. 104-106. 'Thyse thre termes, Of, And, Wyth, shall not be reherycd in armis but onys ony of them.'—*Book of St Albans*.

'There are fower wordes, whereof you may not name any of them twise in the blazonne of one cote, & these be they: Of, On, And, With. These may

not be spoken any more than once in one cote : if they be, it is accompted such a fault, as he that committed the same is not worthy to blaze a cote.'—*Gerard Legh*.

l. 111. 'wyndows,' i.e. 'wounds.' Roundles purpure are so called by Bosswell, the derivation being obvious. Most heralds prefer the name 'golpes.'

l. 127-134. Of the fifteen lions enumerated, the designations of the first and thirteenth are omitted, doubtless by the transcriber's oversight. As to the eleventh 'copray,' query if tricorporate?

l. 135-142. Of the fifteen crosses mentioned, the third is 'undy.' The fourth, 'paty,' is probably meant for 'patoncée,' formée (identical with patée) being separately enumerated. The specific character of the fifth is omitted; the fourteenth is 'raguly.' Is 'suclye' (the fifteenth) 'resarcelée'? 'Sarcelée' had been already enumerated as the thirteenth cross.

l. 143-4. 'Verray' must surely stand for 'enurny,' the term used in French and sometimes in English heraldry for a bordure charged with any animal.

l. 152-155. These lines are unintelligible as they stand. It cannot be meant that fleurs-de-lis or pellets should not be named, or their number stated, if there are more than *two*. But if for "ij" we read "viij" the sense is at once apparent, as we come exactly to the dictum of the old heralds, and the word *eight* is an admissible rhyme to '*rycht*' in the succeeding line.

l. 156, 157, are a little obscure. Tortell pellets, according to the nomenclature of some old heralds, would be identical with pellets or roundles sable. If so, but two things are named, not three. Menestrier uses the term "torteau = besant," for a roundle parted per fess gules and or; and it is conceivable that the herald-poet may mean by tarteaux-pellets, roundles parted per fess gules and sable: but in any view there seems little point in this passage.

l. 158-160 are also a little unsatisfactory. Fusils, mascles, and lozenges are of course things 'like utheris even'—but why should fusils, when multiplied in number, be called mascles? If however for the words 'fussewis,' 'masklewis,' in l. 159, and 'losengis' in l. 160, we read *fusilly*, *mascally*, *lozengy*, the sense is clear, viz. if there be many fusils, mascles or lozenges, blazon the field fusilly, mascally or lozengy.

l. 165. 'pictes,' i.e. pikes.

l. 166-169. This passage, though rather unintelligible as it stands, evidently refers to the division of the shield by partition lines, a subject which has been made the theme of much obscure pedantry by the early heralds, whose distinctions are by no means exactly observed by the poet. What 'glondes' stands for, I cannot make out. Two modes of dividing the field called 'pynyons,' are given in the Book of St Albans, of which the latter is 'cheverounce, and that may be clawry, counterly, quarterly, gerery, and byally.' 'Gereri' is 'whan thre cheverounce be togyder or moo,' corresponding to our gyronny of six or of eight. 'Byally,' the word which appears as 'belly' in l. 169, is 'whan a barre is between two cheffrounce,' another variety of the gyronny of six of later heralds. l. 168 seems to say that a *partition line* may (as well as a leg or head) be 'raschit,' or erased. A line dancetté, or sometimes with indentations more like those of an erased head or leg, is called 'rasit' or erased by Upton, Dame Juliana, and Sir John Ferne. 'Gerondy' is, according to the Book of St Albans, 'gereri' (or gyronny of nine) with a fessitarget (i.e. an escutcheon of pretence) in the centre of the shield. 'Verry,' or vairé, is by the same authority enumerated, not as a fur only, but as a mode of parting the shield 'when the field is made like gobolettys of dyvers colours.' Along with checky and undy, it is enumerated as one of the 'Coat armoures grytty.'

Occlebe,

[*Laud MS 735 (formerly K. 78), Bodl. Libr.*]

¶ Of pridd & of waste clothyng of lordis mene,
which is A-zens þer Astate.¹ [No. 12.]

[leaf 67]

¶ I. wate wele, sone, of me þus wilt þou think :

“ This old doted greseH hold hym¹ wyse ;

He wenyth make in my hert synke

His lewde clappe, of which I sett no prys.

He is A nobuH prechour¹ as [I] devyse !

Greet noys hath þurgh his chymyng lyppes drye ;

This day owte past the dewle in his ye.”

My son, to this
complaint of
mine you 'll say,
' This old fool of a
grizzle thinks
himself very wise,
but I don't mind
his stupid
clapper! "

4

¶ But thogh y hold *and* hore be now, sone myn,

And pore be my clothing¹ And Aray,

And not so wyde A gwone As is thyn,

So smaH y-pynchyd, ne so fressh *and* gay ;

My rede, in hap, 3ett the profyte may ;

And likly, þat þow demyst for foly,

Is g[r]etter¹ wisdom¹ þan þou canst Aspy.

8 However, though
I am hoar and
poor,

12 [leaf 67, back]
my counsel may
profit you.

¶ Vndir An olde pore Abyte regneth ofte

Grete vurtew, thogh it mostre poorely ;

And wher¹ as grete Aray is vp-on¹ loft,

Vice is but seldom¹ hid ; þat wele wote I.

Butt not reporte, I. pray þ^o Inwardly,

That fressh Aray y. generally deprave ;

þ^{es} worthi men¹ mow full weel it have.

16 An old coat often
covers virtue ;

while a fine one
hides vice.

20 But I don't run
down new
clothes ;

¹ See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 139 ; and my ed.
of *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. x, p. 62, l. 129-32.

only, it is an
abuse for a man
to wear a scarlet
robe 12 yards
wide, and sleeves
hanging on the
ground, with £20
worth of fur on
'em.

¶ Butt þ^{is} me thynkith an Abusion,
To sene one walke in A robe of scarlet
xij 3erdis wide, *with* pendaunt slevis down 24
On the ground, and þ^e furrur þer-in sette,
Amountyng vn-to xx.li. or bette ;
And 3ef he for it payd, hath he no good
Lefte hym wher-with to by hym-selff An hood. 28

Such a man

has an empty
purse, and only
what he stands
upright in.

¶ For thogh he gete forth A-mong the prees,
And ouere-looke euere poore wighte,
His cofre *and* eke his purs I. trow be peneles ;
He hath no more than he goth yn vp-righte ; 32
For lond, rent, or cateH, he may go lyghte ;
The weghte of hem shall not so mych peyse
As doth his gown ! is such Aray to prayse ?

It stinks in my
nostrils to see
such a poor
beggar imitate
his lord !

¶ Nay sothly, sone, it is aH mys, me thynkith ! 36
So poor A wight his lord to contrefett
In his Aray ! yn my conceyt it styngith !
Certes, to blame bene þ^e lordes grete,
3ef þat, I. durst sey, they her men lete 40
Vsurpe such lordly Apparayle.
It is not worthy, my child, *with*-out fayle.

In old time you
could tell a Lord
by his dress ;
but now you
hardly can.

¶ Some [tyme] A-farre men myghte lordes know 44
By her Aray from oþer folk, or now.
A man shall stodye or musyn now A long throw
Which is which. O lordes ! it sittes to 3ow !
Amend this ! for it is for 3our prow.
3ef by-twen 3ow *and* 3our men no defference 48
Be [in] þyn Aray, lesse is 3our reuerence.

[leaf 68]
Another great
waste is, to use a
yard of broad
cloth in a man's
tippet.

It incites to
stealth, and
Hempen Lane.

¶ Also þer is another newe Iett,
A fowle wast of cloth, *and* excessyf :
Ther goth no lasse in A mannes tippet 52
þan of brode cloth A 3erd, be my lyf !
Me thynkith þ^{is} A verrey indultyf
Vn-to þ^e stelth. were hem of hempen lane !
For stelth is medid *with* A chekelew bane. 56

¶ Let euere lorde. his Awn men) defende
Such gret Aray; And þan, on) my peryh,
This lande within A while soon) shaH Amende.

Now, in goddes name, put it in exile!

Hit is synne outrageous And vyle!

Lordis! if 3e 3our' Astate *and* honour'

Loven), flemyth this vicious errour'!

¶ What is A lord *with-oute* his mene?

I. putt case, þat his foos hym) Asayle

Sodenly in þ^e strete: what helpp shaH he

Whos sleeves encombrous so syde trayle,

Do to his lorde? he may hym) not Avayle!

In such A case he nys but A woman);

He may not stande hym) *in-stede* of a man).

¶ His Armes twoo have righte y-now to don),

And sumwhat more, his sleeves vp to hold.

The tayllours, y trowe, mote her'-after sone

Shape in þ^e feld; þ^{ei} shuH not shape *and* folde

On) her' boord, þogh þ^{ei} neuer so fayn wolde;

The cloth þat shaH be in A gown) wroghte,

Take an) hole cloth is best, for' lasse is noghte.

¶ The skynner' vn-to þ^e felde mote Also;

His hous in london is so streyt *and* scars

To don) his crafte. sum tyme it was not so.

O lordes! 3eve 3e vn-to 3our' men) her' pars

That so don), and queynt hem) bett *with* mars,

God of bateH! he loveth non) Aray

That hurtith manhod at preffe or Assay.

¶ Who now most may bere on) his bak at ons

Off cloth And furroure, hath a fressh renoun);

He is 'A lusty man)' clepyd for the nones.

Butt drapers And eke skynners in þ^e town)

For such folke han) A speciaH orison'

That florisshid is with curses here *and* there,

And Av shaH tiH þ^{ei} be payd of her' cære.

Every Lord
should forbid
such array to
his men.

60

64 Suppose a Lord
is attacked in
the street.
What help can a
man with these
wide sleeves
give him?

68

The man's only
a woman!

72

His arms have
more than enough
to do in holding
up his sleeves.

76

Tailors'll soon
be obliged to cut
out their clothes
in a field.

80

And Skinners
must take to
fields too for
their craft.

84

Lords, make your
men know Mars
better!

88

Whoever has
most cloth on his
back is called 'a
lusty man.'

[leaf 68, back]
But don't the
drapers curse him
till he pays for
his gear!

- Whilom, small dress,
full households;
now, lean households,
outrageous array,
but hungry bellies.
Moderation's gone a pilgrimage.
As Lords set the fashion,
let Lords wear quiet gowns, as of old;
other folk would follow, and give up costly extravagance.
- ¶ In day[e]s olde, whan smaH ApparaiH
Suffised vn-to hy Astate or mene,
Was grete howsholde stuffid with vitaiH;
But now howsholdes be fuH scars and lene,
For AH þ^e good þat men may repe and glene,
Waystid is in outrageous Aray,
So þat howsoldis men ne holde may.
- ¶ Pride hath weel levere bere An hungry maw
To bed, þan lak of Aray outrage;
He no price settith by mesures law,
Ne takith of hym cloth, [ne] mete, ne wage;
Mesure is owt of land on pilgrimage;
Butt I. suppose he shaH restore as blyve,
For verrey nede wol vs þer-to dryve.
- ¶ Ther' may no lord take vp no new gyse,
Butt þat A knafe shaH þ^e same vp take.
þan, 3ef lordes wolden in this wise
For to do such gownes for hem make
As men did in old tyme, I. vndirtake
The same get wold vp be take and vsyd,
And aH þ^e costlew owtrage refusid.

92

96

100

104

108

112

[Follows:—*Nota bene* þ^e good duke of loncastre. [N^o] 13.

¶ Off lancastre duke Iohn whos savle in heven.]

Tippet, l. 52, p. 106. '*Tippet*. The pendent streamer from the arm (p. 98), the extra cape or covering for the shoulders. The long pendant from the arm (See *Liripipe*).

"On holydayes before her he wold go
With his *tippet* bound about his head."

Chaucer: Reeve's Tale; in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 598.

'To the pendent streamers from the hood were now added others from the elbow. They first appear as narrow elongations from the sleeve of the upper-tunic or cote-hardie; they afterwards assume the form of long narrow strips of white cloth, and were called *tippets*, generally reaching from the elbow to the knee, or lower.'—*ib.* p. 98.

EXTRACT FROM

Sir Peter Idle's Directions to his Son,

(Camb. Univ. Lib. MS, Ee 4, 37.)

Lete thy tonge not clakke as a mille,	
Medle not of eche mannes matere ;	
Kepe within thi breste that may be stille ; ¹	
In tauernes also, not clappe ne clater.	
Wade not so depe into the water	
But þat þou may com out at thyñ owne plesir,	
And not tabide thyñ enemys leisour.	
Therefore be not talewyse in no manere ; ²	
In worde be ware, it is harde to triste ;	
Telle neuer the more, though þou moche hire ;	
Kepe in cloos, as tresour' in cheste.	
And be þou lowely and honest	
To riche and pouere, in worde and dede,	
And then thy name to worshyp shall sprede.	
³ What man þou serve, Loke þou hym drede ;	
His goode as thyñ, þou kepe and spare ;	
Lete neuer thy will thy witte ouerlede ;	
Be lowly in seruice, and love his welfare ;	
And if þou wilt be out of drede and care,	
Restreyne and kepe well thy tonge :	
Thus, childre, lerne while ye be yonge.	
Be true in worde, werke, and dede, ⁴	
And flee doublenes in all wyse.	
Throghe all the worlde in lengthe and brede,	
Gretter vertues can no man devise,	
And sonnest to worship causeth mañ to rise.	
	Don't let your tongue clack like a mill,
	4 or clatter in taverns.
	8 Don't be censorious.
	12 Be lowly and respectful.
	16 Take care of your master's goods as your own.
	20 Restrain your tongue.
	24 Flee doubleness.

¹ What ought to be kept quiet.² See The Wise Man in *Babees Book*, p. 49, l. 26.³ Compare lines 5—7 of p. 34 of *Babees Book*.⁴ See *Babees Book*, p. 19, l. 39.

Don't invent stories.	Be not Autour also of tales newe, For callyng to rehersaill, lest <i>pou</i> it rewe.	28
Mind what you say to people:	Al-so, sone, this lesson y the leere : To whom <i>pou</i> speke, haue goode mynde, And of whom, how, when, and where ;	
a friend now may be a foe to-morrow.	For now a frende, thus sone unkynde. Therefore, wher euer <i>pou</i> Ride or wende, ¹ Speke cloos all thyng, as thombe in fiste, And euer be ware of hadd-y-wyste.	32
Joke with your equals only.	² If thow shalt borde, Iape <i>with</i> thy peere, And leve thy pleye whan it is beste,	36
Put up with a hard word.	And suffre a grete worde, for manere ; For better is the tree <i>pat</i> bowe <i>þan</i> breste ; It is an unclene birde defouleth <i>his</i> neste ;	40
Learn courtesy and virtue.	Therefore, as a gentilmañ lerne curtesie and vertu ; All honour and worshipping therof shall sue.	
Don't laugh when your mates are rebuked.	Thoughþe thy feelowe in defaute be founde, Make therof no laugheng, sporte, ne Iape ; For ofte tymes it doith rebounde Vppon hym <i>pat</i> list to crie and gape. Vse not to scorne and mocke as an Ape ; For he <i>pat</i> list suche folies for to vse,	44
	Alle honest felawship hym woll refuse.	48
Keep your clothes clean,	Looke, suche clothyng as <i>pou</i> shalt weere, Keepe hem as clenly as <i>pou</i> can,³ And all the Rememant of thy geere ;	52
(for they oft make a man,) and as pure as flour bolted from the bran.	For clothyng ofte maketh mañ.⁴ Be as pure as flour taken fro the branñ In all thy clothyng and al <i>þyn</i> arraye ; But goo not to ouer nyce gay.	56

¹ ? for Kepe. ² Cp. lines 13—16, p. 34 of *Babees Book*.

³ See *Babees Book*, l. 161-8.

⁴ See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under *fol*), *Babees Book*, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.

NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACHADEMY.

p. 3. *Sir John Cheke, and English*.—And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English language. Dr Wylson asserted, that he had better skill in our English speech, to judge of the phrases and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else had that he knew; and that he was thought, by some judicious men, greatly to have improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English; whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding unto the author, but enabled his hearers the better to judge of the things, and to perfect their tongue and utterance, as was remembered before.”—*Strype’s Life of Cheke*, p. 162.

p. 6. *Statute touching Multiplication*.—The statute alluded to is 5 Hen. IV. cap. 5.—“It is ordained and stablished, That none from henceforth shall vse to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the Craft of *Multiplication*: And if any the same do, and be thereof attaint, that he incur the Pain of Felony in this Case.” ‘*Multiplication of Gold or Silver*, the Art of encreasing those Metals, which in the Time of K. Henry IV was presum’d possible to be effected by means of Elixirs, or other Chymical Compositions, and therefore forbidden to be put in Practice, under Pain of being liable to the Punishment of Felony, by a Statute made in the fifth Year of his Reign.’—*Kersey’s Phillips*, ed. 1706.

p. 7. *Dispensation against the Statute of Roages*.—“Fencers” are mentioned in the list of persons who are to be deemed “Roges and Vacaboundes,” in 14 Eliz. cap. 5. sec. 5 (A. D. 1572): “and all Fencers, Bearewardes, Comon Players in Enterludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or towards any other honorable Personage of greater Degree.”

p. 7. *Bandora*. A large instrument of the lute kind, with six strings of wire, invented in 1562, says Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.*, by John Rose, citizen of London, dwelling in Bridewell. Heywood, in his *Fair Maid of the Exchange*, compares a lady’s hair to “bandora wires.” The Bandora was much used in Elizabeth’s reign, especially with the Cittern, to which it formed the appropriate base.—*Chappell’s Popular Music*, i. 224, note a; ii. 776. ‘The name of the instrument is from the *πανδουρα*, which the Greeks borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. That was also a long-necked instrument of the same kind, but with three gut strings. This is called “a Guitar” by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his *Ancient Egyptians*’ (Mr Chappell’s MS. Note). The Cittern was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the 18th century, but had only four double strings of wire, that is, two to each note. The Lute has been superseded by the guitar, though in tone it is decidedly superior to the guitar, being larger, and having a convex back nearly resembling the vertical section of a pear. It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was 11 or 12, five at least were doubled; the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string.—*Chappell*, i. 101-2.

p. 8. *Marte*. ‘He alludes to the foreign Book-Fairs.’—H. ELLIS.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Where two numbers occur, as 96/76, the first refers to the page, the second to the numbered line on that page. The above reference will be p. 96, l. 76 of the Poem on Heraldry.

- ABROCHE, 79/3, 'To set abroche,' to tap.
- Abusion, 106/22, abuse.
- Aduert, 97/88, 98/132
- Aduertence, 79/12, 'Hathe none aduertence' = gives no attention.
- Aduoure, 29, 30. Patron. *See* Avowry and note, p. 30.
- Aglot, 95/46, annulet. *See* note, p. 95, 103.
- Alleage, 3, Allege, refer to, quote.
- Allonli, 66/24, only, alone.
- Amathis, 96/76, amethyst.
- Ambes ase, 81/52, the two aces, the lowest throw in the dice; bad luck.
'Your bagges be not filld with *ambes ace*.' Chaucer, 4544.
- And, 29, if.
- And, in Heraldry, 97/104-6, and note, p. 103.
- Apallyd, 83/119. Ale appallyd = weak or thin Ale = small beer.
- Appose, 3, to question, pose.
'Whon þe peple him *a-posed* with a peny in þe Temple.'
P. Plow. Pass. I., 45. Ed. Skeat.
- Armit, 99/161, armed of a different colour from the rest of the body;—said of animals generally.
- A-sele, 80/16, to seal; to stamp.
'All Brewsters and Gannokers [to] selle a gallon [of] ale, of the best, be measure *a-selyd*, for 1*d. ob.*' *P. Parv.*, p. 186, note.
- A-sesythe, 83/135. The *Harl.* MS. probably gives the correct reading—*ensealed*.
- Assaye, 13, 17, 'tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it.'
- Asterte, 97/89?
- Asur, 96/66, azure, one of the heraldic colours. 'Asur, the saphir set,' 96/75
- Attemperance, 65/11, moderation, temperance.
- Audur, 86/16, either.
- Avowry, 33. Cognizance, badge, distinction. *See* note, p. 30.
- Awcomistrie, 6, alchemistry, alchemy.
- Awles, 85/17; 88/6, aweless; without reverence.
- Awndi, 99/137, undeé, wavy; a kind of cross in heraldry. *See* note, p. 104.
- Awne, 47/112, own.
- Awreke, 68/19, avenged.
- Bandora, 7. A kind of lute with six strings. *See* note, p. 111.
- Barbe, 26, a hood, or muffler, which covered the lower part of the face.
- Barris, 97/96, bars: a bar is an ordinary which crosses the shield horizontally: it occupies one-fifth of the field.

- Barves, 30.
- Bastone, 98/118, baton ; a bar on an escutcheon, usually denoting bastardy.
- Batone, 99/139 ? *Cross patonée* ; i. e. a cross fleurie expanded. See note, p. 104.
- Bawdkyn, 35, a precious kind of stuff.
- Belly, 100/169, Byally is when a bar is between two chevrons. See note, p. 104.
- Belwedyr, 84/147, bell-wether.
- Bendis, 98/113, bends ; a bend is an ordinary crossing the shield diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base.
- Besentis, 98/109, a circle in *or*, i. e. gold, representing the coin a bezant.
- Beste, 29, beast, i. e. crest. See note, p. 37.
- Bestiall, 100/194, pertaining to animals. Not used in a bad sense.
- Bestly, 100/177, of beasts.
- Better, 19 ; 58/7, a superior in rank.
- Billettis, 100/166 ; a billet is a bearing of a rectangular oblong figure.
- Blawmanger, 90, blanchmange.
- Blyve, 108/104, quickly.
- Bookish, 4, bookish circumstances = rules found in books ; theories.
- Borias, 81/54, boreas, the north wind.
- Borowuid, 68/14, borrowed.
- Botand, 99/139, ? a kind of cross in heraldry.
- Braydythe, 82/86. 'Whos promys braydythe on duplicite' = whose promise is founded on duplicity.
- Brownte, 81/54, burnt, brunt.
- Bryste, 50/188, bright, showy.
- Bwn, xiii, Bum. See *Jamieson*.
- Bye, 62/184, 'Set þem not bye.' To honour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes. *Psa. xv. 4, P. B. vers.*
- Byteres, 91, bitterns.
- Callot, 40/29, a scold or drab.
- Cambatand, 98/134, a kind of lion in heraldry. Two rampant lions, face to face, are said to be *combatant*.
- Cambrel, 43/144, gambrel, a crooked piece of wood used by butchers. See note, p. 43.
- Canne, 60/124, can, a vessel.
- Canne, 58/76, knowest.
- Canonrie, 4, gunnery.
- Cassidone, 96/77, chalcedony.
- Certeayne, 30, a certeyne of innocentes = a certain number of children.
- Chalain, xx, ? claim.
- Chare de wardon, 91. ? Apple marmalade. See note 2, p. 91.
- Chekelew, 106/56. The Digby MS, according to Halliwell, reads *chokelew* ; choking, strangling.
- Cheveroune, 97/96, chevron, an honourable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house meeting at the top.
- Childe, 34, shield.
- Chimice, 5, chemical.
- Chyffe, 79/9, chief.
- Clappe, 105/4, chatter.
- Clowrys, 81/44, bareyne clowrys = barren fields.
- Comodities, 10, advantages.
- Connynge, 69/50, knowledge.
- Contactowre, 66/36, a quarrelsome person.
- Conterpace, 100/191, ? counterpoise ; weigh, ponder over, consider.

- Convalit, 93/2, to increase, grow strong.
- Copy, 98/132, *couped*. When a portion of any animal is cut clean off, it is said to be *couped*. See next.
- Copray, 98/131, one of the kinds of lions used in heraldry. Query *coupé*, Fr. See note, p. 104.
- Cornifyn ? xx.
- Coronell, ix (Span.), Colonel.
- Costlewe, 108/112, costly.
- Costrel, 38. *Costrel*, bottle-holder, attendant; from Costrell, a bottle of earth or wood, having ears by which it was suspended at the side. "A youth, that, following with a *costrel*, bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine."—*Tennyson*.
Webster's Dict. by Mahn.
- Cottage, 38, doing cottier's work.
- Couente, 79/2, convent, company.
- Courne, 49/148, corn. See Stryte.
- Conter changit, 98/132, counter-changed. *Counter-changed*, in heraldry, is when there is a mutual changing of the Colours of the Field and Charge in an Escutcheon, by reason of one or more Lines of Partition.—*Gloss. Angl. Nov.*
- Creme boylle, 91, boiled cream.
- Cowert, 98/133, coward. One of the kinds of lions in heraldry; a lion with its tail between its legs.
- Crache, 58/63, scratch.
- Cressent, 95/44. A crescent in heraldry is the half-moon with the horns turned upward. A second son differences his arms with a crescent.
- Crosolat, 99/139, crosslet, one of the kinds of crosses used in heraldry; it has each of its limbs crossed.
- Crustades, 90, a dish in cookery.
- Crysdome, 57/26, Christendom.
- Cryspes fryez, 91, fried crisps or batter-cakes. The recipe in *Forme of Cury*, p. 99, is:
xxvi. For to make cryppys. Nym flour and wytys of eyryn, sugur other hony, and sweyg to-gedere, and make a batour: nym wyte grees, and do yt in a posnet, and cast the batur thereyn, and stury to thou have many [till it will run into lumps, I suppose, *Pegge*: ? till thou have mixture], and tak hem up, and messe hem wyth the frutours, and serve forth. Cp. 'crespes et vielz sucre,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 92; 'pastés de chappons, et crespes,' *ib.* p. 94; and the recipes for making 'crespes' and 'Crespes à la guise de Tournay,' *ib.* p. 226.
- Cuchand, 98/129, couchant; lying down, but with the head erect.
- Cytterne, 7, 111, a musical instrument something like a guitar.
- Decree, 23, 25, degree, rank.
- Defferent, 95/43. A distinction. See note 1, p. 95.
- Delice, 95/47, = de-lis, fleur-de-lis.
- Delphes, 100/165; a delf in heraldry is a square borne in the middle of an escutcheon, supposed to represent a square rod or turf; an abatement of honour. See *Bailey*.
- Demolyn, 99/141, a kind of cross used in heraldry: a *cross moline* has its extremities formed like a *fer de moline* or mill rind; i. e. each limb is divided at the end.
- Departystown, 84/151, separation.
- Deprave, 105/20, run down: speak lightly of.
- Destreche, 53/30, ? constrain.
- Det, 96/74, ? Of debt, duly, necessarily. *P. Parv.*
- Devid, 98/117, divide.
- Dewle, 105/7 ? Dewle or devylle, Diabolus. *P. Parv.*

- Dext, 35, desk, the Litany or fald-stool.
- Domesman, 88/3, doomsman ; judge.
- Domusmane, 85/14, doomsman ; judge.
- Dormand, 98/130, asleep, with its head resting between its legs ; *dormant*.
- Doucetis, 91, small custards or pasties.
- Dowle, 32, dole, or mourning.
- Drapers, 107/88.
- Dronglew, 82/91, drunken.
And is not *dronkeleuh* ne deynous.
P. Plow. Pass. ix. 75. ed. Skeat.
- Dyaburde, 92, diapered.
- Egretys, 91, egret, a kind of heron.
Halliwell.
- Elenge, 66/5. This word is still heard in Kent, where the meaning is lonely, or solitary. In *P. Plow.* we meet with it as an adverb :—
*Alisaundre, that al wan
Elengliche ended.*
P. Plough. 7531. ed. Wright.
- Emeraut, 96/76, emerald.
- Endorsit, 98/131, endorsed in heraldry is when two lions are borne in an escutcheon rampant, and turning their backs to each other : *ad-dorsed*.
- Endosyd, 79/8, endorsed.
- Enfamynynd, 80/36, hungry.
- Engrelit, 99/136, engrailed ; indented with curved lines.
- Erast, 101/217, chiefly, firstly.
- Erneful, 66/5, yearning, anxious.
- Exigente, 79/4, ? difficulty.
- Exquisitely, 7, well ; in a superior manner.
- Fage, 81/66, to deceive by falsehood or flattery.
- Fail, 12, a woman's upper garment.
- Fanyng, 34, ? refers to the *banners* being held.
- Farsed, 84/160, filled, stuffed.
- Feces, 98/113. Fesses are bands drawn horizontally across the centre of an escutcheon.
- Feir, } 99/137, 140, company.
Fere, } See note 1, p. 99.
- Felle, 94/16. Fell and wit, cleverness and intelligence.
- Fene, 87/20, to feign or fancy.
- Fess, for *sic*, 98/96. ? fess : see note, p. 103, on l. 96.
- Ffesaunte, 90, pheasant.
- Ffet, 99/150, fess ?
- Ffrumenty with Veneson, 90, cp. 'Desserte : froumentée et venison.' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 108. Again at the wedding of maistre Jehan de Hautecourt : 'Fromentée, venison, poires et noix. *Nota* que pour la fromentée convendra trois cens œufs,' *ib.* p. 121. Also, p. 97, &c. (See the Index.)
- Ffruter lumbarde, 92, fritters à la Lombarde, an ancient dish. See the recipe for *Leche Lombard* in *Babees Book Index*, p. 95, col. 2, from *Forme of Cury*, p. 36 ; and see *Nares* under *Lumber* : also *Frutour lumbert*, at an Oxford dinner, 1452 A.D. *Reliq. Ant.* i. 88.
- Fichye, 99/140, crois fichye means a cross fitchée, that is, having the lower limb pointed.
- Flarait, 99/138, *fleurie*, a cross *fleurie* is a cross with fleurs-de-lis issuing from the limbs ; but a cross *fleurettée* may be intended. They are almost identical.
- Florate, 99/155 ?
- Fold, 98/122, folk.
- Foltysse, 81/53 ; foltishe, 82/90 ; 83/120, foolish.
- Foreman, 25

- Forten, 63/215, fortune ; happen.
- Fourmes, 33, forms, seats.
- Fovrmie, 99/140, formée. A cross-formée is a cross small in the centre and widening towards the extremities.
- Foys, 61/170, foes.
- Foysoun, 84/148, nourishment. 'The natural juice or moisture of the grass.'—*Hallivell*.
- Frary, 79/6, friary.
- Fremde, 44/22, a stranger.
- Frontlet, 26, a forehead band.
- Frow, 39/6, fro, from.
- Furnishes, 6, furnaces.
- Fussewis, 99/158, fusils. A fusil in heraldry is an elongated lozenge. See note, p. 104.
- Gase, a gase, 46/61 ; to gaze, or a-gazing.
- Gelee, 90, jelly.
- Gentrice, 102/232, gentry.
- Gerondy, 100/169. Gyronny, covered with gyrons, or divided so as to form several gyrons ; said of an escutcheon. See note, p. 104.
- Geton, 29. '*Getoun*, a banner, properly two yards in length.' See p. 29, note.
- Girphinne, 99/163, griffons.
- Gittovnis, 93/10, *Getoun*, a banner, properly 2 yards in length : p. 29, note.
- Glondes, 100/167 ? (See note, p. 104.)
- Goldy, 96/73, '*Stonne goldy*, as *thopasis*' = gold-coloured stone as the *topaz*.
- Golpes, 104/5.
- Gordoll, 40/41, girdle.
- Goulis, 96/66, gules ; one of the heraldic colours : red. Goulis ruby, 97/92.
- Graunte chare, 92. See note 2, p. 92.
- Gre, 101/212, degree, rank.
- Greis, 101/210. 'Greis thre,' three orders.
- GreseH, 105/2, a grizzle, a grumbler.
- Gryce, 39/16, a young pig : 'a nantyn gryce,' a Saint Anthony's pig.
- Guidon, 32, a kind of standard. See p. 29, note.
- Gyglot, 45/49, a giddy romping girl.
- Habattes, 33, habits.
- Hady-wist, 42/120, 110/35 = had I wist, that is, 'Had I known,' I wouldn't have done it ; an expression of regret.
- Hafter, 87/41. See note 3, p. 87.
- Hallow, 11, to halloo.
- Harowlde, 8, herald.
- Harrowldrie, 8, heraldry.
- Hatrent, 101/226, hatred.
- Haute grece, 90, Capon of, high fat ; very fat capon.
- Hawe, 84/148, haue.
- Hempen Lane, 106/55, the gal-lows.
- Heronne-sewis, 99/147, herons.
- Heronsewe, 90, 91, the heron or heronshaw.
- Heroune, 99/144, heron.
- Heþene, hence.
- Hewe, 68/21, hew, chop (as chips will fly into your eye).
- Hewmatis, 100/166. *Humettée* in heraldry is a term applied to a chevron : a *cross humettée* is one of which the limbs do not extend to the limits of the shield.
- Hoddys, 33, hoods.
- Holbeardes, 5, halberds.
- Horlde, 57/40.
- Hote, 65/18, promise.

Hothe, 54/81, oath.

Hurtis, 98/111, hurtles, in heraldry, are roundels azure.

Hye, 63/225. In hye, quickly.

I, 95/51, in.

Iangelynge, 44/22, 66/9, jangling.

Iett, 106/50, device, fashion.

Iettyng, 66/9, Jutting, strutting, proud.

Indenturis, 100/166, indentations.

In heraldry there are two sorts distinguished by the largeness of the teeth; the smaller are said to be *indented*; the larger *dancettée*.

Indultyf, 106/54. Halliwell glosses this word 'Indulgence; luxury:' its meaning clearly is inducement, incitement, which follows naturally from the meaning, 'license.'

Inginer, 4, engineer.

Invre, 70/84, inure, accustom, associate.

Iowe, 80/35, jaw.

Knawe, 80/40, knave.

Labelle, 95/44, label; in heraldry a fillet with pendants, or points, usually three. An eldest son differences his arms with a label.

Lamber, 84/142, lambs.

Leche, 42/102, a physician.

Leche dalmayn, 90; Leche damasque, 91; Leche fforee, 90; Leche lumbarde, 91; Leche maskelyn, 92; Leche rubby, 92. The name of a dish. The term *leche* is applied to those dishes which were served up in slices. See *Prompt. Parv.* and Halliwell, s. v. *leche*.

Ledis, 101/220, people.

Leiff, 97/86, leaf (of a book).

Lene, 85/7, lend.

Lerid, 65/21, learned.

Lete lardes, 91. See note 11, p. 91.

Lewid, 65/21, lewd, ignorant.

Lifte, 31, left, in opposition to right.

Linth, 94/30, length.

Lionne-sewys, 99/147, lioncels; in heraldry a small lion, especially one of several borne in the same coat of arms, is called a lioncel. See note, p. 99.

Liscenciat, 101/220, licensed, permitted.

Losingis, 99/158, lozenges: in heraldry a lozenge is a diamond-shaped figure. See note, p. 104.

Loutyng, 84/155, bowing, stooping.

Lucyant, xix, bright, shining.

Lure, 11, to call a hawk or other animal.

Lyth, 45/38. 'Lith or limb,' a phrase meaning joint or limb, that is, any part of the body.

Malaparte, 80/37, saucy, bold.

Male, 84/159, budget, bag, portmanteau.

Mameny ryall, 91, the name of a dish. See *Babees Book*, p. 53.

Mansuete, 102/236, gentle.

Marte, 8, a book fair.

Mase, 46/62 ? the maze = the greatest news, or wonder. See Halliwell, s. v. *mase*.

Masklewis, 99/158, mascles. A mascle is a lozenge voided, i. e. a hollow lozenge. See note, p. 104.

Medid, 106/56, rewarded.

Mellous, 66/12, to contrast with *meri*, as 'loth' with 'liberal' above it. Medlous, medelus, *Babees Book*, p. 9, 12; meddlesome, troublesome.

Membrit, 99/162, membered, having a different tint from that of the body;—said of the beak and

- legs of a bird which is not a bird of prey.
- Mene, 48/130, } servants.
Men-eze, 48/125, }
- Merkis, 93/13; 95/54, signs or marks.
- Merl, 95/45, martlet, a bird without feet or beak. A fourth son differences his arms with a martlet.
- Mesaris, 102/234, ? spoilers, ? messers. ? missers (void of).
- Mesures, 108/101, moderations.
- Mewaris, 102/234, movers.
- Militare, 2, military.
- Mold, 100/172, earth, world.
- Molet, 95/45, mullet, i. e. a spurrowel. A third son differences his arms with a mullet.
- Mordand, 98/129, mordant.
- Morné, 98/133, said of a lion without teeth, claws, or tail.
- Mosellis, 43/149, morsels.
- Mownter in mantell, 92, the name of an ancient dish. ? What.
- Multiplication, 6. See note, p. 111.
- Musyn, 106/45, Muse, pore over.
- Mwyd, vp mwyd, 83/133, mewed up, confined.
- Mys-chewe, 85/5, come to misfortune.
- Myssey, 47/104, to revile, abuse (*mis-say*).
Al-swa pai sal ilkan other wery,
And *myssay* and sclaundre God
allemyghty.
Hampole, P. of C. 9424.
- Nantyny, S. Anthony, 39/16.
- Nemyl, 83/108, nimble, capable,
Halliwel s. v. *nemel*.
- Nessche, 64/241, soft.
- Nomer, 98/133. See note, p. 103.
- Nonbles, 90, numbles; the entrails of a deer.
- Nones, 107/87, nonce; the present time, or time being.
- Nyse, 69/33, foolish.
- Nyte, 94/33, deny.
In battle ne in tournament
He *nytyde* us never with naye.
Halliwel.
- Odour, 64/236, 96/69, either.
- Oneste, 63/213, honesty.
- Oneste, 70/72, honest.
- Orped, 66/14, bold.
- Ouer-sene, 49/164, overcome, drunk. 'Almost drunk, somewhat *ouerseene*.' Cotgr. quoted by Halliwell.
- Pale, 62/200. 'By pales or by pale.' ? By palace or by fence; or, by palace or by pales, which often form the park fence.
- Pales, 98/113. A pale is a broad, perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from the two edges and occupying one third of it.
- Panis, Panys, 100/177, 181. Pann, cloth. See note, p. 100.
- Pars, 107/81, parts, duties.
- Passand, 98/128, passant; walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely.
- Pasty, 58/83, pasty.
- Paty, 99/137. A cross patée is a cross small at the centre and widening towards the extremes. See note, p. 104.
- Paust, 32, ? motto.
- Pawlles, 35, palls, cloths of gold.
- Peces, 35, "armyd att all peces" = fully armed.
- Pedigrues, 8, pedigrees.
- Pellett, 99/153, 157. A roundel sable is termed a pellett. See note, p. 104.
- Penselles, 30, 33, small banners.

- Perbend, 98/116, same as bend.
- Per cheveroun, 98/117. *See* Chevron, and note, p. 104.
- Perfess, 98/116. *See* Fess.
- Perl, 96/74, pearl.
- Perpale, 98/114. *See* Pales.
- Perpure, 96/66, purple.
- Persewantis, 101/200, pursuivants.
- Phistiloes, 5, fistulas.
- Pictes, 100/165, ? pikes, *n.*, p. 104. The MS may be read *putes*; if so, Mr H. H. Gibbs would correct it to *puntes*, points; for a *point* is one kind of 'abatement' in arms, and a *Delph* is another.
- Plateis, 98/109. Roundels argent are called plates.
- Plicht, 99/158, placed.
- Poletis, 98/110, pellets; roundels sable are called pellets.
- Pomme, 98/111. A roundel vert is called a *pomme*.
- Popelers, 91, a kind of bird. *See* *Prompt. Parv.*
- Poudringes, 13, 17, bands of ermine, called also miniver. *See* notes, pp. 13, 28.
- Pretens, 80/29, designing, pretending.
- Principate, 3, principality.
- Proper, 95/65, properly so called. *See* note, p. 96, and p. 103.
- Proportis, 96/67, explains, purports.
- Prow, 106/47.
- Prow, 63/218, honour, advantage.
- Prudence, 80/41, prudent.
- Prys, 85/1, 105/4, estimation, value.
- Pulter, 81/43, poulterer.
- Pusancis, 93/5, puissances.
- Quarterlie, 97/98, quarterly. *See* note 3, p. 97.
- Queme, 67/16, pleasure.
- Querellous, 67/16, querulous.
- Querelour, 66/26, complaint, querulousness.
- Queynt, 107/82, acquaint.
- Queynte, 67/16, quaint, cunning, artful.
- Quhyte, xiii, white.
- Quiche, 95/44, which. ~ "Quiche a labelle" = who (bears) a label.
- Rampand, 98/127, rampant; standing upright on his hind legs, as if attacking a person. Said of an animal.
- Raschit, 94/26, 100/168, erased; torn off, leaving jagged and uneven edges.
- Rawnesse, 2, ignorance, inexperience.
- Reche, 42/100, ? reach, obtain.
- Regalli, 66/27, for *regalty*, royalty, a kingdom; that over which one has the rule.
- Regardand, 98/130, regardant; looking behind or backward.
- Regle, 99/142. *Ragulée*: a cross *ragulée* is a cross with jagged edges.
- Rehete, 62/198, punishment, or blame.
- Reue, 85/4, reeve.
- Revestre, 35, vestry.
- Ring, 101/214, kingdom.
- Roages, 7, rogues. *See* note, p. 111.
- Rondis, 97/107, roundels. *See* note 5, p. 97.
- Roo, 92, rue.
- Rosey, 92, the name of a confection, composed chiefly of milk, dates, spices, &c.—*Halliwel*. Cp. 'un rosé, lait lardé et croutes de lait,' *Le Ménagier de Paris*, ii. 95; 'un rosé de lapereaulx et d'oiselets, bourrées à la sausse chaude,' *ib.* p. 97, &c. (See the Index to *Le Mén.*)

- Rownyng, 84/155, whispering.
- Rysshewes, 92. See note 6, p. 92. In *Lib. Cure Coc.*, p. 39, we find *rissheus*.
- Sable, 96/66, black. 'Sable, diamont of det,' p. 96/74.
- Saliant, 98/128, salient, represented in a leaping position.
- Salt-saler, 60/148, salt-cellar.
- Sanctes, 33, saints.
- Sarsile, 99/141 ?sarceled, i. e. cut through the middle. 'A *cross cercelée* is a cross which, opening at the end, turns round both ways, like a ram's horn.'—*Bailey*.
- Selake, 45/39, slake, cool.
- Serooging, xi, crowding, squeezing.
- Seand, 98/129, sejant, or sitting; a term applied to a lion or other animal sitting like a cat.
- Seely, 11, simple, humble.
- Seir, 95/51, several.
- Sekatoures, 85/9, executors.
- Semaka, 90. See p. xvi and p. 90, note 9.
- Semaka frye3, 90. (See note 9, p. 90, also p. xvi.
- Sens, 33, to cense.
- Sewer, 17, 25, the officer of the house who set and removed dishes, tasted them, etc.
- Sic, 97/96. Query, the same as *fess*. See note 1, p. 97, and note, p. 103.
- Sight, 67/18, to sigh.
- Signet, 92, cygnet.
- Sigruns, 84/140, a wolf.
 "Quod the vox: 'Wo is now there?
 Iche wene hit is *Sigrim* that ich here.'
 'That is soth, the wolf sede,
 Ac wat art thou, so God the rede.'" *Vox and Wolf*, ed. Hazlitt.
- Singlare, 100/190, singular, uncommon; 'precyus singlare' = singularly precious.
- Sirculey, 16. Qu. a coronet. 'Cercle in heraldry signifies within a circle, or *diadem*.'—*Bailey*.
- Sittes, 106/46, it sits to you = it pertains to you.
- Skyunner, 107/78, a dealer in skins.
- Sleyghty, 83/138, sly.
- Slope, 24, 28, 36, 'a morning caskock for ladies or gentlemen, not open before,' p. 28.
- Slyued, 25. 'The term (sliven) was often applied to dress. Carr has *sliving*, having the brim or edge turned down.'—*Halliwel*. *Sluie*, *disrumpere*.—*Levins*, 152.
- Sogettis, 66/28, subjects.
- Spado, 81/47, a castrated animal, an impotent person.
- Speris, 94/16, sees, or inquires. To other londys wylle y *spere*, More of awnturs for to here. *Halliwel*.
- Spreynte, 80/30, sprinkled.
- Spyre, 63/217, to inquire, ask.
- Statant, 98/127. A lion *statant* is a lion standing in profile and looking before him.
- State, yn a state, 89; in state, or in royal state.
- Sted, 86/10, placed. 'I am stedful heavily' = I am painfully placed or situated.
- Sted, 100/170, stand, consist.
- Sternis, 94/22, stars.
- Stryte, 49/148. Courne be stryte = ? Corn be *strait*, where strait would mean *scarce*.
- Styburne, 82/98, stubborn.
- Suclye, 99/142. See note, p. 104.
- Surcourt, 16. A surcoat.
- Sybbe, 44/22, a relative.
- Ta, 61/171, to.
- Tacches, 66/10, 'dispositions, habits. Beware of knaves' habits.

- Talewise, 67/19, 109/8, wise in tales.
 Tayllours, 107/73, tailors.
 Tent, 95/45, taken notice, or observe.
Observe, the fourth is a martlet.
 Tente, 58/66, take heed.
 Tergat, 7.
 The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.
 per-on, 58/62, therein.
 Thofe, 61/169, though.
 Thopasis, 96/73, topazes.
 To, 64/250, 82/101, till.
 To-gid, 97/101, together.
 Tonne, 98/119, the one.
 Tortell, 99/157, tortile, twisted, round. See note, p. 104.
 Tortes, 98/110, 99/157, torteaux, roundels gules are termed torteaux.
 Thour and Thorn, 20. See note 3, p. 20.
 Throw, 106/45. Time.
 Tovny, 96/77, tawny, orange colour.
 Toyllous, 67/19, laborious.
 Trapper, 26, trappings.
 Trauerse, 17. ? A moveable screen. See note 4, p. 17.
 Trayer, 27. ? dresser.
 Valance, 30, 33.
 Verraunce, 86/13, variance, variation.
 Verray, 99/144. Enurné. See note, p. 104.
 Vert, 96/66, one of the heraldic colours; green. 'Vert emeraut,' 96/76, = green, emerald.
 Vmbe-set, 87/23, surrounded, overwhelmed.
 Vmdois, 99/149. ? Um-do = do, or set round; support.
 Vn-Abulle, 57/49, enable.
 Vnkothe, 43/156, unknown.
 Walet, 84/166, wallet.
 Waryn, 83/109, warren.
 Wate, 105/1, know.
 Wer, 58/62, ware, careful, aware.
 Were, 106/55, beware; let them beware.
 Werely, 97/94. 'Werely weidis' = ? worldly garments.
 Werly, 95/54, worldly.
 Werr, 100/177. *Vair*, which is formed by a number of small bells, or shields, of one tincture, arranged in horizontal lines, in such a manner that those in the upper line are opposite to others, of another tincture, below.
 Wesage, 81/65, visage.
 Wnproper, 96/67, improper.
 Women, satires on, 12.
 Worth, 86/11, become, 'worth of' = happen to, befall, become of.
 Wowed, 88/16, wooed.
 Wreche, 42/104, wrath, anger.
 'Wyne his wreche' = overcome his anger.
 And covere me atte that dredful day
 Til that thy *wreche* be y-passed
 away.—*Halliwel*.
 Wyage 83/117, voyage, journey.
 Wyndows, 98/111, wounds. See note 5, p. 98, and note, p. 104.
 Wysage, 80/37, visage.
 Yard, 89. A wand.
 Ydell-schype, 47/113, idleness.
 Ye, 105/7, eye.
 Yift, 88/3, gift, bribery.
 Yewythe, 80/27, giveth.
 3ern, 52/7, yarn.
 'For yarn that is evil spun
 Evil it comes out at the last.'

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PART II.

ACCOUNTS OF

Early Italian, German & French Books

ON

Courtesy, Manners, and Cookery.

- I. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.
- II. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA AND ANOTHER GERMAN WORK ON COURTESY.
- III. NOTE ON *LE MÉNAGIER DE PARIS*, 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA'S

Fifty Courtesies for the Table

(ITALIAN AND ENGLISH)

WITH OTHER

TRANSLATIONS AND ELUCIDATIONS

BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.

TO THE ENGLISH PAINTER
WHO HAS MADE CIVILIZED MANKIND HIS DEBTOR
BY RECOVERING THE PORTRAIT OF

Dante BY Giotto,

THE TWO DII MAJORES OF ITALIAN MEDIEVALISM,
TO THE

BARONE KIRKUP,

MY FATHER'S HONOURED FRIEND AND MY OWN,

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE
THIS SLIGHT ATTEMPT IN A BRANCH OF ITALIAN STUDY
LONG FAMILIAR TO HIMSELF.

W. M. R.

June 1869.

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IN connection with the many samples of English and some French and Latin Courtesy-Books which the pains of other Editors have set before the members of the Early English Text Society, I have been asked to do something to exhibit what Italian literature has to show for itself in the same line. The request is one which I gladly close with ; only cautioning the reader at starting that he must not expect to find in my brief essay any deep or exhaustive knowledge of the subject, or anything beyond specimens of the works under consideration, picked out one here and one there. Italy, it is tolerably well known, was, together with Provence, in the forefront of civilization—or ‘civility,’ as it might here be more aptly phrased—in the middle ages ; and I should not be surprised to learn that, in the refinements of life and niceties of method, the Italy of the thirteenth century, as traceable in her Courtesy-Books, was quite on a par with the France or Germany¹ of the fourteenth, or the England of the fifteenth, and so progressively on. This, however, is a matter which I must leave to be determined by more diligent and more learned researches than my own. The materials for the comparison are now, to some extent, fairly before the editing and reading members of our Society.

As regards date, at all events, Italy is greatly in advance. What is the date of the earliest French Courtesy-Book included in our

¹ As mentioned below, the first German work including something by way of Courtesy-Book, ab. 1210 A.D., *Der Wälsche Gast*, was written by an Italian, Tomasin von Zirclaria.

series? Not far, I presume, from the close of the fourteenth century. What of the earliest English one? About 1450. Against these we can set an Italian Courtesy-Book—or rather a Courtesy section of an Italian book—dating about 1265. Of a date prior to this (the birth-year of Dante), there is little of either prose or poetry in Italian.

The author of our specimen is a man illustrious in the literature of Italy, though comparatively little read for some centuries past—Brunetto Latini; remembered chiefly among miscellaneous readers as the preceptor of Dante, and as consigned by that affectionate but unaccommodating pupil to a very ugly circle of his Hell. There, if we may believe the ‘Poet of Rectitude,’ Ser Brunetto, with a ‘baked aspect,’ is at this moment unremittingly walking under an unrelenting rain of fire: were he to pause, he would remain moveless for a century, and the torture of the flames would persecute him in aggravated proportion. On the same authority (which it is futile to fence with), I am compelled to say that Brunetto is the last person from whom one need wish to learn the practice, or as a consequence the theory, of modern or European morals.

However, Brunetto seems to have considered that he had a gift that way. Both his leading works may be termed moral-scientific treatises. The longer of the two, the *Tesoro*, was written in French prose, and is much of a compilation from classic authors in some sections. It had hitherto only been preserved to the public in an old Italian translation, but quite recently the French text has been printed. Sacred, profane, and natural history, geography, oratory, politics, and morals, are the main subject-matter of this encyclopædic labour; than which probably no contemporary produced anything more widely learned, according to the standard of that age. The *Tesoretto* is a shorter performance, written in Italian verse; shorter, yet still of substantial length, numbering, even in its extant incomplete state, 22 sections or ‘*capitoli*.’ This is the work upon which I shall draw for our first specimen of an Italian Courtesy-Book. Something bearing upon the like questions might also be gleaned from the *Tesoro*, but, as that is properly a French book, I leave it aside.

The *Tesoretto* sets forth that its author, being at Roncesvalles on

his return from an embassy in Spain, received the bad news of the battle of Montaperti. Getting astray in a forest,¹ he finds himself in the presence of no less a personage than Dame Nature, who proceeds to give him practical and theoretic demonstrations on all sorts of lofty subjects. She then tells him to explore the forest, where he would find Philosophy, the four Moral Virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice), Love, Fortune, and Over-reaching (Baratteria). He follows her instructions, searching out these personages from Philosophy on to Love: the four Virtues are attended by many ladies, among whom Brunetto specifies particularly Liberality, *Courtesy*, Good-faith, and Valour. After his interview with Love, he resolves to reconcile himself with God, and makes a full confession at Montapelier. Having received absolution, he does not return after Fortune and Over-reaching, but goes back to the forest, and thence reaches the summit of Mount Olympus. Here he sees Ptolemy, who is about to harangue him, when suddenly the *Tesoretto* comes to an end. Its best editor, the Abate Zannoni, supposes that the concluding portion of the poem was written, but has been lost to posterity.

A few words must be added as to the incidents of the author's life. He was born (probably) not much later than 1220 in the Florentine state, and died in 1294. After the great defeat of the Guelphs by the Ghibellines at Montaperti in 1260, Brunetto, with others of the Guelph party, which was almost uninterruptedly uppermost in Florence, found it expedient to emigrate from that capital. He went to Paris, and there wrote both the *Tesoro* and *Tesoretto*. Towards 1265 he was again re-established in his native country, exercising with great credit his profession of a notary, and also (by or before the year 1273) holding the post of secretary to the Commune of Florence. He became, as already mentioned, the preceptor of Dante. As the pupil has damned him to all time at any rate, if not in effect to all eternity, for one offence, let us at least preserve some memory of his countervailing merits, as set forth by Giovanni and Filippo Villani. The former affirms that Brunetto 'was the initiator and master in refining the Florentines, and cultivating their use of

¹ Possibly this notion prompted Dante to represent himself, in the opening of the *Commedia*, as also lost in a forest.

language ; and in regulating the justice and rule of our Republic according to policy.' And, according to Filippo, 'Brunetto Latini was by profession a philosopher, by occupation a notary, and of great name and celebrity. He showed forth how much of rhetoric he could add to the gifts of nature : a man, if it be permitted to say so, worthy of being reckoned along with those skilled and ancient orators. He was facetious, learned, and acute, and abounded in certain pleasantries of speech ; yet not without gravity, and the reserve of modesty, which bespoke a most cordial acceptance for his humour : of agreeable discourse, which often moved to laughter. He was obliging and decorous, and by nature serviceable, reserved, and grave ; and most happy in the habit of all virtues, had he been wisely able to endure with a more steadfast mind the outrages of his infuriated country.'

The *Tesoretto* is of course a mine of curiosities of various kinds, tempting to the literary explorer. To call it distinctly a fine poem, or even the performance of a strictly poetic mind, might be the exaggeration of an enthusiast ; but at all events it contains much sound matter well put, and by no means destitute of entertainment. The section that falls in best with our present purpose is the speech assigned to Lady Courtesy : I present it in its entirety.

'Be sure that Liberality is the head and greatness¹
Of my mystery ; so that I am little worth,
And, if she aids me not, I should find scant acceptance.
She is my foundation ; and I am her gilding,
And colour, and varnish. But, to say the very truth,
If we have two names, we are well-nigh one thing.

But to thee, gentle friend, I say first
That in thy speech thou be circumspect.
Be not too great a talker, and think aforehand
What thou wouldst be saying ; for never

¹ The line here translated as one forms two in the Italian, and the like with our sequel ; Brunetto's metre being an ungracefully short one—thus :

'Sìe certo che Larghezza
È'l capo e la grandezza,' &c.

Indeed the metre keeps up such a perpetual jingling as almost to reduce to doggerel what might, in a different rhythmical form, be accepted as very fair rhyme and reason indeed. I have thrown the several couplets into single lines, in the translation, simply with a view to saving space.

Doth the word that is spoken return,—like the arrow
Which goes and returns not. He who has a goodly tongue,
Little sense suffices him, if by folly he spoils it not.
Be thy speech gentle; and see it be not harsh
In any position of command, for thou canst not
Give people any graver annoy. I advise that he should die
Who displeases by harshness, for he never conquers the habit:
And he who has no moderation, if he acts well, he filches that.
Be not exasperating; neither be a tell-tale
Of what another person has spoken in thy presence;
Nor yet use contumely; nor tell any one a lie,
Nor slander of any,—for in sooth there is no one
Of whom one might not say something offensive offhand.
Neither be so self-sufficient as that even one hard word
Affecting another person should issue from thy mouth;
For too much self-sufficiency is contrary to good usage.
And let him who is on the highway beware of speaking folly.

But thou knowest that I command thee, and put it as a strict precept,
That thou honour to the utmost thy good friend
On foot and on horseback: and be sure that for a small fault
Thou bear no grudge—let not love fail on thy part.
And have it always in mind to associate with people of honour,
And from others hold aloof; so that (as with the crafts¹)
Thou mayst not acquire any vice, whereof, before thou couldst amend
it,

Thou shalt have scathe and shame. Therefore at all hours
Hold fast to good usage; for that advances thee
In credit and honour, and makes thee better,
And gives fair seeming,—for a good nature
Becomes the clearer and more polished if it follows good habits.
But see none the less that, if thou shouldst appear tedious
To such or such a company, thou venture to frequent it no more,
But procure thyself some other to which thy ways are pleasing.
Friend, heed this well: with one richer than thyself
Seek not to associate,—for thou shalt be as their merry-maker,
Or else thou wilt spend as much as they; for, if thou didst not this,
Thou wouldst be mean,—and reflect always
That a costly beginning demands perseverance.
Therefore thou must provide, if thy means allow it,

¹ The original runs

‘Che, siccome dell’arti,
Qualche vizio non prendi.’

This phrase is not quite clear to me; but I suppose the word ‘arti’ is to be understood as meaning ‘crafts, trades, or professions,’ and that Brunetto had been sharp enough to see that people become ‘shoppy’ according to their respective shops. ‘Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Josse.’

That thou do this openly. If not, then mind
 Not to make such expenditure as shall afterwards be reproved ;
 But adopt such a system as to be consistent with thyself.
 And, if thou art a little better off [than thy comrades], do not get
 away,
 But spend on the same scale ;¹ take no advantage :—
 And at all times take heed, if there is in thy company
 A man, in thine opinion, of inferior means,
 That, for God's sake, thou force him not into more than he can meet ;
 For, if, for thy convenience, he spends his money amiss,
 And comes to poverty, thou wilt be blamed therefor.

And in sooth there are persons of high condition
 Who call themselves "noble" : all others they hold cheap
 Because of this nobility. And, in that conceit,
 They will call a man "tradesman"¹ who would sooner spend a bushel
 Of florins than *they* of halfpence,²—
 Although the means of both might be of like amount.
 And he who holds himself noble, without doing any other good
 Save of the name, fancies he is making the cross to himself,
 But he *does* make the fig to himself.³ He who endures not toil
 For honour's sake, let him not imagine that he comes
 Among men of worth, because he is of lofty race ;
 For I hold him noble who shows that he follows the path
 Of great valour and of gentle nurture,—
 So that, besides his lineage, he does deeds of worth,
 And lives honourably so as to make himself beloved.
 I admit indeed that, if the one and other are equal in good deeds,

¹ 'Mercennario'—literally, mercenary or hireling.

² 'Picciolini.' These were, I gather, coins of a particular denomination, but I have not been able to ascertain their precise value.

³

'Credesi far la croce,
 Ma e' si fa la fica.'

I have translated literally ; but that of course makes something very like nonsense in English. To 'make the fig' is a gesture of the thumb and fingers, understood as gross and insulting in the highest degree. The general sense of the passage is therefore—'He fancies he is thus testifying in his own honour, whereas it really does redound to his own extreme shame.' Readers of Dante, remembering the splendid canzone

'Le dolei rime d'amor ch' io solia,'

in which he refutes the false and defines the true bases of 'nobility' (*gentilezza*), will perceive that the illustrious pupil had been to a great extent anticipated by the teaching of his early instructor. Francesco da Barberino (*Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*) adopts a middle course, discriminating '*gentilezza*' thus : 'Nobility is twoform in quality and in origin. The first is a state of the human soul contented in virtue, hostile to vice, exulting in the good of others, and pitiful in their adversity. The second is mastery over men or riches, derived from of old, sensitive to shame when brought low.'

He who is the better born is esteemed the higher :
 Not through any teaching of mine, but it seems to be the usage,
 Which conquers and overthrows many of my ways,
 So that I can no otherwise ; for this world is so dense
 That the right is even judged of according to a little talking,
 For the great and the lesser live therein by rumour.

Therefore be heedful to keep among them so silent
 That they may have nothing to laugh at. Adopt their modes,
 For I rather advise thee to follow their wrongfulness.¹
 For, though thou shouldst be in the right, yet, as soon as it pleases
 not them,

It avails thee nothing to speak well, nor yet ill.
 Therefore recount no tale, unless it appears good and fair
 To all who hear it ; for somebody will censure thee for it,
 And add lies thereto when thou art gone,
 Which must assuredly grieve thee. So thou must know,
 In such company, to play the prudent part,
 And be heedful to say what will please.
 And as for the good, if thou knowest it, thou wilt tell it to others
 Where thou art known and held dear ;
 For thou wilt find among people many fools
 Who take greater pleasure in hearing something scurrilous
 Than what is profitable. Pass on, and heed not,
 And be circumspect.

If a man of great repute
 Should at any time do something that is out of bounds
 In street or church, follow not the example :
 For he has no excuse who conforms to the wrong-doing of others.
 And see that thou err not if thou art staying or going
 With a lady or lord, or other superior,—
 Also that, although he be but thine equal, thou observe to honour him,
 Each according to his condition. Be so heedful of this,
 Both of less and more, that thou lose not self-restraint.
 To thine inferior, however, render not more honour
 Than beseems him, nor such that he should hold thee cheap for it :
 And so, if he is the inferior, always walk a step in advance.
 And, if thou art on horseback, avoid every fault ;
 And, if thou goest through the city, I counsel thee to go
 Very courteously. Ride decorously,
 With head a little bowed, for to go in that loose-reined way

¹ Here, on the contrary, we come to a precept the reverse of Dantesque. Yet, on combining this passage with that which opens the ensuing paragraph, it would seem that Brunetto does not mean to recommend connivance with anything that is positively evil, but only with current habits and fashions, objectionable though they may be, in matters essentially indifferent—as of speech and deportment.

Looks most boorish ; and stare not up at the height
Of every house thou comest to. Mind that thou move not about
Like a man from the country—wriggle not like an eel :
But go steadily along the road and among the people.

When thou art asked for a loan, delay not.
If thou art willing to lend, make not the man linger so long
That the favour shall be lost before it is rendered.

And, when thou art in company, always follow
Their modes and their liking ; for thou must not want
To be just suiting thine own taste, nor to be at odds with them.

And always be heedful that thou give not any gross glances
At any woman living, in house or street ;
For he who does thus, and calls himself a lover,
Is esteemed a blackguard.¹ And I have seen before now
A man lose position by a single act of levity ;²
For in this country such goings-on are not admired.
And take heed in every case that Love, with his arts,
Inflame not thy heart. With severest pain
Wouldst thou consume thy life ; nor couldst thou be numbered
In my following, wert thou in his power.³

Now return in-doors, for it is the time ;
And be liberal and courteous, so that in every country
All thy belongings be deemed pleasurable.'

We now pass from Florence to Lombardy—from Ser Brunetto Latini to Fra Bonvicino da Riva—from the lawyer and official to the friar and professor. The poem of Fra Bonvicino, *The Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, will be our principal *pièce de résistance*, and presented accordingly in its own garnishing of old Italian as well as in English. Not that it is by any means the best or most important piece of work that we have to bring forward ; but its rarity, its dialectic interest for students of old Italian, and its precision and detail with regard to one of the essentials of courtesy—the art of dining—

¹ 'Briccon'—the colloquial term still in daily use among Italians.

² '*Solo d'una canzone* : ' literally, 'merely for one song.' The Abate Zannoni understands this to mean '*per aver una sola volta canzonato femmina*.' He admits that this sense of the phrase is not discoverable in that fetish of the Italian pedant, the *Dizionario della Crusca* ; but as I have no superior authority to oppose to that of Abate Zannoni, I have followed his interpretation.

³ This seems strange doctrine—that love of courtesy and love of women cannot co-exist in the same man—if we are to accept it in its amplest sense. Perhaps, however, we are to understand that the speaker is still confining his censures to miscellaneous and unsanctioned amours or flirtations, especially with married women.

give it exceptional value for our direct purpose. The poem is supposed to have been written about 1290.

Unpolished as he is in poetic development, Fra Bonvicino is not to be altogether slighted from a literary point of view. Tiraboschi (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*) believes that Bonvicino and one other were the two sole verse-writers of the Lombard or Milanese State in this opening period of Italian poesy; and Signor Biondelli, whom we have to thank for the publication of Bonvicino's production after so many centuries of its hybernation in MS, can point to the choiceness of the old Friar's vocabulary. In one couplet that well-qualified editor is able to find five expressions 'which, for propriety and purity, would even at the present day beseeem the most careful of writers;' and hence he pronounces Bonvicino 'the elegant writer of his time.' It should be understood, however, that the MS reproduced by Signor Biondelli, and now again in the present volume, gives but an inadequate idea of the primitiveness of Bonvicino's own actual idiom. Tiraboschi cites a harsher version of the first stanza from an earlier MS then existing in the Library of Santa Maria In-coronata in Milan, but which is now undiscoverable: the MS used by Signor Biondelli is of a much later date, the fifteenth century. It pertains to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Bonvicino belonged to the third order of the Friars named Umi-liati, and lived (as he himself informs us) in Legnano, a town of the Milanese district. Hence he went to Milan, and became a distinguished professor of grammar in the Palatine schools. The only other poem of his published in Signor Biondelli's volume¹ is *On the dignity of the Glorious Virgin Mary*: but Tiraboschi specifies other productions in verse—Dialogues in praise of Almsgiving, between the Virgin and Satan, between the Virgin and the Sinner, between the Creator and the Soul, between the Soul and the Body, between the Violet and the Rose, between the Fly and the Ant; also the Legends of Job and of St Alexius; and various works in Latin, of which some have been published.

¹ Poesie Lombarde Inedite del Secolo 13, publicate ed illustrate da B. Biondelli. Milano: Bernardoni. 1856. We are indebted to Signor Biondelli's courtesy for a copy of this curious and interesting work.

DE LE

ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA

DE FRA BONVEXINO DA RIVA

Fra bon Vexino da Riva, che stete in borgo Legniano
 De le cortexie da descho ne dixe primano ;
 De le cortexie cinquanta che se den servare a descho
 Fra bon Vexino da Riva ne parla mo' de frescho. 4

La primiera è questa : che quando tu è a mensa,
 Del povero bexognoxo imprimamente inpensa ;
 Che quando tu pasci lo povero, tu pasci lo tó Signore,
 Che te passerà, poxe la toa morte, in lo eternal dolzore. 8

La cortexia segonda : se tu sporze aqua alle man,
 Adornamente la sporze ; guarda no sia vilan ;
 Asay ghe ne sporze, no tropo, quando el è tempo d'estae ;
 D' inverno per lo fregio in pizina quantitae. 12

La terza cortexia si è : no sì tropo presto
 De corre senza parola per asetare al descho ;
 Se alchun te invida a noxe, anze che tu sie asetato,
 Per ti no prende quello axio, d'onde tu fuzi deschazato. 16

¹ Bonvexino (pronounced Bonvesino) is, in modern Italian, Bonvicino—i. e. good neighbour.

² 'Afresh' represents the Italian 'de frescho.' Signor Biondelli considers that the phrase means 'afresh,' indicating that Fra Bonvesino had written his Courtesies in Latin before turning them into Italian. Signor Biondelli, however, admits that 'de frescho' may also mean 'now recently,' 'just now' ;

THE
FIFTY COURTESIES FOR THE TABLE,
OF FRA BONVESINO¹ DA RIVA.

Fra Bonvesino da Riva, who lived in the town of Legnano,
First treated of the Courtesies for the Table.
Of the Fifty Courtesies which should be observed at the board
Fra Bonvesino da Riva now speaks afresh.² 4

The first is this: that, when thou art at table,
Thou think first of the poor and needy;
For, when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Lord,
Who will feed thee, after thy death, in the eternal bliss. 8

The second Courtesy. If thou offerest water for the hands,
Offer it neatly: see thou be not rude.
Offer enough water, not too much, when it is summer-time:
In winter, for the cold, in small quantity. 12

The third Courtesy is—Be not too quick
To run without a word to sit down at the board.
If any one invites thee to a wedding,³ before thou art seated,
Take not for thyself a place from which thou wouldst be turned out.

and, but for his contrary preference, I should attribute that meaning to the word in the present instance.

³ 'Noxe.' I *suppose* this must represent the modern-Italian word 'nozze,' nuptials, though the incident of a wedding seems rather suddenly introduced at this point, and does not re-appear afterwards.

L' oltra è : Anze che tu prendi lo cibo aparegiao
 Per ti, over per tò mayore, fa sì ch' el sie segniao.
 Tropo è gordo e vilan, e incontra Cristo malegna
 Lo quale alli oltri guarda, ni lo sò condugio no segna. 20

La cortexia zinquena : sta aconzamente al descho,
 Cortexe, adorno, alegro, e confortoxo e frescho ;
 No di' sta convitoroxo, ni gramo, ni travachao ;
 Ni con le gambe in croxe, ni torto, ni apodiaio. 24

La cortexia sexena : da poy che l' omo se fiada,
 Sia cortexe no apodiasse sovra la mensa bandia ;
 Chi fa dra mensa podio, quello homo non è cortexe,
 Quando el gh'apodia le gambe, over ghe ten le braze destexe. 28

La cortexia setena si è : in tuta zente
 No tropo mangiare, ni pocho ; ma temperadamente ;
 Quello homo en ch' el se sia, che mangia tropo, ni pocho,
 No vego quentro pro ghe sia al'anima, ni al corpo. 32

La cortexia ogena si è : che Deo n' acrescha,
 No tropo imple la bocha, ni tropo mangia inpressa ;
 Lo gordo che mangia inpressa, e che mangia a bocha piena,
 Quando el fisse apellavo, no ve risponde apena. 36

La cortexia novena si è : a pocho parlare,
 Et a tenere pox quello che l' à tolegio a fare ;
 Che l' omo tan fin ch' el mangia, s' el usa tropo a dire,
 Le ferguie fora dra bocha sovenzo pon insire. 40

La cortexia dexena si è : quando tu è sede,
 Travonde inanze lo cibo, e furbe la bocha, e beve.
 Lo gordo che beve inpressa, inanze ch' el voja la chana ;
 Al' oltro fa fastidio che beve sego in compagnia. 44

¹ Signor Biondelli understands this stanza in a somewhat different sense, as applying to the *assigning* of dishes, not the *signing* of the cross as a grace be-

The next is—Before thou takest the food prepared,
 See that it be signed [with the cross] by thyself or thy better.
 Too greedy and churlish is he, and he offends against Christ,
 Who looks about at others, and signs not his dish.¹ 20

The fifth Courtesy. Sit properly at the board,
 Courteous, well-dressed, cheerful, and obliging and fresh.
 Thou must not sit anxious, nor dismal, nor lolling,
 Nor with thy legs crossed, nor awry, nor leaning forward. 24

The sixth Courtesy. When people are at a pause,
 Be careful not to lean forward on the laid-out table.
 He who uses the table as a prop, that man is not courteous,
 When he tilts his legs upon it, or stretches out his arms along it. 28

The seventh Courtesy is—For all people
 Not to eat too much nor little, but temperately.
 That man, whoever he may be, who eats too much or little,
 I see not what good it can be to his soul or his body. 32

The eighth Courtesy is—So may God favour us,
 Fill not thy mouth too much, nor eat in too great a hurry.
 The glutton who eats in a hurry, and who eats with his mouth stuffed,
 If he were addressed, he scarcely answers you. 36

The ninth Courtesy is—To speak little,
 And stick to that which one has set-to at doing ;
 For a man, as long as he is eating, if he has the habit of talking too
 much,
 Scraps may often spurt out of his mouth. 40

The tenth Courtesy is—When thou art thirsty,
 First swallow down thy food, and wipe thy mouth, and drink.
 The glutton who drinks in a hurry, before he has emptied his gullet,
 Makes himself disagreeable to the other who is drinking in his com-
 pany. 44

fore meat. The reference to Christ seems to me to create a strong presumption
 in favour of my interpretation.

E la undexena è questa : no sporze la copa al' oltro,
 Quando el ghe pò atenze, s' el no te fesse acorto ;
 Zaschuno homo prenda la copa quando ghe plaxe ;
 E quando el l' à beudo, l' à de mete zoxo in paxe. 43

La dodexena è questa : quando tu di' prende la copa,
 Con dove mane la rezeve, e ben te furbe la bocha ;
 Con l'una conzamente no se pò la ben receive ;
 Azò ch' el vino no se spanda, con doe mane di' beve. 52

La tredexena è questa : se ben tu no voy beve,
 S' alchun te sporze la copa, sempre la di' rezeve ;
 Quando tu l' à receuda, ben tosto la pò mete via ;
 Over sporze a un' altro ch' è tego in compagnia. 56

L' oltra che segue è questa : quando tu è alli convivi,
 Onde si à bon vin in descho, guarda che tu no t' invrie ;
 Che se invria matamente, in tre maynere offende ;
 El noxe al corpo e al' anima, e perde lo vin ch' el spende. 60

La quindexena è questa : seben verun ariva,
 No leva in pè dal descho, se grande cason no ghe sia ;
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, non di' moverse inlora,
 Per amore de fare careze a quilli che te veraveno sovra. 64

La sedexena apresso con veritae :
 No sorbilar dra bocha quando tu mangi con cugial ;
 Quello fa sicom bestia, chi con cugial sorbilia ;
 Chi doncha à questa usanza, ben fa s' el se dispolia. 68

La desetena apresso si è : quando tu stranude,
 Over ch' el te prende la tosse, guarda con tu làvori
 In oltra parte te volze, ed è cortexia inpensa,
 Azò che dra sariva no zesse sor la mensa. 72

¹ It is clear from the general context that the victuals here spoken of as to be eaten with a spoon are solid edibles—not merely soups or the like : the spoon corresponding to the modern fork. The word translated 'suck' is 'sor-

And the eleventh is this : Do not offer the cup to another
 When he can himself reach it, unless he asks thee for it.
 Let every man take the cup when he pleases ;
 And, when he has drunk, he should set it down quietly. 48

The twelfth is this : When thou hast to take the cup,
 Hold it with both hands, and wipe thy mouth well.
 With one [hand] it cannot well be held properly :
 In order that the wine be not spilled, thou must drink using both
 hands. 52

The thirteenth is this : If even thou dost not want to drink,
 If anybody offers thee the cup, thou must always accept it.
 When thou hast accepted it, thou mayst very soon set it down,
 Or else offer it to another who is in company with thee. 56

The next that follows is this : When thou art at entertainments
 Where there is good wine on the board, see that thou get not drunk.
 He who gets mad-drunk offends in three ways :
 He harms his body and his soul, and loses the wine which he con-
 sumes. 60

The fifteenth is this : If any one arrives,
 Rise not up from the board unless there be great reason therefor.
 As long as thou eatest at the board, thou shouldst not then move
 For the sake of making much of those who may come in to thee. 64

The sixteenth next in good sooth.
 Suck not with the mouth when thou eatest with a spoon.¹
 He acts like a beast who sucks with a spoon :
 Therefore whoever has this habit does well in ridding himself of it.

The seventeenth afterwards is this : When thou dost sneeze,
 Or if a cough seizes thee, mind thy lips :
 Turn aside, and reflect that that is courtesy,
 So that no saliva may get on the table. 72

bilar : ' perhaps 'mumble' would convey the force of the precept more fully
 though less literally.

La desogena è questa : quando l' omo sente ben sano,
 No faza onde el se sia del companadego pan ;
 Quello ch' è lechardo de carne, over d'ove, over de formagio,
 Anche n' abielo d'avanzo, perzò no de 'l fa stragio. 76

La dexnovena è questa : no blasma li condugi
 Quando tu è alli convivi ; ma di, che l'in bon tugi.
 In questa rea usanza multi homini ò za trovao,
 Digando : *questo è mal cogio, o questo è mal salao.* 80

E la XX.^a è questa : ale toe menestre atende ;
 Entre altru' no guarda, se no forse per imprende
 Lo menistrante, s' el ghe manca ben de guardà per tuto ;
 Mal s' el no menestresse clave e se lovo è bruto. 84

La XXI.^a è questa : no mastrulare per tuto
 Como avesse carne, over ove, over semiante condugio ;
 Chi volze, over chi mastrulia sur lo taliere zerchando,
 È bruto, e fa fastidio al compagnon mangiando. 88

La XXII.^a è questa : no te reze vilanamente ;
 Se tu mangi con verun d'uno pan comunamente,
 Talia lo pan per ordine, no va taliando per tuto ;
 No va taliando da le parte, se tu no voy essere bruto. 92

La XXIII.^a : no di' metere pan in vino,
 Se tego d'un napo medesimo bevesse Fra Bon Vexino ;
 Chi vole peschare entro vin, bevando d'un napo conmeo,
 Per meo grao, se eyo poesse, no bevereve consego. 96

La XXIV.^a è : no mete in parte per mezo lo compagnon
 Ni grelin, ni squela, se no ghe fosse gran raxon ;
 Over grelin, over squela se tu voy mete inparte,
 Per mezo ti lo di' mete pur da la toa parte. 100

¹ I feel some doubt as to the meaning of this passage.

² This appears to be the general sense of the last two lines. In the final one Signor Biondelli gives up two words as unintelligible : he infers that they must be miscopied.

The eighteenth is this : When a man feels himself quite comfortable,
Let him not leave bread over after the victuals.¹

He who has a taste for meat, or for eggs, or for cheese,
Even though he should have a residue, he should not on that account
waste it. 76

The nineteenth is this : Blame not the dishes
When thou art at entertainments, but say that they are all good.
I have detected many men erewhile in this vile habit,
Saying 'This is ill cooked,' or 'this is ill salted.' 80

And the twentieth is this : Attend to thine own sops ;
Peer not into those of others, unless perchance to apprise
The attendant if anything is wanting. He must look well all round :
Things would go much amiss if he were not to attend.² 84

The twenty-first is this : Do not poke about everywhere,
When thou hast meat, or eggs, or some such dish.
He who turns and pokes about on the platter, searching,³
Is unpleasant, and annoys his companion at dinner. 88

The twenty-second is this : Do not behave rudely.
If thou art eating from one loaf in common with any one,
Cut the loaf as it comes, do not go cutting all about ;
Do not go cutting one part and then another, if thou wouldst not be
uncouth. 92

The twenty-third. Thou must not dip bread into wine
If Fra Bonvesino has to drink out of the same bowl with thee.
He who *will* fish in the wine, drinking in one bowl with me,
I for my own liking, if so I could, would not drink with him. 96

The twenty-fourth is—Set not down right before thy companion
Either pan or pot, unless there be great reason therefor.
If thou wantest to introduce either pan or pot,
Thou must set it down at thine own side, before thyself. 100

³ This seems to contemplate the plan of the several guests helping themselves off the dish brought to table. At any rate, so Signor Biondelli understands it.

La XXV.^a è: chi fosse con femene sovra un talier mangiando,
 La carne a se e a lor ghe debia esser taliata;
 Lo homo de' plu esse intento, plu presto e honoreure,
 Che no de' per raxon la femena agonzente. 104

La XXVI.^a è questa: de grande bontà inpensa,
 Quando lo tò bon amico mangia alla toa mensa;
 Se tu talie carne, over pesso, over oltre bone pitanze,
 De la plu bella parte ghe debie cerne inanze. 108

La XXVII.^a è questa: no di' tropo agrezare
 L'amigo a caxa tova de beve, ni de mangiare;
 Ben di' tu receve l'amigo e farghe bella cera,
 E darghe ben da spende e consolare voluntera. 112

La XXVIII.^a è questa: apresso grande homo mangiando,
 Astalete de mangiare tan fin che l'è bevando;
 Mangiando apresso d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beve dra copa,
 Usanza drita prende; no mastegare dra bocha. 116

La XXVIII.^a è questa: se grande homo è da provo.
 No di' beve sego a una hora, anze ghe di' dà logo;
 Chi fosse a provo d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beverage,
 No di' levà lo sò napo, over ch'el vargarave. 120

E la trentena è questa: che serve, abia neteza;
 No faza in lo prexente ni spuda, ni bruteza;
 Al' homo tan fin ch'el mangia, plu tosto fa fastidio;
 No pò tropo esse neto chi serve a uno convivio. 124

Pox la XXX.^a è questa: zaschun cortese donzello
 Che se vore mondà lo naxo, con li drapi se faza bello;
 Chi mangia, over chi menestra, no de' sofà con le die;
 Con li drapi da pey se monda vostra cortexia. 128

¹ 'Donzello.' This precept seems to be especially addressed to the servitors. Ugucione Pisano, quoted by Muratori, says: 'Donnicelli et Domicellæ dicuntur quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes.' Such Donzelli

The twenty-fifth is—One who may be eating from a platter with
women,

The meat has to be carved for himself and for them.

The man must be more attentive, more prompt in honouring,
Than the woman, in reason, has to reciprocate. 104

The twenty-sixth is this : Count it as a great kindness

When thy good friend eats at thy table.

If thou carvest meat, or fish, or other good viands,
Thou must choose of the best part for him. 108

The twenty-seventh is this : Thou must not overmuch press

Thy friend in thy house to drink or to eat.

Thou must receive thy friend well, and make him welcome,
And heartily give him plenty to eat and enjoy himself with. 112

The twenty-eighth is this : Dining with a great man,

Abstain from eating so long as he is drinking.

Dining with a Bishop, so long as he is drinking from the cup,
Right usage requires thou shouldst not be chewing with the mouth.

The twenty-ninth is this : If a great man is beside thee,

Thou must not drink at the same time with him, but give him pre-
cedence.

Who may be beside a Bishop, so long as he is drinking
Or pouring out, must not raise his bowl. 120

And the thirtieth is this : He who serves, let him be cleanly.

Let him not make in presence [of the guests] any spitting or nastiness :

To a man as long as he is eating, this is all the more offensive.
He who serves at an entertainment cannot be too nice. 124

Next after the thirtieth is this : Every courteous donzel¹

Who wants to wipe his nose, let him embellish himself with a cloth.

He who eats, or who is serving, must not blow through the fingers :

Be so obliging as to clean yourselves with the foot-cloths.² 128

were not allowed to sit at table with the knights ; or, if allowed, had to sit
apart on a lower seat.

² 'Drapi da pey.' I confess to some uncertainty as to what sort of thing

L' oltra che ven è questa ; le toe man siano nete ;
 Ni le die entro le oregie, ni le man sul cho di' mete ;
 No de' l'omo che mangia habere nudritura,
 A berdugare con le die in parte, onde sia sozura. 132

La terza poxe la XXX.^a : no brancorar con le man,
 Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can ;
 No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
 Con le man, con le que al tocha li condugi. 136

L' oltra è : tan fin tu mangi con homini cognosenti,
 No mete le die in bocha per descolzare li dingi.
 Chi caza le die in bocha, anze che l'abia mangiao,
 Sur lo talier conmeo no mangia per mè grao. 140

La quinta poxe la trenta : tu no di' lenze le die ;
 Le die chi le caza in bocha brutalmente furbe ;
 Quello homo che se caza in bocha le die inpastruiate,
 Le die no én plu nete, anze son plu brute. 144

La sesta cortexia poxe la trenta :
 S' el te fa mestere parlà, no parla a bocha plena ;
 Chi parla, e chi risponde, se l' à plena la bocha,
 Apena ch' el possa laniare negota. 148

Poxe questa ven quest' oltra : tan fin ch' el compagno
 Avrà lo napo alla bocha, no ghe fa domando,
 Se ben tu lo vo' apelare ; de zò te fazo avezudo ;
 No l'impagià, daghe logo tan fin che l'avrà beudo. 152

these 'foot-cloths' may have been. Signor Biondelli terms them 'the cloths wherewith the feet were wrapped round and dried.' He adds : 'This precept apprizes us that at that time the use of a pocket-handkerchief was not yet introduced, and perhaps not even the use of stockings.' One would fain hope that the summit of Lombardic good breeding in 1290 was not the wiping of noses on cloths actually and at the moment serving for the feet. Possibly *drapi da pey* is here a generic term ; cloths or napkins at hand for use, and which *might have* served for foot-cloths. Thus the word 'duster' might be employed in a similar connection, without our being compelled to suppose that the individual duster had first been used on the spot for dusting the tables or

The next that comes is this: Let thy hands be clean.
Thou must not put either thy fingers into thine ears, or thy hands
on thy head.

The man who is eating must not be cleaning
By scraping with his fingers at any foul part. 132

The third after the thirtieth. Stroke not with hands,
As long as thou eatest at the board, cat or dog.
A courteous man is not warranted in stroking brutes
With the hands with which he touches the dishes. 136

The next is—As long as thou art eating with men of breeding,
Put not thy fingers into thy mouth to pick thy teeth.
He who sticks his fingers in his mouth, before he has done eating,
Eats not, with my good-will, on the platter with me. 140

The fifth after the thirtieth. Thou must not lick thy fingers.
He who thrusts his fingers into his mouth cleans them nastily.
That man who thrusts into his mouth his besmeared fingers,
His fingers are none the cleaner, but rather the nastier. 144

The sixth Courtesy after the thirtieth.
If thou hast occasion to speak, speak not with thy mouth full.
He who speaks, and he who answers, if he has his mouth full,
Scarcely can he chop out a word. 148

After this comes this other: As long as thy companion
Has the bowl to his mouth, ask him no questions
If thou wouldst address him: of this I give thee notice.
Disturb him not: pause until he has drunk. 152

floors, and then for wiping the nose. Or indeed, we moderns, who wipe our noses on *hand*-kerchiefs, do not first use said kerchiefs for wiping our *hands*, nor yet for *covering our heads* ('*couvre chef*').—Reverting to Signor Biondelli's observation as to 'the use of stockings,' I may observe that Francesco da Barberino, in a passage of his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, speaks of 'the beautiful foot shod in silk'—'*calzato in seta*'—which may imply either a stocking or else a shoe. This poem, as we shall see further on, is but little later than Bonvicino's.—The reader may also observe, at p. 68, the horror with which a much later writer, Della Casa, contemplated the use of a dinner-napkin as a pocket-handkerchief.

La XXXVIII.^a è questa : no recuntare ree novelle,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no mangiano con recore ;
Tan fin che li oltri mangiano, no di nove angosoxe ;
Ma taxe, over di parole che siano confortoxe. 156

L' oltra che sègue è questa : se tu mangi con persone,
No fa remore, ni tapie, se ben gh' avise raxone ;
S' alchun de li toy vargasse, passa oltra fin a tempo,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no abiano turbamento. 160

L' oltra è : se dolia te prende de qualche infirmitade,
Al più tu poy conprime la toa necesidade ;
Se mal te senti al descho, no dimostrà la pena ;
Che tu no fazi recore a quilli che mangiano tego insema. 164

Pox quella ven quest' oltra : se entro mangial vegisse
Qualche sghivosa cossa, ai oltri no desisse ;
Over moscha, over qual sozura entro mangial vezando,
Taxe, ch'eli no abiano sghivo al descho mangiando. 168

L' oltra è : se tu porte squelle al descho per servire,
Sur la riva dra squella le porexe di' tenere :
Se tu apili le squelle cor porexe sur la riva,
Tu le poy mete zoxo in sò logo senza altro che t' ayda. 172

La terza poxe la quaranta è : se tu sporzi la copa,
La sumità del napo col polexe may no tocha ;
Apilia lo napo de soto, e sporze con una man ;
Chi ten per altra via, pò fi digio, che sia vilan. 176

La quarta poxe la quaranta si è : chi vol odire :
Ni grelin, ni squelle, ni 'l napo no di' trop' inplire ;
Mesura e modo de' esse in tute le cosse che sia ;
Chi oltra zò vargasse, no ave fà cortexia. 180

The thirty-eighth is this : Tell no bad news,
 In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirits.
 As long as the others are eating, give no painful news ;
 But keep silence, or else speak in cheerful terms. 156

The next that follows is this : If thou art eating with others,
 Make no uproar or disturbance, even though thou shouldst have
 reason therefor.
 If any of thy companions should transgress, pass it by till the time
 comes,
 So that those who are with thee may not be put out. 160

The next is—If the pain of any ill-health seizes thee,
 Keep down thy distress as much as thou canst.
 If thou feelest ill at the board, show not the pain,
 That thou mayst not cause discomfort to those who are eating along
 with thee. 164

After that comes this other : Shouldst thou see in the viands
 Any disagreeable thing, tell it not to the others.
 Seeing in the viands either a fly or any uncleanness,
 Keep silence, that they may not feel disgust, eating at the board. 168

The next is—If thou bringest dishes to the board in serving,
 Thou must keep thy thumbs on the rim of the dish.
 If thou takest hold with the thumb on the rim of the dishes,
 Thou canst set them down in their place without any one else to
 help thee. 172

The third after the fortieth is—If thou offerest the cup,
 Never touch with the thumb the upper edge of the bowl.
 Hold the bowl at the under end, and present it with one hand :
 He who holds it otherwise may be called boorish. 176

The fourth after the fortieth is—hear who will—
 Neither frying-pan nor dishes nor bowl should be overfilled.
 Measure and moderation should be in all things that are :
 He who should transcend this will not have done courtesy. 180

L' oltra che segue è questa : reten a ti lo cugiale,
 Se te fi tolegio la squella per azonzero de lo mangiale ;
 Se l' è lo cugial entro la squella, lo ministrante inpilia ;
 In tute le cortexie ben fa chi s' asetilia. 184

L' oltra è questa : se tu mangi con cugial,
 No debie infolcire tropo pan entro mangiare ;
 Quello che fa impiastro entro mangià da fogo,
 El fa fastidio a quilli che ghe mangiano da provo. 188

L' oltra che segue è questa : s' el tò amigo è tego,
 Tan fin ch' el mangia al descho, sempre bochona sego ;
 Se forse t' astalasse, ni fosse sazio anchora,
 Forse anchora s' astalarave per vergonza inlora. 192

L' oltra è : mangiando con oltri a qualche inviamento,
 No mete entr' a guayna lo tò cortelo anze tempo ;
 No guerna lo cortello anze ch' alo compagno ;
 Forse oltro ven in descho d'onde tu no fè raxon. 196

La cortexia seguente è : quando tu è mangiao,
 Fa sì che Jesu Xristo ne sia glorificao.
 Quel che rezeve servixio d'alchun obediente,
 S'elo no lo regratia, tropo è deschognosente. 200

La cinquantena per la darera :
 Lavare le man, poy beve dro bon vino dra carera :
 Le man poxe lo convivio per pocho pòn si lavae,
 Da grassa e da sozura e l'in netezae. 204

¹ 'Chi s' asetilia.' Signor Biondelli cannot assign the exact sense of this verb. I should suppose it to be either a form of 'Assettarsi,' to settle oneself, to keep one's place, or a corruption of 'Assottigliarsi,' to subtilize, to be punctilious, to 'look sharp.'

² 'D' alchun obediente.' This phrase, if directly connected with the 'Jesu Xristo' of the previous line, seems peculiar. I am not quite clear whether

The next which follows is this : Keep thy spoon,
 If thy plate is removed for the adding of some viands.
 If the spoon is in the plate, it puts out the helper.
 In all courtesies he does well who is heedful.¹ 184

The next is this : If thou art eating with a spoon,
 Thou must not stuff too much bread into the victuals.
 He who lays it on thick upon the cooked meats
 Is distasteful to those who are eating beside him. 188

The next that follows is this : If thy friend is with thee,
 As long as he eats at the board, always keep up with him.
 If thou perchance wert to leave off, and he were not yet satisfied,
 Maybe he also would then leave off through bashfulness. 192

The next is—Dining with others by some invitation,
 Put not back thy knife into the sheath before the time :
 Deposit not thy knife ere thy companion.
 Perhaps something else is coming to table which thou dost not
 reckon for. 196

The succeeding Courtesy is—When thou hast eaten,
 So do as that Jesus Christ be glorified therein.
 He who receives service from any that obeys,²
 If he thanks him not, is too ungrateful. 200

The fiftieth for the last.
 Wash hands, then drink of the good and choice wine.³
 After the meal, the hands may be a little washed,
 And cleansed from grease and impurity. 204

the whole stanza is to be understood as an injunction to render *grace* after meat, in thankfulness for what Christ has given one—or to thank the *servants* who have been waiting at table, and so to glorify Christ by an act of humility.

¹ 'Dro bon vino dra carera.' The general sense is evidently near what the translation gives : but Signor Biondelli is unable to assign the *precise* sense. No wonder therefore that I am unable.

As far as I know (though I cannot affect to speak with authority) this poem by Fra Bonvicino, and those by Francesco da Barberino of which we shall next take cognisance, are considerably the oldest still extant Courtesy-Books (expressly to be so termed) of Christianized Europe;¹ except one, partly coming under the same definition, which has been mentioned to me by a well-read friend, Dr Heimann (of University College), but of which I have no direct personal knowledge.² This also, though written in the German language, is the production of an Italian. It is entitled *Der Wälsche Gast* (*the Italian Guest*), and dates about 1210. The author's name is given as Tomasin von Zirclaria, born in Friuli. The book supplies various rules of etiquette, in a very serious and well-intentioned tone, as I am informed.—Fra Bonvicino would, on the ground of his antiquity alone, be well deserving of study. His precepts moreover (with comparatively few exceptions) cannot even yet be called obsolete, though some of them are unsophisticated to the extent of being superfluous. In order that the reader may see in one *coup d'œil* the whole of this curious old monument I subjoin a classified abridgment of the injunctions:—

1. *Moral and Religious.*

To think of the poor first of all.
 To remember grace before meat.
 To eat enough, and not too much.
 Not to get drunk.
 To pass over for the time any cause of quarrel.
 To say grace after meat.

2. *Practical Rules still fairly operative.*

To offer water for washing the hands before dinner.
 Not to plump into a seat at table at haphazard.
 To sit at table decorously and in good humour.

¹ Several others must nevertheless have been written before or about the same time; for Barberino himself, in the exordium to his *Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne*, says—

‘There have been many who wrote books
 Concerning the elegant manners of men, but not of women.’

² A full account of it by Mr Eugene Oswald follows the present Essay.

- Not to tilt oneself forward on the table.
- Not to gorge or bolt one's food.
- To subordinate talking to eating.
- Not to drink with one's mouth full.
- To remain seated at table, even though fresh guests should arrive.
- Not to suck at solid food eaten with a spoon.
- To use up one's bread.
- To abstain from raising objections to the dinner.
- Not to scrutinize one's neighbour's plate.
- To cut bread as it comes, not in all sorts of ways.
- To carve for the ladies.
- To give the guests prime cuts.
- To make the guests thoroughly welcome, without oppressive urgencies.
- To abstain at dinner from stroking cats and dogs.
- Not to speak with one's mouth full.
- To abstain from imparting bad news at dinner.
- To keep down any symptoms of pain or illness.
- To avoid calling attention to anything disagreeable which may accidentally be in the dishes.
- The attendants to hold the dishes by their rims.
- Not to hand round the bowl by its upper edge.
- Not to overload the dishes, goblets, &c.
- Not to hurry through with one's eating, so that others, who are left behind, would feel uncomfortable.
- To wash hands and drink the best wine after dinner.

3. *Rules equally true and primitive.*

- Not to tilt one's legs on the table between-whiles.
- To turn aside if one sneezes or coughs.
- Not to set down before the guests utensils fresh from the kitchen.
- The attendants to be clean—not to spit, &c.
- To blow one's nose on 'foot-cloths,' not through the fingers.
- Not to scratch at one's head or elsewhere.
- Not to pick one's teeth with the fingers.
- Not to lick one's fingers clean.

4. *Rules which may be regarded as over-punctilious or obsolete.*

Not to sit at table with one's legs crossed.

To offer the cup to others only when they want it. (The rules as to drinking seem throughout to contemplate that two or more guests are using one cup or vessel.)

To use both hands in drinking.

Never to decline the cup when another offers it, but to drink no more than one wishes. (This rule still has its analogue at tables where the custom lingers of requesting 'the pleasure of taking wine with' some one else.)

Not to rummage about in the dish from which one is eating along with others.

Not to dip bread into the wine of which one is drinking along with others.

To suspend eating while a man of importance is drinking.

To postpone drinking till the man of importance has finished.

Not to speak to a man who is in the act of drinking. (This rule seems to contemplate 'potations pottle-deep,' such as engage all one's energies for some little while together: for a mere modern sip at a wine-glass such a rule would be superfluous.)

To retain one's spoon when one's plate is removed for another help. (*One* spoon, it may be inferred, is to last all through the meal, serving as a fork.)

Not to eat an excessive quantity of bread with the viands.

Not to re-place one's knife in its sheath prematurely. (It may be presumed that each guest brings his own knife.)

The reader who considers these rules in their several categories, and with due allowance for difference of times, manners, and 'properties,' will, I think, agree with me in seeing that the essentials of courtesy at table in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and in England in the nineteenth, are, after all, closely related; and that, while some of our Friar's tutorings would now happily be supererogatory, and others are inapplicable to present dining conveniences, not one is ill-bred in any correct use of that word. The details of etiquette vary indefinitely: the sense of courtesy is substantially one

and the same. In Fra Bonvicino's manual, it appears constantly in its genuine aspect, and prompted by its truest spirit—not so much that of personal correctness, each man for his own credit, as of uniform consideration for others.

The same is eminently the case with some of the precepts given by our next author, Francesco da Barberino. Nothing, for instance, can go beyond the true *rationale* of courtesy conveyed in the following injunction¹ (which we must not here degrade from its grace of Tuscan speech and verse):

‘ Colli minor sì taci,
E prendi il loco che ti danno ; e pensa
Che, per far qui difesa,
Faresti lor, per tuo vizio, villani.’

Or this:²

‘ E credo che fa male
Colui che taglia essendo a suo maggiore :
Chè non v' è servitore
S'el non dimanda prima la licenza.’

Indeed, I think that the tone prevalent throughout Barberino's maxims of courtesy on all sorts of points is fairly to be called exquisite. Our extract from him brings us (it may be well to remember) into the closest contact with the social usages which Dante in his youth must have been cognisant of and conforming to ; for, in passing from Bonvicino to Barberino, we have passed from Lombardy to Tuscany—the latter poet being a native of the Val d'Elsa, in the same district as Boccaccio's birth-place, Certaldo. The date assigned to Barberino's work, the *Documenti d'Amore*, is just about the same as that of Bonvicino's, or from 1290 to 1296. Yet I apprehend we must receive this early date with some hesitation. In 1290 Barberino was but twenty-six years of age ; whereas the *Documenti d'Amore*, a lengthy and systematic treatise on all kinds of moral and social duties and proprieties, seems to be rich with the hoarded experience of years. That so young a man should even have sketched out for himself a work of such axiomatic oracularity seems *à priori* unlikely, though one has to accept the fact on authority : that he

¹ This injunction forms stanza 4 in our extract from Barberino beginning at p. 38.

² See at p. 40, the stanza beginning ‘ And I think that he does amiss.’

should towards that age have completed the poem as we now possess it appears to me barely compatible with possibility. His other long poem, still more singular on the like account, is referred to nearly the same date. I observe in it, however, one passage (Part 6) which *must* have been written after 1308, and probably after 1312. It refers to a story which had been narrated to Barberino 'one time that he was in Paris.' Now his journey on a mission to Provence and France began in 1309, and ended in 1313.

I shall here give place to my brother, and extract *verbatim* the notice of Barberino contained in his book of translations, *The Early Italian Poets*.¹

'Francesco da Barberino : born 1264, died 1348.

'With the exception of Brunetto Latini (whose poems are neither very poetical nor well adapted for extract), Francesco da Barberino shows by far the most sustained productiveness among the poets who preceded Dante, or were contemporaries of his youth. Though born only one year in advance of Dante, Barberino seems to have undertaken, if not completed, his two long poetic treatises some years before the commencement of the *Commedia*.

'This poet was born at Barberino di Valdelsa, of a noble family, his father being Neri di Ranuccio da Barberino. Up to the year of his father's death, 1296, he pursued the study of law chiefly in Bologna and Padua ; but afterwards removed to Florence for the same purpose, and became one of the many distinguished disciples of Brunetto Latini,² who probably had more influence than any other one man in forming the youth of his time to the great things they accomplished. After this he travelled in France and elsewhere ; and on his return to Italy in 1313, was the first who, by special favour of Pope Clement V., received the grade of Doctor of Laws in Florence. Both as lawyer and as citizen, he held great trusts, and discharged

¹ *The Early Italian Poets, from Ciuillo d'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300), in the Original Metres : together with Dante's Vita Nuova. Translated by D. G. Rossetti. Smith and Elder, 1862.*

² There is evidently something erroneous in this statement : Brunetto died in 1294. The Editor of a collection of Italian Poets (*Lirici del Secolo secondo, &c.*—Venezia, Antonelli, 1841) says : 'Francesco went through his first studies under Brunetto Latini. Hence he passed to the Universities of Padua and of Bologna.' Barberino being a Tuscan, this seems the natural course for him to adopt, rather than to have gone to Padua and Bologna before Florence. My brother's remark, as to the death of Neri in 1296, and as to Francesco's subsequent sojourn in Florence, agrees, however, with the statement made by Tiraboschi : apparently we should understand that Francesco had been in Florence both before and after his stay in Padua and Bologna, and that his studies under Brunetto pertain to the earlier period.

them honourably. He was twice married, the name of his second wife being Barna di Tano, and had several children. At the age of eighty-four he died in the great plague of Florence. Of the two works which Barberino has left, one bears the title of *Documenti d'Amore*, literally *Documents*¹ of Love, but perhaps more properly rendered as *Laws of Courtesy*; while the other is called *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*,—of the Government and Conduct of Women. They may be described, in the main, as manuals of good breeding or social chivalry—the one for men, and the other for women. Mixed with vagueness, tediousness, and not seldom with artless absurdity, they contain much simple wisdom, much curious record of manners, and (as my specimens show) occasional poetic sweetness or power—though these last are far from being their most prominent merits. The first-named treatise, however, has much more of such qualities than the second, and contains moreover passages of homely humour which startle by their truth, as if written yesterday. At the same time, the second book is quite as well worth reading, for the sake of its authoritative minuteness in matters which ladies now-a-days would probably consider their own undisputed region, and also for the quaint gravity of certain surprising prose anecdotes of real life with which it is interspersed. Both these works remained long unprinted; the first edition of the *Documenti d'Amore* being that edited by Ubaldini in 1640, at which time he reports the *Reggimento* &c. to be only possessed by his age “in name and in desire.” This treatise was afterwards brought to light, but never printed till 1815. I should not forget to state that Barberino attained some knowledge of drawing; and that Ubaldini had seen his original MS of the *Documenti*, containing, as he says, skilful miniatures by the author.

‘Barberino never appears to have taken a very active part in politics, but he inclined to the Imperial and Ghibelline party. This contributes with other things to render it rather singular that we find no poetic correspondence or apparent communication of any kind between him and his many great countrymen, contemporaries of his long life, and with whom he had more than one bond of sympathy. His career stretched from Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia, to Petrarca and Boccaccio: yet only in one respectful but not enthusiastic notice of him by the last-named writer (*Genealogia degli Dei*) do we ever meet with an allusion to him by any of the greatest men of his time. Nor in his own writings, as far as I remember, are they ever referred to. His epitaph is said to have been written by Boccaccio, but this is doubtful. On reviewing the present series, I am sorry, on the whole, not to have included more specimens of Barberino; whose writings, though not very easy to tackle in the mass, would afford an excellent field for selection and summary.’

¹ *Teachings* or *Lessonings* of Love might probably express the sense more exactly to an English ear.

Thus far my brother. I will only add to his biographical details that, at the very end of Francesco da Barberino's life, he and one of his sons were elected the Priori, or joint chief-magistrates of the Florentine Republic; and that the Barberini who came to the papal chair in 1623 as Urban VIII. was of the same family. His patronymic is enshrined to many loose memories in the epigram '*Quod non fecere Barbari fecere Barberini.*' To all that my brother has said of the qualities, and especially the merits, of Francesco, I cordially subscribe. The *Documenti d'Amore* is really a most capital book,—I should suppose, unsurpassed of its kind, and also in its interest for students of the early mediæval manners, and modes of thought. Its diction is remarkably condensed—(Italian scholars say that it shows strong traces of the author's Provençal studies and predilections)—and it is proportionately stiff work to hasty readers. Those who will peruse it deliberately, and weigh its words, find many niceties of laconism, and much terse and sententious good sense as well—lengthy as is the entire book. This is indeed no slight matter—twelve sections, and something like 8500 lines. It is exactly the sort of work to elicit and to account for editorial enthusiasm.

I extract in full the stanzas bearing directly upon that which (following the impulsion of Fra Bonvicino) has become our more immediate subject—the Courtesies of the Table. The tone of society which we find here is visibly in advance of the Lombard Friar's, though the express precepts of the two writers have a good deal of general resemblance: the superiority in this respect is very much the same as in the language. Barberino's diction seems quite worthy of a Tuscan contemporary of Dante, and his works are still drawn upon as a '*testo di lingua.*'

'The third point of good manners
Which thou art to observe at table
Thou mayst receive thus;
Thinking out for thyself the other details from these few.

And, in entering to table,
If he who says to thee "Go in" is a man of distinction,
On account of his dignity
It behoves thee not to dispute the going.

With thine equals, it beseems to decline
 For awhile, and then to conform to their wish :
 With superiors, affect
 Just the least demur, and then acquiesce.

With inferiors, keep silence,
 And take the place which they give thee : and reflect
 That, by resisting here,
 Thou, by thy default, wouldst be making *them* rude.

In thine own house, remain
 Behind, if they are thy superiors or equals :
 And, if thine inferiors, thou shalt seem
 No other than correct if thou dost the same.

Understand the like, if thou givest
 To eat to any persons out of thine own home :
 Also remain behind when it happens
 That thou art entertaining women.

Next consider about placing
 Each person in the post that befits him.
 Between relatives it behoves
 To place others midway sometimes.

And, in this, honour the more
 Those who are strangers, and retain the others by thyself :
 And keep cheerful
 Thy face and demeanour, and forbear with all.

Now I speak for every one.
 He who is helping, let him help in equal portions.
 He who is helped, let him not manœuvre
 For the best, but take the less good.

They must not be pressed ;
 For this is their own affair, and choice is free,
 And one forces the preference
 Of him who was abstaining, perhaps purposely.

He makes a fool of himself who prematurely lays aside
 His plate, while the others are still eating ;
 And he who untidily
 Turns the table into a receptacle for scraps ;

And he who sneers
 At what he does not like ; and he who hurries ;
 And he who picks and chooses
 Out of the viands which are in common ;

And those who seem more hungry
 At the end than at the beginning ;

And also he who sets to
At fortifying himself,¹ or exploring the bottom of the platter.

Nor do I think it looks quite well
To gnaw the bone with the teeth, and still worse
To drop it into the saucepan ;²
Nor is salt well deposited on the dish.

And I think that he does amiss
Who carves, being at the table of his superior ;
For none can perform service
If he does not first ask leave.

With thine equal, begin,
If the knife lies at thy right hand :
If not, leave it to him.
With fruit, thou canst not fitly help thy companion.

With women, I need not tell thee :
But thou must help them to everything,
If there is not some one who undertakes
Both the carving and other details.

But always look to it
That thou approach not too close to any of them.
And, if one of them is a relative of thine,
Thou wilt give more room to the other.

And, in short, thou wilt then
Do and render honour to thine utmost :
And here always mind
That thou soil not their dress.

Look them in the face but little,
Still less at their hands while eating,
For they are apt to be bashful :
And with respect to them, thou mayst well say " Do eat."

When sometimes there come
Dishes or fruits, I praise him who thinks of avoiding
To take of those
Which cannot with cleanliness be handled.

Ill does the hand which hurries
To take a larger help out of a dish in common ;
And worse he who does not well avoid
To loll, or set leg upon leg.

¹ 'Chi vuol fare merli.' The phrase means literally 'he who wants to make battlements'—or possibly 'to make thrushes.' I can only *guess* at its bearing in the present passage, having searched for a distinct explanation in vain. It seems to be one of the myriad '*vezzi di lingua*' of old Italian, and especially old Tuscan, idiom.

² 'Di mandar a lavecchio.' I am far from certain as to the real meaning.

And be it observed
That here thou shouldst speak little and briefly :
Nor here must there be speech
Of aught save elegant and cheerful pleasantness.

I have shown thee above
Concerning the respect due to [thy lord], and saluting him.
I will now tell thee
More than I before said concerning service.

Take care that, in every operation
Or service that thou dost before him,
Thou must think steadily
Of what thou art about, for it goes ill if thou art absent-minded.

Thou shouldst keep thine eye,
When thou servest him, on that which he likes.
The silent tongue is aright,
Always without questioning, during service ;

Also that thou keep thyself,
Thou who hast to serve, clean in dress and hands.
And I would have thee also serve strangers,
If they are at the meal with him.

Likewise have an eye to it
That thou keep things clean before him thou servest.
And thou dost well if thou keepest
The slice entire, if thou canst, in carving ;

And amiss if neglectfully
Thou makest too great a lump of the carved viands ;
And worse if thou art so long about it
That they have nothing to eat.

And, when there may be
Viands which make the hands uncleanly,
In some unobtrusive way
Get them washed by the time the next come on.

Thou shalt always be observant of the same
In bringing forward the fruits :
For to offer these about,
As I said before, befits not the guests.

Also I much complain
Of thee who wouldst then be correcting others :
For the present it must suffice thee,
In this case, to do right for thyself only.

He puts me out who has
So awkward a manner in cutting

That, in peeling a pear,
He takes up from three to nine o'clock ;

And also he who keeps not good guard
Over his hand, and slips in cutting ;
For he is prevented from serving,
And his lord sometimes has no one to serve him.

I dislike that he who serves
Should, in serving, speak of the doctor ;
Unless maybe by way of obeying,
When he has it in command from him.

In giving water thou shalt be careful,
Considering the time and place :
Where there is little, little ;
In the cold time, less cold—and, if very cold, warm.

When the sun is very hot,
Bring it abundantly, but mind the people's clothes.
Observe the station and the ages,
With regard to whom thou shalt begin with, if there is none to
tell thee.¹

At table it behoves
Not to give bad or offensive news ;
Unless delay might produce
Danger—and then only to the person concerned.

Be thy mouth abstinent
From eating while the first table is set.
In drinking do likewise,
So far as gratification goes, but thirst excuses thee :

Which if thou feelest, accustom thyself
Not to drink underhand, nor of the best.
Neither is a servant liked
Who afterwards is long over his eating,

If he is where he *can* do this ;
And still less he who sulks if he is called
When he has not yet done eating ;
For he serves best who serves other than his gullet.'

¹ This precept, and especially a preceding one (p. 39) which enjoins the host to place the guests in their appropriate seats, keeping by himself those of less account, would seem to show that at this period the seats at the right and left of the host (or hostess) were by no means understood to be posts of honour. The absence of all mention, either in Bonvicino or in Barberino, of the hostess or her especial duties, strikes one as a singularity. That the hostess is nevertheless understood to be present may be fairly inferred from the clearly expressed presence of other ladies.

Before parting from the *Documenti d'Amore*, I will summarize a few more of Barberino's dicta on points of courtesy and demeanour in general.

There are seven offences in speaking: 1. Prolivity; 2. Curtness; 3. Audacity; 4. Mauvaise Honte; 5. Stuttering; 6. Beating about the bush; 7. Restlessness of gesture, and this is the least supportable of all. Remedies against all these evils are assigned. For the 6th, as we are told, the (then) modern usage is to speak out what you have to say with little or no proem. As to the 7th, the moving about, as a child would do, the hands, feet, or head, or the using action in speech, shows deficient firmness. See that you stand firm. Yet all this is to be modified according to place, time, and the auditory. (It is amusing to find the dignified Tuscan of the thirteenth to fourteenth century reprobating that luxuriance of gesture which is one of the first things to strike an English eye in Italy down to our own day—more especially in the southern parts of the country. To have striven to obey Barberino's precept, under pain of being pronounced bad company, must have proved hard lines to some of his contemporaries and catechumens.)

If you chance into uncongenial company, take the first opportune occasion for getting away, with some parting words that shall not bewray your antipathy.

To casual companions speak on their own respective subjects; as of God to the clergy, health to doctors, design to painters. 'With ladies of refinement and breeding, laud and uphold their honour and state by pleasant stories not oftentimes told already. And, if any one is contrary and froward, reply in excuse and defence; for it is derogatory to contend against those the overcoming of whom is loss.'

If you come into the company of a great lord, or of persons who are all your superiors, and if they invite you to speak, inquire what the topic shall be. If you find nothing to say, wait for some one else to start you; and at worst be silent. In such company, be there no gesturing (again!).

If you are walking with a great lord in any country, conform in a measure to the usages there prevalent.

Following your superior, be respectful; to your equal, com-

plaisant, and treat him as superior; and, even with your inferior, tend towards the same line of conduct. This, however, does not apply to your own servant. Better exceed than fall short in showing respect to unknown persons. If your superior, in walking with you, wants to have you by his side, go to his left as a general rule, so that he may have the full use of his sword hand. If it rains, and he has no cloak, offer him yours; and, even if he declines, you must still dispense with it yourself. The like with your hat. Pay similar attentions to your equal, or to one that is a little your inferior: and even to your positive inferiors you must rather overdo courtesy than fall short. Thus also with women: you must explore the way for them, and attend on them, and in danger defend them with your life.

In church, do not pray aloud, but silently.

Wait not to be saluted. Be first in saluting; but do not overdo this, and never reiterate a salutation. Your own lord you must not salute, unless he comes from afar. You should uncover to him: then, if he is covered, cover again. Do not exceed in saluting an intimate, but enter at once into conversation; and do not hug him, unless he and you are indeed one.¹ Bow to ladies without much speaking: and in towns ascertain the ordinary practice in such cases, and observe it. If you see a female relative in your own town, she being alone, or in company with only one person, *and if she is handsome*, accost her as though she were not your relative, unless your relationship is a fact known to the bystanders. (This is a master-touch: and here is another, of a nearly similar sort)—

In serving a man of distinction, if you meet his wife, affect not to observe her; and, if she gives you any commission to fulfil, don't show that it gratifies you.

The 16th '*Documento*' sets forth 'the method of making presents so that the gift be acceptable.' It is so admirable in point of both sense and expression that I quote the original in a note, secure that *that* will be a gift acceptable to all such readers of these pages

¹ Prettily worded in the Italian:

'Nè abbracciar stringendo,
Se non sei ben una cosa con quello.'

as may be readers of Italian also.¹ What can be more perfect than the censure awarded to those who are in a chafe until, by reciprocating any service rendered to them, they shall have wiped it out?

‘ Be all aware
That it is no small flaw to mislike
Remaining under an obligation :
Nay, it then seems that one is liberal by compulsion.’

Barberino’s second work, *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*, furnishes, strange to say, hardly any express rules for conduct at table ; but some details may, for our general purpose, be picked out of an emporium whose abundance can be surmised from the following programme.

¹ Ancor c’ è molta gente
Ch’ han certi vizj in dono ed in servire,
Sì che poco gradire
Vediamo in lor quando ne fanno altrui :

Chè non pensano a cui,
Nè che nè come, nè tanto nè quanto.
Altri fanno un procanto
Di sue bisogne, e poi pur fanno il dono.

Ed altri certi sono
Che danno indugio, e credon far maggiore.
E molti che colore
Pongon a scusa, e poi pur fanno e danno.

Ed altri che, com’ hanno
Servigio ricevuto, affrettan troppo
Disobbligar lo groppo
Col qual eran legati alli serventi :

Onde sien tutti attenti
Che non è picciol vizio non volere
Obbligato manere ;
Anzi par poi che sforzato sia largo.

Dicemi alcuno : ‘ Io spargo
Li don, per mia libertate tenere ;
Non per altrui piacere.’
Questo è gran vizio : ed è virtù maggiore,

E più porta d’onore,
Saver donar la sua persona altrui,
Ricevendo da lui,
E star apparecchiato a meritare.

E non ti vo’ lassare
Lo vizio di colui che colla faccia
Non vuol dar sì che piaccia,
Ma turba tutto, e sta gran pezza mutto.

'I will divide this work into 20 parts :
 And each part
 Shall present certain distinct grades,
 As the foregoing reading shows.
 The 1st will relate how a girl
 Should conduct herself
 When she begins to appreciate right and wrong,
 And to fear shame.
 2nd, How, when
 She comes to a marriageable age.
 3rd, How, when she has passed
 The period for marriage.
 4th, if, after she has given up the hope of ever
 Obtaining a husband, it happens
 That yet she gets one, and remains
 At home awhile before going to him.
 The 5th, How, after she is married ;
 And how the first, and how
 The second and third,
 Up to fifteen days ; and the first month,
 And the second and third ;
 And how on to her end :
 Both before having children, and afterwards, and if she
 Has none : and how in old age.
 The 6th, How, if she loses her husband :
 And how if she is old ;
 And how if she is of middle age ;
 And how if she is left young ;
 And how if she has children ;
 And how if she is a grandmother ;
 And how if she still
 Remains mistress of her husband's property ;
 And if she, being a widow, takes
 The garb of religion.
 The 7th sets forth
 How she should comport herself
 If she marries again ;
 And how if to a better [husband],
 And how if to a worse
 And less wealthy one ;
 And how if she yet goes to a third ;
 And how, after she has become a widow,
 And has again taken a husband,
 She remains awhile at home
 Before going to him ;
 And how far re-marrying is praised or blamed.
 8th, How, she

Who assumes the habit
 Of a religious order at home ;
 And how this is praised or no.
 9th, How, being shut up in a monastery
 In perpetual reclusion ;
 And how the Abbess, Superior, and Prioress,
 And every other Portress or Nun.
 10th, How she
 Who secludes herself alone
 Is named a Hermitess ; and wherein this is to blame.
 11th, How
 The maid who is
 In companionship with a lady ;
 And how if she is alone,
 And how if one among others in the like office.
 12th, How
 Every serving-woman shall conduct herself,
 Whether serving a lady alone, or a lady along
 With the master ; and also if any, by herself,
 Serves a master ; and how
 This is to be praised, and how not.
 13th, How,
 A nurse in the house, and how apart.
 14th, How,
 The female serf or slave ;¹

¹ The mention of a slave in a Florentine household of the late 13th or early 14th century may startle some readers. I translate the note which Signor Guglielmo Manzi, the editor of the *Reggimento*, supplies on this subject. 'Slavery, which abases mankind, and revolts humanity and reason, diminished greatly when the Christian religion was introduced into the Roman Empire—that religion being in manifest opposition to so barbarous a system. The more the one progressed in the world, the more did the other wane ; and, as Bodino observes in his book *De Republicâ*, slavery had ceased in Europe, to a great extent, by 1200. I shall follow this author, who is the only one to afford us some degree of light amid so great obscurity. In the year 1212 there were still, according to him, slaves in Italy ; as may be seen from the ordinances of William, King of Sicily, and of the Emperor Frederick II. for the kingdom of Naples, and from the decretals of the Popes Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III., concerning the marriages of slaves. The first of these Popes was elected in 1158, the second in 1185, and the third in 1198 ; so that the principle of liberty cannot be dated earlier than in or about 1250—Bartolo, who lived in the year 1300, writing (*Hostes de Captivis*, l.) that in his time there were no slaves, and that, according to the laws of Christendom, men were no longer put up to sale. This assertion, however, conflicts with the words of our author, who affirms that in his time—that is, at the commencement of the 14th century—the custom existed. But, in elucidation of Bartolo, it should be said that he implied that men were no longer sold, on the ground that this was prohibited by the laws of Christendom, and the edicts of sovereigns. In France it can be shown that in 1430 Charles VII. gave their

And how, being a serf,
 She may afterwards, through her conduct, obtain her liberty.
 15th, How

Every kind of woman
 Of the common sort should behave,
 And of a lower and poorer sort; and all
 Save the bad ones of dissolute life
 Who sell their honour for money,—
 Whom I do not purpose
 To put in writing,
 Nor to make any mention of them,
 For they are not worthy to be named.

16th treats
 Of certain general precepts
 To all women; and of their ornaments,
 And their adventures.

17th, of their consolations.

18th, because sometimes
 They must know how to speak and converse
 And answer, and be in company,
 Here will be treated upon questions of love
 And courtesy and breeding.

19th treats

Of certain motetts and messages¹
 Of ladies to knights,
 And of other sorts
 Of women and men.

The 20th treats

Of certain orisons.
 And in this part is the conclusion
 Of the book; and how I carry this book
 To the Lady who is above-named,²

liberty to some persons of servile condition; and even in the year 1548 King Henri II. liberated, by letters patent, those of the Bourbonnais: and the like was done throughout all his states by the Duke of Savoy in 1561. In the Hundred Tales of Boccaccio we have also various instances showing that the sale of free men was practised in Italy. These are in the 6th Tale of the 2nd Day, the story of Madonna Beritola, whose sons remained in Genoa in serfdom; and in the 6th of the 5th Day, the story of Frederick, King of Sicily; and in the 7th of the same Day, the story of Theodore and Violante. It is therefore clear, from all this evidence, that, in the time of Messer Francesco, so execrable a practice was still prevalent; and, summing up all we have said, it must be concluded that serfdom, in non-barbarian Europe, was not entirely extinguished till the 16th century.'

¹ 'Mottetti e parlari.' Only a few specimens of these are given, and they are all sufficiently occult. Here is one. 'Grande a morte, o la morte. Di molte se grava morte. [Risponde Madonna] Dolci amorme, quel camorme, dunque amorme conveniarne.'

² This Lady is an ideal or symbolic personage—presumably Wisdom.

And how she receives it;
And how the Virtues
Come before her.'

The promise here is rich indeed, and the performance also is rich; though it may fairly be said that various sections fall considerably below one's expectations, and some of them are jejune enough. But, after every deduction has been made, the work fills a niche of its own, and without competitor.

I add a few of the details most germane to our purpose.

A young girl should drink but little, and that diluted. She must not loll at table, nor prop her arms thereon. Here she should speak even less than at other times. The daughters of Knights (Cavalier da Scudo), Judges, Physicians, or others of similar condition, had better learn the art of cooking, though possibly circumstances will not call upon them to put it in practice.

A Princess approaching the marriageable age should not go out to church; as she ought, as far as possible, to avoid being seen about. (The marriageable age, be it understood, is very early by Barberino's reckoning, being twelve years.) A woman should never go out alone.

An unmarried young lady had better wear a topaz, which is proved by experience to be an antidote to carnal desire.

A Provençal gentleman, who was praising his wife for her extreme simplicity in attire, was asked, 'Why then does she comb her hair?' He replied: 'To show that she is a woman, whose very nature it is to be trim in person.'

A Lady's-maid should not tell tales to her mistress of any peccadilloes of the husband: still less should she report to the husband anything against his wife, unless it be a grave and open misdoing.

The section concerning Nurses (Part 13) contains much curious matter: especially as showing how much reliance was placed upon swaddling and other details of infant management, for the improvement of good looks, and correction of blemishes. Here we find also that the system against which Rousseau waged such earnest war, of mothers' not suckling their own children, was already in full vigour in Barberino's time. He enters no protest against it; but does recommend mothers to follow the more natural plan, if they can, and so please God, and earn the children's love.¹

A she-Barber must not ogle or flirt with her customers, but attend to her washes and razors. A Fruiteress must not put green leaves with old fruits, nor the best fruits uppermost, to take her customers in. A Landlady must not sell re-cooked victuals.

¹ Matteo Palmieri (see p. 58) indicates that the state of things was the same in his time, about 1430: he is more decided than Barberino in condemning it.

A shrew earns the stick sometimes ; nor should that form of correction be spared to women who gad about after fortune-tellers.

Beware of a Doctor who scrutinizes your pretty face more than your symptoms. Also of a Tailor who wants to serve you gratis, or who is over-officious in trying on your clothes : and beware still more of a Tailor who is tremulous. If you go to any balls where men are present, let it be by day, or at any rate with abundance of light.

The use of thick unguents is uncleanly, especially in hot weather ; it makes the teeth black, the lips green, and the skin prematurely old-looking. Baths of soft water, not in excess, keep the skin young and fresh : but those in which hot herbs are boiled scorch and blacken it. Dark hair becomes lighter by being kept uncovered, especially in moonlight.

‘Courtesy is liberal magnificence, which suffers not violence, nor ingenuity, nor obligation, but pleases of itself alone.’

To these brief jottings I subjoin one extract of some length, descriptive of the marriage-festivity of a Queen. To abridge its details would be to strip it of its value : but I apprehend that some of these details require to be taken *cum grano salis*, Barberino having allowed himself a certain poetical license.

Now it behoves to dine.
 The trumpets sound, and all the instruments,
 Sweet songs and diversions around.
 Boughs, with flowers, tapestries, and satins,
 Strewn on the ground ; and great lengths of silk
 With fine fringes and broiderings on the walls.
 Silver and gold, and the tables set out,
 Covered couches, and the joyous chambers,
 Full kitchens and various dishes ;
 Donzels deft in serving,
 And among them damsels still more so.
 Tourneying in the cloisters and pathways ;
 Closed balconies and covered loggias ;
 Many cavaliers and people of worth,
 Ladies and damsels of great beauty.
 Old women hidden in prayer to God,
 Be they served there where they stay.
 Wines come in, and abundant comfits ;
 There are the fruits of various kinds.
 The birds sing in cages, and on the roofs :
 The stags leap, and fawns, and deer.
 Open gardens, and their scent spreads.
 There greyhounds and braches run in the leash.
 Pretty spaniel pets with the ladies :

Several parrots go about the tables.
 Falcons, ger-falcons, hawks, and sparrow-hawks,
 Carry various snakes all about.
 The palfreys houselled at the doors ;
 The doors open, and the halls partitioned
 As suits the people that have come.
 Expert seneschals and other officers.
 Bread of manna only, and the weather splendid.
 Fountains rise up from new springs :
 They sprinkle where they are wanted, and are beautiful.
 The trumpet sounds, and the bridegroom with his following
 Chooses his company as he likes.
 Ladies amorous, joyous, and lovely,
 Trained, and noble, and of like age,
 Take the bride, and usher her as befits :
 They give her place to sit at table.
 Now damsels and donzels around,
 The many ladies who have taken their seats,
 All prattle of love and joy.
 A gentle wind which keeps off the flies
 Tempers the air, and refreshes hearts.
 From the sun spring laughs in the fields :
 Nowhere can the eye settle.
 At your foot run delightful rills :
 At times the fish leap from the water.
 Jongleurs¹ clad by gift :
 Here vestments of fashion unprecedented,
 There with pearls and precious stones
 Upon their heads, and solemn garb :
 Here are rings which emit a splendour
 Like that of the sun outside.
 Now all the men and all the ladies have washed,
 And then the water is given to the bride :
 And I resume speaking of her deportment.
 Let her have washed her hands aforetime,
 So that she may then not greatly bedim the water.
 Let her not much set-to at washing in the basin,
 Nor touch mouth or teeth in washing :

¹ 'Uomin di corte.' This term was first applied to heralds, chamberlains, and the like court-officials: subsequently to the entertainers of a court, 'giullari,' jesters, and buffoons: and in process of time it came to include courtiers of whatever class. In the early writers—such as Barberino, Boccaccio, &c.—it is not always easy for a translator to pitch upon the precise equivalent: the reader should understand a personage who might be as romantic as a Troubadour, or as quaint as a Touchstone—but tending rather towards the latter extreme.

For she can do this afterwards in her chamber,
When it shall be needful and fitting.
Of the savoury and nicest viands
Let her accept, but little, and avoid eating many :
And let her, several days before, have noted
The other customs above written ;
Here let her observe those which beseem the place.
Let her not intervene to reprehend the servitors,
Nor yet speak, unless occasion requires.
Let it appear that she hardly minds any diversion,
But that only timidity quenches her pleasure :
But let her, in eating, so manage her hands
That, in washing, the clear water may remain.
The table being removed, let her stay with the ladies
Somewhat more freely than at her arrival :
Yet for this day let her, I pray,
Abstain from laughing as far as she can, keeping
Her countenance so as not to appear out of humour,
But only timid, as has often been said.
If the other ladies sleep that day,
Let her also repose among them,
And prepare herself the better for keeping awake.
Let her drinking be small. I approve a light collation,
Eating little : and in like wise at supper
Let her avoid too many comfits or fruits :
Let her make it rather slight than heavy.

Some ladies make ready to go,
And some others to retire to their chambers.
Those remain who are in charge of her :
All approach to cheer her.
She embraces her intimates :
Let her make the kindest demonstrations to all—
'Adieu, adieu'—tearful at parting.
They all cheer her up, and beg her to be
Confident, and many vouch
That her husband has gone to a distance :
Her guardians say the same.
They bring her inwards to a new chamber,
Whose walls are so draped
That nothing is seen save silk and gold ;
The coverlets starred, and with moons.
The stones shine as it were the sun :
At the corners four rubies lift up a flame
So lovely that it touches the heart :
Here a man kindles inside and out.
Richest cambrics cover the floor.

Here baldaquins and the benches around
 All covered with woven pearls;
 Pillows all of smooth samite,
 With the down of griffin-birds¹ inside;
 Many topazes, sapphires, and emeralds,
 With various stones, as buttons to these.
 Beds loaded on beds with no bedstead,
 Draped all with foreign cloths:²
 Above the others the chiefest and soft,
 With a new covering of byssus.³
 Of this the down is from the phoenix-bird:⁴
 It has one bolster and no more,
 Not too large, but of fine form.
 Over it sheets of worked silk,
 Soft, yielding, delicate, and durable:
 A superb quilt, and cuttings-out⁵ within;
 And, traced with the needle and of various cutting,
 Fishes and birds and all animals.
 A vine goes round the whole,
 The twigs of pearls, and the foliage of gems,
 Among which are those of all virtues,
 Written of or named as excellent.
 In the midst of it turns a wheel
 Which represents the figure of the world;
 Wherein birds, in windows of glass,
 Sing if you will, and if not they are all mute.
 There puppies of various kinds,
 Not troublesome, and they make no noise:
 If you call them, they make much of you.
 On the benches flowers heaped and strewn—
 Great is the odour, but not excessive:
 Much balsam in vessels of crystal.

¹ 'Uccelli grifoni.' This seems a daring suggestion: possibly, as a griffin is a compound of eagle and lion, we are to understand that the eagle is the griffin-bird.

² 'Drappi ultramarin'—which *may* mean foreign (from beyond sea), or else of ultramarine colour: I rather suppose the former.

³ 'Lana di pesce'—literally, fish's wool. The term is new to me, nor do I find it explained in dictionaries: I can only therefore surmise that it designates the silky filaments of certain sea-mollusks, such as the pinna of the Mediterranean. This byssus is still made use of in Italy for gloves and similar articles.

⁴ !!

⁵ 'Intaglij;' and the next line gives the word 'Scolture. Giovanni Villani notes that in 1330 a prohibition was issued against 'dresses cut-out or painted:' the fashion having run into the extravagance of 'dresses cut-out with different sorts of cloth, and made of stuffs trimmed variously with silks.'

A nurse says : ' All things are yours.
You will lie by yourself in that bed :
We will all be sleeping here.'
They show her the wardrobe at one side,
Wherein they say that they remain keeping watch.
They wash the Lady's face and hands
With rose-water mixed with violets,
For in that country such is the wont.
They dress her hair, wind up her tresses,
Stand round about her, help her to disrobe.
Who takes her shoes off, happy she !
Her shoes are by no means of leather.
They look her in the face whether she is timorous :
She prays them to stay.
They tell her that they will sleep outside the bed,
At her feet, on the cloths I have spoken of.
They make-believe to do so, and the Lady smiles.
They put her to bed : first they hold her,—
They turn the quilt over : and, her face being displayed,
All the shows of gems and draperies
Wane before that amorous beauty
Which issues from the eyes she turns around.
Her visage shines : the nurses disappear :
The Lady closes her eyes, and sleeps.

Then these nurses trick the Lady.
They leave by the door which they had not shown her :
They go to the bridegroom who is waiting outside.
Him they tell of the trick.
There come around the new knight,
Young lord, puissant crown,
Many donzels and knights who wait
Solely for his chamber-service.
They give him water, as to the Lady :
His blond head each adorns,
Bright his countenance. Every one
Has gladness and joy, glad in his happiness.
They leave him in his jerkin, they bring him within :
They take off his shoes at the draped entry.
They all without, and the nurses at one side,
Stay quiet. A *réveillée* begins,
And so far off that it gives no annoy.

The comely King crosses himself, and looks :
The Lady and the gems make a great splendour,
And it seems to him that this Queen is asleep.
He enters softly, and wholly undresses :
It appears that the Lady heaves a sigh.

The King is scared : he covers himself up in the bed.
 He signals to the birds to sing :
 They all begin, one by one, and low.¹
 The signal tells them to raise their note :
 Higher they rise in singing—and perchance
 This noise may wake the Lady up.
 Again he signals that they should all trill louder.

The Lady heaves a sigh, and asks,
 'Who is there?'—Says the King : 'I am one
 Whom thy beauties have brought hither.'
 She is troubled, and calls the nurses.
 The King replies : 'I have turned them all out.
 She moves, wanting to get up :
 She finds no clothes, for they have carried them away.
 The King remains quiet, and waits to see
 In what way he may be able to please her,
 And says to her : 'I have only come hither
 To speak to thee a few words :
 Listen a little, and then I will go.'

An elaborate dialogue ensues, conducted on the most high-paced footing of enamoured courtesy. It contains the strangely beautiful passage translated in my brother's *Early Italian Poets*, and which I reproduce here ; taking therewith my leave both of this singular specimen of how Kings and Queens might, would, could, or should confer on their bridal-night, and also of Francesco da Barberino himself. The Queen is the speaker.

'Do not conceive that I shall here recount
 All my own beauty : yet I promise you
 That you, by what I tell, shall understand
 All that befits and that is well to know.
 My bosom, which is very softly made,
 Of a white even colour without stain,
 Bears two fair apples, fragrant, sweetly savoured,
 Gathered together from the Tree of Life
 The which is in the midst of Paradise.
 And these no person ever yet has touched ;
 For out of nurse's and of mother's hands
 I was when God in secret gave them me.

¹ These seem to be very obedient birds : and their position, behind glass windows in a globe figuring the world, was rather an odd one to modern notions. The reader will keep me company in guessing whether or not we are to take the whole description *au pied de la lettre*.

These ere I yield I must know well to whom ;
 And, for that I would not be robbed of them,
 I speak not all the virtue that they have :
 Yet thus far speaking— Blessed were the man
 Who once should touch them, were it but a little :
 See them I say not, for that might not be.
 My girdle, clipping pleasure round-about,
 Over my clear dress even unto my knees
 Hangs down with sweet precision tenderly ;
 And under it Virginitie abides.
 Faithful and simple and of plain belief
 She is, with her fair garland bright like gold,
 And very fearful if she overhears
 Speech of herself ; the wherefore ye perceive
 That I speak soft lest she be made ashamed.
 Lo ! this is she who hath for company
 The Son of God, and Mother of the Son.
 Lo ! this is she who sits with many in heaven :
 Lo ! this is she with whom are few on earth.'

Tiraboschi mentions a book which might perhaps be useful in further illustrating Italian manners at the end of the 13th century : but I have no direct knowledge of it,—a Treatise on the Governing of a Family, written by Sandro di Pippozzo in 1299. A treatise on Moral Virtues (*Sopra le Virtù Morali*) was composed by Graziolo de' Bombaglioli, a Bolognese, in Italian verse, with a comment in Latin, the date being about the middle of the 14th century ; and was published in 1642, being at that time mistakenly attributed to King Robert of Naples. It is not a Courtesy-Book ; but, referring back to what has been said (on p. 12) regarding the definitions of nobility given by Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Barberino, I may cite part of what Bombaglioli says on the same subject :

' Neither long-standing wealth nor blood confers nobility ;
 But virtue makes a man noble (*gentile*) ;
 And it lifts from a vile place
 A man who makes himself lofty by his goodness.'

A third and older book, no doubt very much to our purpose, would be one which Ubaldini (in his edition of Barberino's *Reggimento*) refers to as having been laid under contribution by that poet in compiling his *Documenti d'Amore*—viz. a rhymed composition, in the Romagnole dialect, on Methods of Salutation, by Ugolino Brucola

(or Bruzola). This work, again, is unknown to me; and, as I can trace no mention of it even in Tiraboschi, a writer of most omnivorous digestion, I infer that it may not improbably have perished.

Skipping therefore about a century and a quarter, within which Italian literature was made for ever illustrious by the *Commedia* of Dante, and the writings of Petrarca and Boccaccio, not to speak of others, we come to the early 15th century, still in Florence.

Agnolo Pandolfini wrote on the same subject as Sandro di Pippozzo, the *Governing of a Family* (*Del Governo della Famiglia*). He died in 1446, aged about 86; and the date of his treatise seems to be towards 1425—30. This work must not be confounded with one bearing the same title, frequently cited in the *Dizionario della Crusca*, and which deals more particularly with morals and religion. Pandolfini, both by birth and doings, was a very illustrious son of Florence: in 1414, 1420, and 1431, he held the highest dignity of the state, that of Gonfalonier of Justice. He opposed the banishment of Cosmo de' Medici, and was treated with distinguished honour by that great though dangerous citizen on his return. His treatise takes the form of a dialogue, wherein Agnolo holds forth *ore rotundo* to his sons and grandsons. The old gentleman is indeed fearfully oracular, and possessed with a fathomless belief in himself. He writes well, and with plenty of good sense. His book is not, in the strictest acceptation of the term, a Courtesy-Book, but rather a cross between the moral and the prudential—a dissertation of Economics. Here are some samples of his lore.

To choose a house wherein one can settle comfortably for life is a great consideration. A locality with good air and good wine should be sought out: better to buy it than to rent it. The whole family should have one roof, one entrance-door, one fire, and one dining-table: this subserves the purposes both of affection and of thrift.

The family and household should be well dressed. Even when living a country life, they should keep on the town dress: good cloth and cheerful colours, but without fancy-ornaments save for the women.

The head of the family should commit to his wife the immediate care of the household goods: men, however careful, should not be poking and prying into every corner, and looking whether the candles have too thick a wick. 'It is well for every lady to know

how to cook, and prepare all choice viands ; to learn this from cooks when they come to the house for banquets ; to see them at work, ask questions, learn, and bear in mind, so that, when guests come who ought to be received with welcome, the ladies may know and order all the best things—and so not have to send every time for cooks. This cannot be done at a moment's notice, and especially when one is in the country, where good cooks are not to be had, and strangers are more in the way of being asked. Not indeed that the lady is to cook ; but she should order, teach, and show the less skilful servants to do everything in the best way, and make the best dishes suitable to the season and the guests.'

' I [the infallible Agnolo Pandolfini] always liked so to order the household that, at whatever hour of day or night, there should always be some one at home to look after all casualties that might happen to the inmates. And I always kept in the house a goose and a dog—wakeful animals, and, as we see, suspicious and attached ; so that, one of them rousing the other, and calling up the household, the house might always be secure.'

Always buy of the best—food, clothes, &c., &c. ' Good things cost less than the not good.'

That Agnolo Pandolfini was regarded as a great authority not by himself alone is proved by the fact that Matteo Palmieri, the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (*Della Vita Civile*), makes him the principal speaker. And this was perhaps even during Agnolo's lifetime : the assumed date of the colloquy being 1430 (very much the same as that of Pandolfini's own book), and the actual date of composition being probably enough not many years later. Palmieri was born in Florence in 1405, and died in 1475, honoured for conspicuous integrity, and distinguished by many public employments. The *Vita Civile* is regarded as his most important literary work. The interlocutors, besides Pandolfini, are a Sacchetti and a Guicciardini. The subject-matter is more grave and weighty than that of a Courtesy-Book strictly so called, though we may dip into it for a detail or two. The following is Palmieri's own account of the work :

' The whole performance is divided into four books. In the 1st the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man ; showing by what nurture and according to what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness ; and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act, in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence, in the former of these, Temperance,

Fortitude, and Prudence, are treated of at large—also other virtues comprised in these. The next is 3rd in order, and is all devoted to Justice, which is the noblest part of men, and above all others necessary for maintaining every well-ordered commonwealth. Wherefore here is diffusely treated of Civil Justice; how people should conduct themselves in peace; and how wars are managed; how, within the city by those who hold the magistracies, and beyond the walls by the public officials, the general well-being is provided for. The last book alone is written concerning Utility, and provides for the plenty, ornament, property, and abundant riches, of the whole body politic. Then in the final portion, as last conclusion, is shown, not without true doctrine, what is the state of the souls which in the world, intent upon public good, have lived according to the precepts of life here set forth by us; in reward whereof they have been by God received into heaven, to be happy eternally in glory with his saints.'

Palmieri would have boys eschew any sedentary pastimes. They may jump, run, and play at ball; and music is highly suitable for them. To beat them is a barbarism. This may indeed, sometimes and perhaps, be necessary with boys 'who are to follow mechanical and servile arts,' but not with those who are carefully brought up by father and preceptor. Begin with encouragements to the well-behaved, and admonitions to the naughty: and the severer punishments should be 'to shut him in; to withhold such food and other things as he best likes, to take away his clothing, and so on; to make him ponder long while over his misdoing.' (This is singularly gentle discipline for A.D. 1430: indeed Palmieri intimates that 'almost all people' advocated manual correction in his time. Had any other writer, of so early a date, discovered that 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is not the sum-total of management for minors?)

A dinner-party is considered well made up, in point of numbers, if the persons present are not less than three, nor more than nine. A larger number than the latter cannot all join together in united conversation.

'The expenses of a munificent man should be in things that bring honour and distinction; not private, but public—as in buildings, and ornaments of churches, theatres, loggias, public feasts, games, entertainments; and in such like magnificences he should not compute nor reckon how much he spends, but by what means the works may be to the utmost wonderful and beautiful.' (Nice

doctrine this for some of our conscript fathers in England, whose perennial diligence is, as Carlyle says, 'preserving their game.' But the Florentine Republic was in that outcast condition that the noblemen were not only not hereditary legislators, but were *ipso facto* excluded from all public employment, unless they enrolled themselves in the commonalty by belonging to one of the legislating guilds.)

Both Pandolfini and Palmieri are authors of good repute in Italian literature : but by no means equal to the writer next on our list, Baldassar Castiglione, with his book named *The Courtier* (*Il Cortigiano*). This is a remarkably choice example of Italian prose ; which is the more satisfactory because Castiglione was not a Tuscan, but a Mantuan, and a proclaimed enemy of that narrow literary creed, the palladium of pedants and ever-recurring bane of strong individualism among Italian writers, that, save in the Florentine-Tuscan language (or dialect) of the '*buon secolo*,' the days of Petrarca and Boccaccio, there is no orthodoxy of diction. Some noticeable details on this point are to be found in the *Cortigiano* : showing that the ultra-purists of that time insisted upon the use by writers, whether Tuscan or belonging to other parts of Italy, of words occurring in Petrarca and Boccaccio already quite obsolete and hardly intelligible even in Tuscany—and also upon the use of corrupt forms of words framed from the Latin, because these pertained to the Tuscan idiom, even although correct forms of the same words were in current use in other Italian regions. In all such regards Castiglione claims for himself unfettered latitude of choice : the verbal precisian, scared at his theoretic license, is surprised and relieved to find that after all the book is not only endurable in style, even to his own punctilious ears, but particularly elegant.

Baldassar Castiglione was born on the 6th of December 1478¹ at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory. Noble and handsome, he grew up almost universally accomplished and learned ; a distinguished connoisseur ; and valued by all the most eminent men of his time. His full-length portrait appears in one of the frescoes of

¹ Tiraboschi says 1468 ; but that, as far as I can trace, is a mistake.

Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican. He went on many embassies—among others, to England. Henry VIII., of whose youthful promise he speaks in the most rapturous terms, knighted him: the Emperor Charles V. said that by Castiglione's death chivalry lost its brightest luminary. His career closed at Toledo on the 2nd of February 1529. Among his writings are poems in Latin and Italian, but his chief work is the *Cortigiano*. This was composed between the years 1508 and 1518; and published in 1528, in a state which its author regarded as somewhat hurried and incomplete. It is written in the narrative form, but consisting principally of dialogue, or indeed of successive monologues; and purports to relate certain *conversazioni* (rightly to be so called) which were held in 1506 in the court of Urbino, for the delectation of the Duchess Elisabetta della Rovere (by birth a Gonzaga) and her ladies. The topic proposed for treatment is—what should a perfectly qualified Courtier be like? The principal speakers on the general subject are the Conte Lodovico da Canossa, Federico Fregoso, and Ottaviano Fregoso; Bernardo Bibiena takes up the special question of *facetie*, and Giuliano de' Medici speaks of the Court Lady, and generally in honour of women.

The term Courtier has not a very exalted sound to a modern or English ear: but Castiglione's ideal Courtier is a truly noble and gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than splendid qualities. His ultimate *raison d'être* is that he should always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict truth of all things which it behoves him to know—certainly a sufficiently honourable and handsomely unfulfilled duty. The tone throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly rectitude:¹ indeed, the book as a whole is hardly what one associates mentally with the era of Pagan Popes,—of a Cæsar Borgia just cleared off from Romagna, and an Alessandro de' Medici impending over Florence.

¹ It may be fair to state that the work, as first published, was put in the Roman index of prohibited books; and that the reissues (including no doubt the edition known to me) have omitted the inculpat passages. Whether these were objected to on moral or rather on ecclesiastical grounds I cannot affirm: the book as now printed is not only quite free from immoralities, but is decidedly moral, whereas there remains at least one passage of a tone such as churchmen resent *ex officio*.

Almost the only illustration which Castiglione supplies of the art of dining is the following anecdote :

‘The Marquis Federico of Mantua, father of our Lady Duchess, being at table with many gentlemen, one of them, after he had eaten a whole stew, said, “My Lord Marquis, pardon me ;” and, so saying, he began to suck up the broth that was left. Forthwith then said the Marquis : “You should ask pardon of the pigs, for to me there is no harm done at all !”’

Some other points I take as they come.

‘Having many a time reflected wherefrom Grace arises (not to speak of those who derive it from the stars), I find one most universal rule, which seems to me to hold good, in this regard, in all human things done and said, more than aught else ; and this is—to avoid affectation as much as one can, and as a most bristling and perilous rock, and (to use perhaps a new-coined word) to do everything with a certain slightingness [*sprezzatura*], which shall conceal art, and show that what is done and said comes to one without trouble and almost without thinking.’ Yet there may be as much affectation in slightingness itself as in punctilio. Instances adduced of the latter, as regards the care of the person, are the setting a scrap of looking-glass in a recess of one’s cap, and a comb in one’s sleeve, and keeping a page to follow one perpetually about with a sponge and a clothes-brush. Female affectations were ‘the plucking out the hair of eyebrows and forehead, and undergoing all those inconveniences which you ladies fancy to be altogether occult from men, and which nevertheless are all known.’

The perfect Courtier ought to know music—sing at sight, and play on various instruments ; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the viol, and most especially thus singing in recitative [*per recitare*], ‘which adds to the words so much grace and force that great marvel it is.’ All stringed instruments are well suited for the Courtier ; not so wind-instruments, ‘which Minerva interdicted to Alcibiades, because they have an unseemly air.’ The Court Lady also ought to have knowledge of letters, music, and painting, as well as of dancing, and how to bear her part in entertainments [*festeggiare*].

‘Old men blame in us many things which, of themselves, are neither good nor bad, but only because *they* used not to do them : and they say that it is unbefitting for young men to go through the city riding, especially on mules ; to wear in the winter fur linings and long robes ; to wear a cap [*berretta*], at any rate until the man has reached eighteen years of age,—and other the like things. Wherein in sooth they mistake : for these customs, besides being convenient and serviceable, are introduced by fashion, and universally accepted,—as aforetime to dress in the open tunic [*giornea*], with open

hose and polished shoes, and for gallantry to carry all day a hawk on the fist for no reason, and to dance without touching the lady's hand, and to adopt many other modes which, as they would now be most awkward, so then were they highly prized.'

Federico Fregoso, the chief speaker of the second evening, is of opinion that a man of rank ought not to honour with his presence a village feast, where the spectators and company would be coarse people. To this Gaspar Pallavicino demurs; saying that, in his native Lombardy, many young noblemen will dance all day under the sun with country people, and play with them at wrestling, running, leaping, and so on—exercises of strength and dexterity in which the countrymen are often the winners. Fregoso rejoins that this, if done at all, should be not by way of emulation but of complaisance, and when the nobleman feels tolerably sure of conquering; and generally, in all sorts of exercises save feats of arms, he should stop short of anything like professional zeal or excellence. [A concluding hint worth consideration in these days of 'Athletic Clubs.']

The discourse of Bernardo Bibiena on *facetie* is a magazine of good things, both anecdotic, epigrammatic, and critical. The speaker is particularly severe on 'funny men' and 'jolly dogs'; concerning whom I venture to introduce one consecutive extract of some little length.

'THE COURTIER should be very heedful of his beginnings, so as to leave a pleasing impression, and should consider how baneful and fatal it is to fall into the contrary. And this danger do they more than others run who make it their business to be amusing, and assume with these their quips a certain liberty authorizing and licensing them to do and say whatever strikes them, without any consideration. Thus these people start off on matters whence, not knowing their way out again, they try to help themselves off by raising a laugh: and this also they do so scurvily that it fails; so that they occasion the severest tedium to those who see and hear them, and they themselves remain most crestfallen. Sometimes, thinking thus to be witty and lively, in the presence of ladies of honour, and often even in speaking to them, they set to at uttering most nasty and indecent words: and, the more they see them blush, so much the more do they account themselves good courtiers: and ever and anon they laugh and plume themselves at so bright a gift which they think their own. But for no purpose do they commit so many imbecilities as in order to be thought "boon companions." This is that only name which appears to them worthy of praise, and which they vaunt more than any other; and, to acquire it, they bandy the most blundering and vile blackguardisms in the world. Often will they shove one another down-stairs; knock ribs with bludgeons and bricks; throw handfuls of dust into the eyes; and bring down people's horses upon them in ditches, or on the slope of a hill. Then, at

table, soups, sauces, jellies, all do they flop in one another's face : and then they laugh ! And he who can do the most of these things accounts himself the best and most gallant courtier, and fancies he has gained great glory. And, if sometimes they invite a gentleman to these their pleasantries, and he abstains from such horse-play, forthwith they say that he makes himself too sage and grand, and is not a "boon companion." But worse remains to tell. There are some who vie and wager which of them can eat and drink the most nauseous and fetid things ; and these they hunt up so abhorrent to human senses that it is impossible to mention them without the utmost disgust.—"And what may these be ?" said Signor Lodovico Pio.—Messer Federico replied : "Let the Marquis Febus [da Ceva] tell you, as he has often seen them in France ; and perhaps the thing has happened to himself."—The Marquis Febus replied : "I have seen nothing of the sort done in France that is not also done in Italy. But, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in Italian habits of dress, festivities, banqueting, fighting, and whatever else becomes a courtier, is all derived from the French."—"I deny not," answered Messer Federico, "that there are among the French also most noble and unassuming cavaliers : and I for my part have known many truly worthy of all praise. Yet some are to be found by no means well-bred : and, speaking generally, it appears to me that the Spaniards get on better in manner with the Italians than the French do ; since that calm gravity peculiar to the Spaniards seems to me much more conformable to us than the rapid liveliness which is to be recognized almost in every movement of the French race—which in them is not derogatory, and even has grace, because to themselves it is so natural and appropriate that it indicates no sort of affectation in them. There are indeed many Italians who would fain force themselves to imitate that manner ; and they can manage nothing else than jogging the head in speaking, and bowing sideways with a bad grace, and, when they are walking about, going so fast that the grooms cannot keep up with them. And with these modes they fancy they are good French people, and partake of their offhand ways : a thing indeed which seldom succeeds save with those who have been brought up in France, and have got into these habits from childhood upwards."

The reader will probably agree with me in thinking that Castiglione's own opinion is expressed here rather in the speech of Federico Fregoso than of the Marquis Febus ; and that the all-accomplished Italian patrician of the opening sixteenth century by no means regarded the French as the courteous nation *par excellence*. Elsewhere it is remarked that the French recognize nobility in arms only, and utterly despise letters and literary men ; and that presumption is a leading trait in the national character.

Castiglione does not seem to have entertained the same objection to gesturing that Francesco da Barberino did. In amusing narration or story-telling, at any rate, he approves of this accompaniment; speaking of people who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.'

The banefulness of a wicked Courtier is set forth in strong terms.

'No punishment has yet been invented horrid and tremendous enough for chastising those wicked Courtiers who direct to a bad end their elegant and pleasant manners and good breeding, and by these means creep into the good graces of their sovereigns, to corrupt them, and divert them from the path of virtue, and lead them into vice: for such people may be said to infect with mortal poison, not a vessel of which one only person has to drink, but the public fountain which the whole population uses.'

The last two authors on our list, Giovanni Battista Possevin and Giovanni della Casa, will bring us to about the middle of the sixteenth century; beyond which I do not propose to pursue the subject of Italian Courtesy-Books. We are now fairly out of the middle ages, and in the full career of transition from the old to the new. Indeed, were it not that Della Casa's work, *Il Galateo*, is so peculiarly apposite to our purpose I might have been disposed to leave both these writers aside as a trifle too modern in date: but, coming closer as that does to the exact definition of a Courtesy-Book than any other of the compositions which we have been considering, it must perforce find admission here,—and a few words may at the same time be spared to Possevin, who introduces us to a special department of manners. And first of Possevin.

This writer was (like Castiglione) a Mantuan, and died young—perhaps barely aged thirty. A famous man of letters, Paolo Giovio, found him to be 'a son of melancholy, and so learned, according to the title of Christ on the cross,¹ as to make one marvel: he is a good poet.' The book we have to deal with is of considerable size, a

¹ A noticeable proverbial phrase. It is new to me; but I suppose it means either 'learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin' (the three languages in which the inscription over the cross was written), or else perhaps 'learned in languages generally.'

Dialogue concerning Honour (*Dialogo dell' Onore*): it was published in 1553, after the author's death, which seems to have occurred towards 1550. Possevini is charged with having borrowed freely from another writer, who devoted himself to the denunciation of duelling, Antonio Bernardi; although indeed the *publication* of Bernardi's book did not take place till some years after the posthumous work of Possevini was in print. The special subject of the latter, as we have said, is honour—the quality and laws of honour, with a leading though not exclusive reference to the duelling system. Many other Italian writers of this period discussed that latter question, some upholding and some reprobating the institution. Possevini is certainly not one of its adversaries, but debates many of the ancillary points with the particularity of a casuist. The few items which I shall extract are cited more as curiosities than as fairly representing the substance of the book.

A man of letters affronted by a military man is not—so Possevini lays it down—bound to call him out, for the duel is not his vocation. If he is depreciated in his literary character, it is in writing that he should respond: if he is otherwise damned, let him appeal to the magistrate. But this latter course is not permitted to a soldier: fighting is his business, and he must have recourse to the sword. The maxim that, in duel, one is bound either to slay one's adversary, or take him prisoner, is barbarous: it should suffice to make him recant or apologize, or to wound him, or to reduce him to surrender and humiliation.

A man who marries a professional courtesan lowers himself; yet not so far as that he can properly be refused as a duellist, or as a magistrate, or in other matters pertaining to honour. A husband who connives at his own dishonour, either by positive intention or by stupidity exceeding a certain limit, should be refused as above; not so a betrayed husband who has taken any ordinary precautions. The husband who detects his wife in adultery, without resenting it, is a dishonoured man: yet to kill her is beyond the mark,—to divorce her, contrary to canon law. He should obtain a legal abrogation of the wife's dowry, or else, as a milder course, send her back to her own people, and have no sort of knowledge of her thenceforth.

Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, created Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, was born of noble Florentine parentage on the 28th of June 1503, and died on the 14th of November 1556. He ranks as one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his century; but some of

his poems are noted for licentiousness, and are even reputed to have damaged his ecclesiastical career, and lost him a Cardinal's hat. The works thus impugned appear all to belong to his youth. He had already obtained some church-preferment, and was settled in Rome, by the year 1538. On the election of Pope Julius III., in 1550, Della Casa lived privately in the city or territory of Venice, in great state, and distinguished for courteous and charitable munificence. Paul IV., who succeeded to the papacy in 1555, recalled him to Rome, and created him Secretary of State.

The *Galateo* (written, I presume, somewhere about 1550) has always been a very famous book in Italy; and of that sort of fame which includes great general as well as literary acceptance. It is a model of strong sententious Tuscan; approaching the pedantic, yet racily idiomatic at the same time. The title in full runs *Galateo, or concerning Manners; wherein, in the Character of an Elderly Man [Vecchio Idiota] instructing a Youth, are set forth the things which ought to be observed and avoided in ordinary intercourse*. The paragraphs are numbered, and amount to 180.¹ The name *Galateo* is

¹ That most capital and characteristic book, the Autobiography of the tragedian Alfieri, contains a reference to the *Galateo*, which, longish as it is, I am tempted to extract. 'My worthy Paciaudi was wont to advise me not to neglect, amid my laborious readings, works in prose, which he learnedly termed the nurse of poetry. As regards this, I remember that one day he brought me the *Galateo* of Della Casa; recommending me to ponder it well with respect to the turn of speech, which assuredly is pure Tuscan, and the reverse of all Frenchifying. I, who in boyhood had (as we all have) read it loosely, understood it little, and relished it not at all, felt almost offended at this schoolboyish and pedantic advice. Full of venom against the said *Galateo*, I opened it. And, at the sight of that first *Conciossiacosachè*, to which is trailed-on that long sentence so pompous and so wanting in pith, such an impulse of rage seized me that, hurling the book out of window, I cried like a maniac: "Surely a hard and disgusting necessity, that, in order to write tragedies at the age of twenty-seven, I must swallow down again this childish chatter, and relax my brain with such pedantries!" He smiled at my uneducated poetic *furor*; and prophesied that I would yet read the *Galateo*, and that more than once. And so it turned out; but several years afterwards, when I had thoroughly hardened my neck and shoulders to bear the grammatical yoke. And I read not only the *Galateo*, but almost all our prose writers of the fourteenth century, and annotated them too: with what profit I cannot say. But true it is that, were any one to give them a good reading as regards their turn of phrase, and to manage availing himself with judgment and skill of their array, rejecting the cast clothes of their ideas, he might perhaps afterwards, in his writings as well philosophic as poetic or historic, or of any other class, give a richness, brevity, propriety, and force of

given to the book in consequence of a little anecdote which it introduces, apparently from real life. There was once a Bishop of Verona named Giovanni Matteo Giberti, noted for liberality. He entertained at his house a certain Count Ricciardo—a highly accomplished nobleman, but addicted (*proh pudor!*) to eating his victuals with ‘an uncouth action of lips and mouth, masticating at table with a novel noise very unpleasing to hear.’ The Bishop therefore deemed it the kindest thing he could do to have the Count escorted on his homeward way by a remarkably discreet, well-bred, and experienced gentleman of the episcopal household, named Galateo, who wound up a handsome compliment at parting with a plain exposition of the guest’s peccadillo. His own misdoing was news to the Count: but he took the information altogether in good part, and seriously promised amendment.

Let us now dip into the *Galateo* for a few axioms; first on dining, and afterwards on other points of manners.

You must not smell at the wine-cup or the platter of any one, not even at your own; nor hand the wine which you have tasted to another, unless your very intimate friend; still less offer him any fruit at which you have bitten. Some monsters thrust their snouts, like pigs, into their broth, and never raise their eyes or hands from the victuals, and gorge rather than eat with swollen cheeks, as if they were blowing at a trumpet or a fire; and, soiling their arms almost to the elbows, make a fearful mess of their napkins.¹ And these same napkins they will use to wipe off perspiration, and even to blow their noses. You must not so soil your fingers as to make the napkin nasty in wiping them: neither clean them upon the bread which you are to eat: [we should hope not]. In company, and most especially at table, you should not bully nor beat any servants;

colour, to his style, which I have not as yet seen fully gracing any Italian writer.’ A word or two may be spared to the formidable-looking vocable *Conciossiacosachè* which so excited Alfieri’s bile. It might be translated literally as ‘Herewith-be-something-that;’ and corresponds in practice to the English ‘Forasmuch as’—or more briefly ‘since,’ or ‘as.’ The Italian word *poichè* serves all the same uses, save that of longwindedness. But *Conciossiacosachè* itself is not lengthy enough for some Italian lips: and I believe that even the phrase into which it has sometimes been prolonged—‘Con ciò sia cosa fosse massimamente che’—has been used for other than burlesquing purposes.

¹ The comparison whereby our Archbishop illustrates the condition of the napkins must perfume our page only in its native Italian—‘Che le pezze degli agiamenti sono più nette.’

nor must you express anger, whatever may occur to excite it; nor talk of any distressful matters—wounds, illnesses, deaths, or pestilence. If any one falls into this mistake, the conversation should be dexterously changed: ‘although, as I once heard said by a worthy man our neighbour, people often would be as much eased by crying as by laughing. And he affirmed that with this motive had the mournful fictions termed tragedies been first invented: so that, being set forth in theatres, as was then the practice, they might bring tears to the eyes of those who had need of this, and thus they, weeping, might be cured of their discomfort. But, be this as it may, for us it is not befitting to sadden the minds of those with whom we converse, especially on occasions when people have met for refreshment and recreation, and not to cry: and, if any one languishes with a longing to weep, right easy will it be to relieve him with strong mustard, or to set him somewhere over the smoke.’ You should not scratch yourself at table, nor spit; or, if spit you must, do it in a seemly way. Some nations have been so self-controlling as not to spit at all.¹ ‘We must also beware of eating so greedily that hence comes hiccapping or other disagreeable act; as he does who hurries so that he has to puff and blow, to the annoyance of the whole company.’ Rub not your teeth with the napkin—still less with your fingers: nor rinse out your mouth, nor spit forth wine. ‘Nor, on rising from table, is it a nice habit to carry your toothpick² in your mouth, like a bird which is in nest-building,—or behind the ear, like a barber.’ You must not hang the toothpick round your neck: it shows that you are ‘overmuch prepared and provided for the service of the gullet,’ and you might as well hang your spoon in the same way. Neither must you loll on the table; nor by gesture or sound symbolize your great relish of viands or wine—a habit fit only for tavern-keepers and toppers. Also you should not put people out of countenance by pressing them to eat or drink.

‘To present to another something from the plate before oneself does not seem to me well, unless he who presents is of much the

¹ This is affirmed by Xenophon of the Persians: he says in the *Cyropædia* that, both of old and in his own time, they did without either spitting or blowing the nose—a proof of temperance, and of energetic exercise which carried off the moisture of the body.

² *Stecco*. ‘Toothpick’ is the only appropriate technical sense for *stecco* given in the dictionaries; and I suppose it is correct here, although Della Casa’s very next sentence, denouncing the carrying of this implement round the neck, designates it by the word *stuzzicadenti*, and it seems odd that the two terms should be thus juxta-posed or opposed. If *stecco* does not in this passage really mean ‘toothpick,’ I should infer that it indicates some skewer-like object, used possibly as a fork—i. e. to secure the viands on the plate, while they are severed with a spoon, and by that conveyed to the mouth (see pp. 21 and 34 as to the use of spoon instead of fork in Bonvicino’s time). This would in fact be a sort of chop-stick. Such an inference is quite compatible with the general sense of the word *stecco*—any stake or splint of wood.

higher grade, so that the recipient is thereby honoured. For, among equals in condition, it looks as if he who offers the gift were setting himself up somehow as the superior: and sometimes that which a man gives is not to the taste of him it is given to. Besides, it implies that the dinner has no abundance of dishes, or is not well distributed, when one has too much, and another too little: and the master of the house might take it as an affront. However, in this one should do as others do, and not as it might be best to do in the abstract: and in such fashions it is better to err along with others than to be alone in well-doing. But, whatever may be the best course in this, you must not refuse what is offered you; for it would seem as if you slighted or reproved the donor.'

For one man to pledge another in the wine-cup is not an Italian usage, nor yet rightly nationalized, and should be avoided. Decline such an invitation; or confess yourself the worse drinker, and give but one sip to your wine. 'Thank God, among the many pests which have come to us from beyond the mountains, this vilest one has not yet reached us, of regarding drunkenness as not merely a laughing-matter, but even a merit.' The only time when you should wash hands in company is before going to table: you should do it then even though your hands be quite clean, 'so that he who dips with you into the same platter may know that for certain.'

Well-bred servitors, serving at table, must on no account scratch their heads or any other part of the body, nor thrust their hands anywhere under their clothes out of sight, but keep them 'visible and beyond all suspicion,' and scrupulously clean. Those who hand about plates or cups must abstain from spitting or coughing, and most especially from sneezing. If a pear or bread has been set to toast, the attendant must not blow off any ash-dust, but jog or otherwise nick it off. He must not offer his pocket-handkerchief to any one, though it be clean from the wash; for the person to whom it is offered has no assurance of that fact, and may find it distasteful. The usher must not take it upon himself to invite strangers, or to retain them to dine with his lord: if he does so, no one who knows his place will act on the invitation.

Scraping the teeth together, whistling, screaming, grinding stones, and rubbing iron, are grievous noises: and a man who has a bad voice should eschew singing, especially a solo. Coughing and sneezing must not be done loud. 'And there is also to be found such a person as, in yawning, will howl and bray like an ass; and another who, with his mouth still agape, *will* go on with his talk, and emits that voice, or rather that noise, which a mute produces when he tries to speak.' Indeed, much yawning should be altogether avoided: it shows that your company does not amuse you, and that you are in a vacant mood. 'And thus, when a man yawns among others who are idle and unoccupied, all they, as you may often have observed, yawn forthwith in response; as if the man had recalled to

their memory the thing which they would have done before, if only they had recollected it.' Other acts discourteous to the company you are in are—to fall asleep; to pace about the room, while others are seated in conversation; to take a letter out of your pouch, and read it; to set about paring your nails; or to hum between your teeth, play the devil's tattoo, or swing your legs. Also you must not nudge a man with your elbow in talking to him. Let us have no showing of tongue, nor overmuch stroking of beard, nor rubbing-together of hands, nor heaving of long-drawn sighs, nor shaking oneself up with a start, nor stretching, and singing-out of 'Dear me!'

Having used your pocket-handkerchief, don't open it out to inspect it.

'They are in the wrong whose mouths are always full of their babies, and their wife, and their nurse. "My little boy yesterday made me laugh so—only hear." "You never saw a sweeter child than my Momus." "My wife is so-and-so." "Said Cecchina:¹ and could you ever believe it of such a scatterbrain?" There is no man so unoccupied that he can either reply or attend to such nonsense: and the speaker becomes a nuisance to everybody.'

In walking, you should not indulge in too much action, as by sawing with your arms; nor should you stare other passers-by in the face, as if there were some marvel there.

'Now what shall I say of those who issue from the desk into company with a pen behind the ear? or those who hold a handkerchief in the mouth? or who lay one leg along the table? or who spit on their fingers?'

Some people offend by affected humility, which is indeed a practical lying. 'With these the company has a bad bargain whenever they come to a door; for they will for no consideration in the world pass on first, but they step across, and return back,—and so fence and resist with hands and arms that at every third step it becomes necessary to battle with them, and this destroys all peace and comfort, and sometimes the business which is in hand.'

This last caveat leads on the author to a passage of importance regarding ceremoniousness in general; from which we learn that that extreme of etiquette was still almost an innovation in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and contrary to the national bias. This may surprise some readers; for certainly the courteous Italian of the later period, for all his characteristic 'naturalness,' has not been wanting in ceremony, and the elaboration of politeness of phrase in his writing is something observable—at least to Englishmen, the

¹ Cecchina is a double diminutive of Francesca; corresponding to 'Fannikin' or 'Fan.'

least ceremonious nation, I suppose, under heaven (and that is by no means a term of disparagement). I subjoin the passage from Della Casa, not a little condensed; followed by another, still more abridged, concerning the essence and right of elegant manners.

‘And therefore ceremonies (which we name, as you hear, by a foreign word, as not having one of our own—which shows that our ancestors knew them not, so that they could not give them any name)—ceremonies, I say, differ little, to my thinking, from lies and dreams, on account of their emptiness. As a worthy man has more than once shown me, those solemnities which the clergy use in relation to altars and the divine offices, and towards God and sacred things, are properly called “ceremonies.” But, as soon as men began to reverence one the other with artificial fashions beyond what is fitting, and to call each other “master” and “lord,” bowing and cringeing and bending in sign of reverence, and uncovering, and naming one another by far-sought titles, and kissing hands, as if theirs were sacred like those of priests,—somebody, as this new and silly usage had as yet no name, termed it “ceremoniousness”: I think, by way of ridicule. Which usage, beyond a doubt, is not native to us but foreign and barbarous, and imported, whencesoever it be, only of late into Italy,—which, unhappy, abased, and spiritless in her doings and influence, has grown and gloried only in vain words and superfluous titles. Ceremonies, then,—if we refer to the intention of those who practise them—are a vain indication of honour and reverence towards the person to whom they are addressed, set forth in words and shows, and concerned with titles and proffers. I say “vain” in so far as we honour in seeming those whom we hold in no reverence, and do sometimes despise. And yet, that we may not depart from the customs of others, we term them “Illustrissimo Signor” so-and-so, and “Eccellentissimo Signor” such-a-one: and in like wise we sometimes profess ourselves “most devoted servants” to some one whom we would rather dis-serve than serve. This usage, however, it is not for us individually to change—nay, we are compelled (as it is not our own fault, but that of the time) to second it; but this has to be done with discretion. Wherefore it is to be considered that ceremonies are practised either for profit, or for vanity, or by obligation. And every lie which is uttered for our own profit is a fraud and sin and a dishonest thing (as indeed one cannot in any sort of case lie with honour): and this sin do flatterers commit. And, if ceremonies are, as we said, lies and false flatteries, whenever we practise them with a view to gain we act like false and bad men: wherefore, with that view, no ceremony ought to be practised. Those which are practised by obligation must in no wise be omitted; for he who omits them is not only disliked but injurious. And thus he who addresses a single person as “*You*” (if it is not a person of the very lowest condition)

does him no favour: nay, were he to say "*Thou*," he would derogate from his due, and act insultingly and injuriously, naming him by the word which is usually reserved for poltroons and clodhoppers. And these I call "ceremonies of obligation": since they do not proceed from our own will, nor freely of our own choice, but are imposed upon us by the law—that is, by common usage. And he who is wont to be termed "*Signore*" by others, and himself in like manner to address others as "*Signore*," assumes that you condemn him or speak affrontingly when you call him simply by his name, or speak to him as "*Messere*," or blurt out a "*You*."¹ However, in these ceremonies of obligation, certain points should be observed, so that one may not seem either vain or haughty. And first, one should have regard to the country one lives in; for every usage is not apposite in every country. And perhaps that which is adopted by the Neapolitans, whose city abounds in men of great lineage, and in barons of lofty station, would not suit the Lucchese or Florentines, who for the most part are merchants and simply gentlemen, having among them neither princes nor marquises nor any baron. Besides this, regard must be paid to the occasion, to the age and condition of the person towards whom we practise ceremony, and to our own; and, with busy people, one should cut them off altogether, or at any rate shorten them as much as one can, and rather imply than express them: which the courtiers in Rome are very expert in. Neither are men of great virtue and excellence in the habit of practising many; nor do they like or seek that many be practised towards them, not being minded to waste much thought over futilities. Nor yet should artisans and persons of low condition care to practise very elaborate ceremonies towards great men and lords: for these rather than otherwise dislike such demonstrations at their hands—for their way is to seek and expect obedience more than civilities. And thus the servant who proffers his service to his master makes a mistake: for the master takes it amiss, and esteems that the servant wants to call in question his mastership,—as if his right were not to dictate and command. If you show a little suitable abundance of politeness to those who are your inferiors, you will be called courteous. And, if you do the same to your superiors, you will be termed well-bred and agreeable. But he who should in this matter be excessive and profuse would be blamed as vain and frivolous; and perhaps even worse would befall him, for he might be held evil and sycophantic. And this is the third kind of ceremonies, which does indeed proceed from our will, and not from usage. Let us then recollect that ceremonies (as I said from the first) were naturally not necessary,—on the contrary, people

¹ The English reader may fancy that this passage conflicts with that which immediately precedes: but such is not the case. In the earlier passage, the use of *You* was recommended as more civil than *Thou*: in the later passage, the use of *Vossignoria* (or other the like impersonal term, where appropriate) as more respectful than *You*.

got on perfectly well without them : as our own nation, not long ago, did almost wholly. But the illnesses of others have infected us also with this and many other infirmities. For which reasons, when we have submitted to usage, all the residue in this matter that is superfluous is a kind of licit lying : or rather, from that point onwards, not licit but forbidden—and therefore a displeasing and tedious thing to noble souls, which will not live on baubles and appearances. Vain and elaborate and superabundant ceremonies are flatteries but little covert, and indeed open and recognized by all. But there is another sort of ceremonious persons who make an art and trade of this, and keep book and document of it. To such a class of persons, a giggle ; and to such another, a smile. And the more noble shall sit upon the chair, and the less noble upon the settle. Which ceremonies I think were imported from Spain into Italy. But our country has given them a poor reception, and they have taken little root here ; for this so punctilious distinction of nobility is a vexation to us :¹ and therefore no one ought to set himself up as judge, to decide who is more noble, and who less so.—To speak generally, ceremoniousness annoys most men ; because by it people are prevented from living in their own way—that is, prevented from liberty, which every man desires before all things else.’

‘ Agreeable manners are those which afford delight, or at least do not produce any vexation, to the feelings, appetite, or imagination, of those with whom we have to do. A man should not be content with doing that which is right, but should also study to do it with grace. And grace [*leggiadria*] is as it were a light which shines from the fittingness of things that are well composed and well assorted the one with the other, and all of them together ; without which measure even the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasurable. Therefore well-bred persons should have regard to this measure, both in walking, standing, and sitting, in gesture, demeanour, and clothing, in words and in silence, and in rest and in action.’

Besides the *Galateo*, Monsignor della Casa has left another and shorter *Tractate on Amicable Intercourse between Superiors and Inferiors* (*Trattato degli Uffici Comuni tra gli Amici Superiori e Inferiori*). This deals not so much with the relation between those who are rich and those who are poor in the gifts of fortune, taken simply on that footing, as with the connection between

¹ This is, I think, still a national trait among Italians, and a most creditable one : the endless grades and sub-grades, shades and demi-shades, of good society, as maintained in England (with an instinct comparable to the marvellous power of a bat to wing its dark way amid any number of impediments, and to be impeded by none of them), are unintelligible to ordinary Italians—or, where intelligible, detestable. Long may they remain so !

master and servant, patron and client, magistrate and dependent. The tone is grave and humane, with an adequate share of worldly wisdom interspersed. The opening is interesting and suggestive; and shows that the great 'Servant Controversy,' of which the pages of English daily newspapers are now almost annually conscious in the dull season, was by no means unknown to Italy in the sixteenth century:—

'I apprehend that the ancients were free from a great and continual trouble; having their households composed, not of free men, as is our usage, but of slaves, of whose labour they availed themselves, both for the comforts of life, and to maintain their repute, and for the other demands of society. For, as the nature of man is noble, copious, and erect, and far more apt to commanding than obeying, a hard and odious task do those undertake who assume to exercise masterdom over it, while still bold and of undiminished strength, as is done now-a-days. To the ancients, in my judgment, it was no difficult or troublesome thing to command those who were already quelled and almost domesticated—people whom either chains, or long fatigues, or a soul servile from very childhood, had bereaved of pride and force. We on the contrary have to do with souls robust, spirited, and almost unbending; which, through the vigour of their nature, refuse and hate to be in subjection, and, knowing themselves free, resist their masters, or at least seek and demand (often with reason, but sometimes also without) that in commanding them some measure be observed. Whence it arises that every house is full of complaints, wranglings, and questionings. And certainly this is the fact; because we are unjust judges in our own cause,—and, as it is true that everybody unfairly prizes his own affairs higher than those of others, albeit of equal value, and consequently always persuades himself that he has given more than he has received, the thing cannot go on *pari passu*. Hence comes the wearisome complaint of the one, "I have worn myself out in your house;" and the rebuke of the other, "I have maintained and fed you, and treated you well."'

I can afford only one more extract from this treatise; which indeed handles its general subject-matter more on the ground of fairness, good-feeling, and expedient compromise of conflicting claims, than as a question of courtesies—though neither is that left out of view.

'In giving orders and assigning duties which have to be fulfilled, let regard be paid to the condition of the individuals; so that, if anything uncleanly is to be done, that be allotted to the lowest, and it come not to pass (as some perverse-natured people will have

it) that noblemen¹ should sweep the house, and carry slops out of the chambers. Let not things of much labour be committed to the weak, nor the degrading to the well-mannered, nor the frivolous and sportful to the aged. Moreover let the masters be heedful not to impose upon any one anything of uncommon difficulty or labour or painstaking, unless of necessity or for some great cause ; for the laws of humanity command us not to make a call upon a man's diligence and solicitude beyond what is reasonable, or as if in levity—especially if it exceeds the ordinary bounds.'

With this I shut up Della Casa's volume, and take final leave of my reader—trusting that, after perusing, skimming, or skipping, so much matter concerning Courtesy, he will part from me on the terms of (at lowest) a 'courteous reader,' in more than the merely conventional sense.

¹ *Nobili*. I presume this is to be understood literally ; the household in which noblemen could be thus employed being of course one of exalted position.

EARLY
GERMAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Italian Guest by Thomasin von Zirclaria,

OF

‘HOW THE KNIGHT OF WINSBEKE TAUGHT HIS SON,
AND THE LADY OF WINSBEKE HER DAUGHTER,’

The German Cato,

AND

Tannhaeuser's Courtly Breeding,

BY

EUGENE OSWALD.

IN the German literature of the 13th century, Thomasin of Zerclaere, or, in the Italian form of his name, Tommasino di Circelaria, occupies a distinguished position. This position is due not only to the fact that his writing, addressed in purest German and in a loving spirit by an Italian poet to a German public, forms a refreshing link between two nations otherwise much and long divided (though this fact in itself is remarkable enough), but also for the intrinsic value of that one of his works which we still possess. This work, by the peculiar tone of his mind, introduces a striking element of variety into a rich but (without him and Walther von der Vogelweide) somewhat one-sided period of literature. He exercised by his own work and that of his successors, a healthy influence which, though not generally acknowledged, continued down towards the age of Reformation. Finally, his principal and well-preserved poem affords us a full revelation of an individuality clearly marked, thoroughly sound, wise, and enlightened, gentle in strength, whose words we can hardly read without loving him who uttered them.

Thomasin wrote two works, at least; for to the present writer there seem to be indications of his having written others beside the two which are mentioned by literary historians and critics.

The first of these was a Treatise on Courtesy. Unfortunately it is lost, but we have direct evidence of its production and contents by the mention the author makes of it in his larger work, in which he reproduces, in translation, one portion of his earlier writing, and summarizes others. We say in translation, for that lost work was not written in German. It is not so certain what the language was in which it was produced. The author himself says it was written

in *welhische* (the modern German *wälsch*).¹ This exceedingly elastic word, for which we see no equivalent in English, and which designates equally people and things, of Romance speech or Celtic origin, from the mountains of the principality to the plains of the lower Danube, from the Ardennes to the Alps, and from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, may indeed be translated by *Italian*, and this, apparently, recommends itself by the fact of the author being introduced to us, by Mr Rossetti,² and others, as an Italian. Thus Professor Max Müller has also translated the name of Thomasin's greater work, *der welhische Gast*, by '*the Italian Guest*,' a translation we do not wish to disturb.³ But on the other hand, the Editor of Thomasin, Heinrich Rückert, translates in this connection, the word *welhische* without hesitation by North-French. Striking as this difference may appear at first sight, and Professor Rückert states no reasons for his rendering, there seems to us, on second consideration, good ground for it. For the *langue d'oïl* had towards the second half of the 12th century become a fashionable tongue, and by it had been chiefly promulgated those romances of King Arthur and the Round Table which then filled the imagination of the poets of Christendom, and with which Thomasin was well acquainted; King Richard Cœur de Lion was familiar with it and had perhaps written in it, as well as in the *langue d'oc*, and Thomasin, at one time, was at the court of Richard's cousin and companion in arms, Otto of Brunswick; moreover he tells us that he knew *welhisch*, which, if the word here meant Italian, was hardly necessary or likely to be mentioned, it being a matter of course (unless indeed he should have meant to imply, which seems to us possible, but not probable, that, beside his local dialect, he knew another and purer one: with respect to which supposition we must not forget that the Tuscan

¹ alsô ich hân hie vor geseit
an mîm buoch von der hüfscheit
daz ich welhschen hân gemacht.—V. 1173-75.

and:

er mac hoeren manic lère
die ich wider die valscheit
in welhscher zunge hân geseit.—V. 1552-54.

² V. above, pt. 2, pp. 5, 30.

³ In the catalogue of the Vatican library, which for a long time possessed the best MS., the book was entered as *Hospes Italicus, seu Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis*. *Adelung*, Nachrichten, p. 22.

dialect had not then arrived at that dignity and lustre which was afterwards conferred on it). Again, Thomasin himself in one instance at least, V. 94, uses the word *welhsche* with reference to North-French writings. Finally, if not the *langue d'oyl*, at any rate the *langue d'oc*¹ had been frequently employed by Italian writers; and it was only in Thomasin's days, and chiefly at the Court of Frederic II. at Naples, that the Italian tongue was employed for literary composition, mostly, we are told (for the present writer has no direct knowledge of this part of the question) in love-poetry imitating the manner of the Provençal troubadours,² and rarely in sacred poetry. If then Thomasin's lost work were written in Italian, it would be one of the earliest works in that language, and it is perhaps not probable that a subject like the one under consideration would be produced in first attempts to use the vernacular for literary purposes, whilst in the *langue d'oyl*, which already had a literature of comparatively long standing, such a work would easily fall in with the current of literary production. Thus the probability seems to us that the work was written not in Italian, but in the *langue d'oyl*.³

¹ We may just mention that *Eschenburg*, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtung*, while rejecting Italian as the language meant by *welhsch*, inclines to the belief that the *langue d'oc* was meant. Yet he does so, not by eliminating the probabilities for the *langue d'oyl*, but by never entertaining or stating the possibility, or let us say by ignoring, for the moment, the existence of that language. More recent writers have not followed him.

V. 94 seems to us nearly conclusive in favour of the *langue d'oyl*, in this case, as against the *langue d'oc*. The author speaks there of adaptations, gladly received in Germany, of books taken from the *welhsche*: this seems plainly to refer to the imitations from Chrétien de Troyes, and other romantic poets. *Welisch* often stands where French is evidently meant. So *Püterich*, stanza 102.

Sam hat auch Lancelot von Säbenhoven
Aus Welisch Vlrich gedichtet.

² Comp. on the beginnings of an Italian literature, *Ruth*, *Geschichte der italienischen Poesie*. Leipzig, 1844; Th. i. p. 176—247. And *Hallam*, *Middle Ages*, chap. ix. part ii. Yet the early date of Thomasin need not militate against his having written in Italian. *Frederic II.*, his sons *Enzo* and *Manfred*, his chancellor *Pier delle Vigne*, wrote in the first third of the century. *Ciullo of Alcamo*, the oldest Sicilian singer, seems to have belonged to that time (before 1193; as he speaks of *Saladin* as living), *Folcacchiero*, the oldest Florentine poet to have flourished about 1200, *Mico di Siena* a few years afterwards, *Guido Guinizzelli* of Bologna, about 1220. Still these writers belong to great centres very different from Friuli, and their productions seem very far from being on so large a plan as Thomasin's.

³ After writing this we applied to Professor Rückert at Breslau, the editor

The second work of Thomasin is the *wülsche Gast*, already mentioned. It is a long didactic poem, or at any rate a metrical performance of nearly fifteen thousand lines, quite finished by the author, which is note-worthy in a period abounding in unfinished productions, in works of vast plan, for which the authors had not breath enough ; it possesses a certain unity which equally distinguishes it from many of the productions of his contemporaries, who began somewhere, not knowing whither they were going, and rambled on till they came to an end, though not to a conclusion ; and it is in an almost complete state of preservation, having been handed down to us in many MSS., though edited for the first time but recently. It is a treatise, of a strongly exhortatory character, on the intellectual and moral life of man ; the physical part of his nature being neglected, which in a similar work in our days would have justly demanded a great space both as to the preservation and development of our faculties. Of this book it has become our task "to give an account, and to translate the courtesy part of it." But first as to the individuality of the author, of his life and character, for which, however, in the absence of any biography, we are almost reduced to the scanty hints the poem gives and to such combinations as they allow us.

Thomasin van Zerclaere,¹ was born about the year 1185, in the Friuli. The place he himself gives us ;² the date we obtain in this manner. Speaking of that taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens which occasioned the third crusade, that of Richard Cœur de Lion, he says it is about thirty years since we lost it :

of Thomasin, in order to arrive, if possible, at more complete clearness on this point. His courteous answer, in letter d.d. Gnadensfrei, Silesia, Sept. 10, confirms his view, strengthening it chiefly by the consent of others, and by the then ordinary use of the word *walthisch*, which is to be taken as meaning simply one of Romance language, and is only specified, if necessary, by the addition of the particular home of the individual, viz. *walthisch* from Lombardy, &c. But this would not seem to prove that the '*welthisch*' could not have been used here to mean the then existing Italian ; Müller and Zarncke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian, vol. iii. p. 467 ; and all things well considered, we prefer to leave the passage as it stands, inclined as we are to accept Professor Rückert's view, but expressing it in that more guarded manner which seems fitting where no direct and irrefragable evidence is forthcoming.

¹ Ich heiz Thomasin von Zerclaere, v. 75.

² Ich bin von Friûle geborn, v. 71.

ez sint wol zweir min drîzec¹ jâr dez wîrs verlurn.²

that is, it is 30 years less $2 = 28$ years; and in another passage he mentions that, at the time of writing his poem, he was about 30 years of age,³ and the whole poem was rapidly written, the first eight cantos in as many months. Thus, 1187 being known for the taking of Jérusalem, we obtain 1215 as the date of the poem, and reckoning back again, 1185 as the year of the author's birth.

As to the name, it seems to point to a family of noble birth, though not of very exalted standing. And here we get the only glimmer from outside the book itself. The author himself, though communicative enough, is silent on his family relations, and perhaps, it seems to us, not unintentionally. Who were his father and mother does not appear. But the family name has been found four times⁴ in documents, nearly contemporary with the poem, and a Bernardus de Circlaria, who appears as a witness to a contract, in the years 1186 and 1188, was perhaps the father, or an uncle, of our author. The nature of the documents⁵ seems to show that he, as well as the two other witnesses mentioned, owed feudal service to the Patriarch of Aquileja, and were perhaps his employés in the secular affairs of the see.⁶ But, scarcely have we had time to rejoice at so much, or even so little, tangible information, when we are met by the difficulty of explaining the family-name. "Of Zerclaere" is plainly a patronymic

¹ Duo de triginta.

² V. 11717-18; $30 - 2 = 28$.

³ Ich bin niht alt drîzec jâr, v. 2445.

In aht mânôden hân ich gar

diu aht teil ûz gemacht, v. 12278-79.

⁴ By Karajan, J. de Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. v. p. 241-42, referring to Joh. Franc Bernardi Mariae de Rubeis, Monumenta ecclesiae Aquilensis. Argentinae (Venice) 170 et seq., s. 632 C., 633 C., 634 D. And again to Ughelli, Italia sacra, 5, 77.

The present Editor has not been able to verify these quotations, the particular work of Ughelli not being in the British Museum, whilst of that of Rubeis, only a few and, to us, irrelevant chapters are accessible, contained in S. Chromati Script. Utini. 1816.

⁵ They are called de Glemona and Perchtenstein, and distinctly designated, Rubeis, s. 598 A., as employés of the Patriarch. The German name of the second gives some slight support to our theory, as showing the employment of Germans or men of German origin in these border-lands.

⁶ Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil. Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.

of local origin ; but there is no place called Circlaria to be found in that Friuli where Thomasin was born, and where Bernard lived.¹ The suggestion has been made,² and immediately rejected, to connect the name with Zirklach, a place in Carniola (Krain). Now we are inclined to take up again this supposition, and believe it to be pregnant with the explanation of much in the poem which requires explanation and has not received it. Our theory is that Circlaria or Zerclaere, which latter is Thomasin's version, the former that of the latinizing notary, is a corruption of the German Zirklach,³ and that the author, though born in Friuli, was descended, in the first or second degree, from a German family from Krain or Carniola, who had immigrated into the Friul.

He says indeed that he is a thorough Italian, or at least Welhisch,⁴ and apologizes for his shortcomings in German. But the former may be quite an ordinary and legitimate expression for one born of an Italian mother in Italy, though her husband were a German, or for the grandson of Italianized Germans ; and the shortcomings are indeed so small that the author's great familiarity and sympathy with German much more require an explanation than his rare insufficiencies, while his speech has at the same time not unfrequently a provincial character which points quite unmistakably to the Duchy of Austria and to Carinthia or Styria. Yet his knowledge evidently flows healthily and about equally from two sources—literary study and conversational opportunity. And the latter must have been more than that which frequency of talk with strangers or acquaintances affords : such intimate knowledge as his is not acquired unless the heart undertake a part of the teaching. At first we were inclined

¹ Thus the German writers, especially Karajan at Vienna ; the maps confirm them. But our Italian friends furnish us with the information, that in the 14th century, an estate called Cerclaria existed near Cividale.—' *Prope Civitatem Austriæ erant bona in loco appellato Cerclaria, ut in documento anni 1335, 6 Nov., ut in actis Stephani Condelarii, notarii de Civitate.*'

² Haupt, *ut supra*, p. 242.

³ The name appears in the MSS. in the following variations : Zerclaere,—Zerclar,—Zirklere,—Tirklere,—Tirkler Claer,—Verrere (Ferrara), the last of these in a quite recent copy, which was only made in the 18th century, and to which no authority attaches. Haupt, *ut supra*, p. 242.—To this add : Thomasin von Clär, in *Püterich von Reicherzhausen*, 15th century, quoted further on.

⁴ 69. Wan ich vil gar ein walich bin.

to suppose him to have been married to a German lady, and to have written this poem in the retirement of an early widowerhood.¹ To such a bereavement the gravity and mellowness of his thoughts and feelings may point, together with the fact that the retirement in which he wrote it² was not an habitual mood of life with him, that on its conclusion he reckoned upon returning to the gaieties of the world which he had formerly shared,³ that it occupied about a year,⁴ a period on which he strongly insists as the right period of mourning after the loss of husband or wife,⁵ and which he might well wish to fill up with this consoling and absorbing business of his ten lay-sermons, for so they may be called. Nor need this hypothesis be necessarily abandoned in favour of that of his distant German descent: the grandson of a German family, born in Italy, he may have returned to the home of his fathers, there to wed a German wife.

In all this inquiry it is right to bear in mind that we have not to do with countries far distant from each other, that Krain and Friuli are border-lands, where Italian, German, and Slaave elements are greatly mingled; partly in juxtaposition, and that part of Friuli only is Italian, while another part, still Austrian, has belonged to the Empire not only, but to Germany, from Otho I., at least, to the disruption of Germany by the war of 1866.

Those shortcomings in language just alluded to, and which in a general way he declares himself conscious of, are, we may say this in

¹ Leaving him, perhaps, with a son; v. 12660-63. But the passage is not conclusive.—That, at the time of writing the ‘Italian Guest,’ he was not married, is certain from v. 4097: “*ob ich ein wip haben solde.*”

² Dô du mit rîtern und mit vrouwen
Phlaege buhurt und tanz schouwen,
Dô was ich harte gern bi dir:
Wan dô, geloubestu ouch mir,
Do du woldest ze hove sîn
Unter den liuten, dô was mîn
Geloube daz ich wære baz
Bi dir dan inder, wizze daz.—V. 12241-48.

³ Mich luste harte wol ze schouwen
Beidiu rîter unde vrouwen,
Doch dunket mich daz baz getân
Daz ich mich ir ein wîle ân.—V. 12319-22.

⁴ V. 12278-82.

⁵ V. 5605-26.

passing, to us moderns by no means considerable.¹ Many of them an unguided modern ear would not even detect. They are so inconsiderable, that one of the first modern writers who occupied himself with Thomasin inclined to the belief that the writer was purely a German who, for reasons of his own, assumed the characters of a foreigner, as a *nom de plume* may be assumed.² They consist, for the greater part, in deficiencies of ear as to rhyming, and in occasionally doubtful accents as to rhythm. Thomasin's contemporaries had arrived at a surprising, perhaps at a pedantic, exactness as to their rhymes, which is far from having descended to Schiller and Goethe, who can hardly lay claim to greater purity than Thomasin. Besides this, by us very pardonable, want of delicacy in hearing, a few instances occur where our author uses a word drawn from the Italian, which, however, may very well have already belonged to that South-German dialect that surrounded him, and need not have been introduced by him, who starts with the intention not to "streak with foreign words his German speech,"³ an intention he very laudably carries out, and wherein the immense majority of later German writers have not followed him.

In one or two instances a technical or political term occurs to him more readily in Italian than in German;⁴ and in one instance he naïvely confesses that he does not know the German for a shrub of which he has got something to say.⁵

These two latter details seem to us to support the theory that his education and early impressions belong to Italy, and that when he wrote his great work, he was in Germany—a fact otherwise patent, and far from those who might have furnished him with the necessary translation.

He evidently had the best education which his age could afford. He was not an ecclesiastic when he wrote the Italian Guest, though,

¹ V. 55-70. Wise people, he thinks, will not mind them; and again: v. 1684-86.

² Eschenburg, Denkmäler, p. 114-44.

³ V. 35-42.

⁴ V. 845.—*Potestât* = mayoralty = podestaria. Vide also *tempern*, for *to cut*, as applied to the penknife, the Italian *temperino*; v. 12232.

⁵ Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht genennen tiusche, v. 14086, *et seq.* He means the Oleander (*Nerium Oleander*, L.).

from what we know of his reading, it is not impossible that he entered on the career of one, and, for reasons unknown to us, left it. Ecclesiastical influences had surrounded him at some time in his life, as was natural enough if that Bernardus de Cirlaria whom we have mentioned as connected with the Patriarch of Aquileja, was really his father or uncle. His later education may have lain more in the direction of the Law Schools.¹ He had for his time a respectable knowledge of physics and astronomy. Whether his university was Bologna or Padua will remain undecided, but it was probably one of the two.² In riper years he was conscious, as many an other man³ has been since, that he might have worked harder when at college. But his reading was extensive and varied. The philosophers Seneca and Boethius are the ancient authors who have left the strongest traces on his mind. With Horace, too, he was familiar, but to him Thomasin's graver mind reverts less frequently. Among the fathers, Tertullian and St Augustine were read by him; among the Latin authors of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great—the only one whom he cites directly,—John of Salisbury, Petrus Alphonsus,⁴ Isidor of Sevilla,⁵ and especially Hildebert of Tours (1057—1134) made the greatest impression on him. His reading was not empty book-learning, it entered the flesh and blood of his mind, and when he quotes, it is not by taking a volume from the shelf of a library, as we must, but from the stores of his memory, which served him as a commonplace book,—a memory which must have been excellent, and played him no evil trick, though his quotations are not textual. It is worth while to say that they have been verified, with very great pains, by his German editor, H. Rückert.

With the romantic literature of his time he was well acquainted, and in a passage, hereafter to be referred to again, he seems to allude to the titles of several romances which to us are lost. He not un-

¹ V. 2285-420.

² Rückert, Vorwort, p. xi.

³ Says the pen to the author :

Dô du dâ ze schuole wære

Dô muotestu mich niht sô hart. v. 12256-57.

⁴ Petrus Alphonsus, a Jew, baptized in 1106, 44 years of age, wrote Dialogi XII. contra Judæos, Disciplina clericorum.

⁵ Isidor of Sevilla (*Sententiarum libri tres*), p. 636.

frequently uses the names of the chief characters of them in illustrations; he would be certain in this to tread on ground familiar to his readers—for such he expects to find, not hearers only, like some of his contemporaries who looked to the recital or singing of their pieces rather than to their being companions of solitude. But while in his youth, when he wrote the *Courtesy* book to please a lady,¹ he probably enjoyed those adventurous tales with a naïve pleasure; at the time when his graver mind produced the *Italian Guest*, they appeared to him insufficient and somewhat empty, plays of the fancy chiefly, not always without a deeper hidden meaning, yet on the whole like in a book the pictures which might amuse the younger or more untutored mind, while the reading of the text was reserved for the ripper and chastened intellect. And thus he finds himself in opposition, nowhere sharply expressed, yet not the less decided, to those knightly romances; and though the form of his book be in no way similar to *Don Quixote*, yet its tendency and its action on contemporary literature is somewhat like that of Cervantes. True, the production of poems of knightly adventure went on, and several of the principal of those books, proceeding from and destined for a limited circle in the nation, were written after Thomasin uttered his appeal from Romance to Real life, from the Ideal of a Class to the Ideal of Man; but still he is at the head of that movement of reaction in which he was immediately followed by the author of *Frîdanc*,² and which finally overcame the knightly romance, and continued till towards the Reformation the way for which it distantly prepared. And thus, whatever may justly be urged against directly didactic poetry, the value of Thomasin's services in the cause of a clearer perception of Human Life must be estimated very highly.

As to the lyrical poets of the age, he is once polemical against Walther von der Vogelweide, who, though favourable to a new crusade, objected to the collections for the papal treasury made on that occasion, whilst Thomasin admitted of no critical restrictions in his zeal for the struggle to regain the Holy Land,—a struggle which, to

¹ Ich tet ez einer vrouwen ze ère,
Diu bat mich der selben lère.—V. 1555-56.

² Vide Max Müller, *German Classics*, p. xvii. and 119-24.

his mind, presented itself as indissolubly connected with the papal authority, and with respect to which a mere maker of love-songs was at least to be suspected of lukewarmness, and of being little qualified to give counsel. "For the poet," he says,—

"For the poet again it is not seemly	11212
To be a liar,	
Since both he and the preacher	
Are to support Truth.	11215
A certain man might (now)	
With one word do more good to Christendom	
Than he can do it ever after.	
Methinks that all his singing	
Both in short measure and in long,	11220
Cannot have pleased God so much	
As that one thing must displease him,	
Since he hath befooled thousands	
So that they have paid no heed	
To God's and the Pope's command."	11225

Walther is not mentioned; but the passage evidently relates to him whose partial opposition might easily lead men further away than he intended from the undertaking which he himself seems to have had at heart perhaps as much as Thomasin. Somewhat later he even set out personally on a Crusade, though he did not reach the Holy Land. But he clung to the Imperial authority as opposed to the Papal. And Thomasin was a Guelph. The two poets probably met personally, when Walther visited the court of the Patriarch of Aquileja.¹ But then, as now, it was difficult for men of opposite camps, especially if difference of temper and tastes were added, to understand each other, and find out what common ground might be possessed by both.

This, however, is the only passage in which some bitterness mixes

¹ "Nel secolo stesso (XIII) frequentò la corte del Patriarca d'Aquileja Volftero di Leubrechtkirchen (1204-1218) il minnesinger tedesco Walter von der Vogelweide." From notes, the result of researches, made by Doctor Vincenzo Joppi and Signor Antonio Joppi, in the archives of Udine, Vicenza, Aquileja, and Venice, for the special purpose of this essay, and communicated to the present writer by the courtesy of Professor Quinto Maddalozzo at Vicenza, with whom he was brought in connection by his kind friend Dr Francesco Genala at Soresina. To all these gentlemen best thanks are due, and tendered.

in Thomasin's criticisms; and it resulted from his idea of the high office belonging to the Poet, an office which he, however, devoted to Mother Church, was not willing to rank beneath that of the Preacher. Indeed this one idea pervades his book: *Mind is King*. Frequent are his utterances in this sense. Thus he says that Solomon is known to us more by his writings than by his having been a great ruler.¹ And he complains that learning in his days was not more general, and that, when found, it was not more honoured.

LEARNING AND WISDOM NO LONGER HONOURED.

Wâ ist nu Aristôteles,
Zênô und Parmenides,
Platô und Pytâgoras?
wâ ist ouch Anaxâgoras?
nu wizzet daz mich dunket des,
und lebt hiut Aristôteles,
im entæt dehein ander
künic daz im Alexander
ze êren tet di wîl er lebt.

Where are now Aristotle,
Zeno and Parmenides,
Plato and Pythagoras?
Again where is Anaxagoras?
Now know ye that it seems to me
That if Aristotle lived now-a-days
No other
King would do by him what Alexander
Did in his honour while he lived.²

Yet, with all his respect for learning, it is not the mere accumulation of facts, the diffusion of useful knowledge which he aims at; and the real wisdom of life stands in his eyes higher than erudition:

WISDOM PREFERABLE TO LEARNING.

Der kan Grammaticâ wol
der rehte lebet als er sol.
ob er niht rehte sprechen kan,
so ist er doch ein wîse man.

He knows grammar well
Who lives justly, as he ought.
Though he cannot speak correctly
Yet he is a wise man.³

With respect to that said accumulation of knowledge, he gives a rule of study, and utters a warning which has its value even in these days of competitive and other examinations when some one has said as a thing to be rejoiced at, and many have repeated it, "He who runs may read:"

¹ Salomôn der ist mêre, v. 9217.
Erkant der werlde durch sîn lêre
Danne durch sîn künieriche,
Daz geloubet sicherliche.

² V. 5085-93.

³ V. 8999-9002.

READ NOT HASTILY NOR TOO MUCH.

Der pfaffe der vil buoche hât
 si stæte an eim von mînem rât,
 wan wil ers eins tags übersehen
 gar, so mac daz niht geschehen
 daz er vernem ir aller sin.

man siht niht wol durch eine tür,
 ob man ze snell wil loufen vür.

And again :

Ein buoch sol lange wern.

The priest who has many books
 Let him be steady at one, by my advice,
 If he will survey them all in a day
 It is impossible
 For him to understand their meaning.

One cannot well see through a door,
 If one wishes to run on too quickly.¹

A book shall last a long time.²

Thomasin's knowledge of contemporary history is very great, and he seems to have watched carefully the political transactions of his time ; witness his allusions to the history of King John of England,³ to the revolutions of the Greek empire,⁴ and so on.

No Italian patriotism is to be found in Thomasin. The time for such national and oppositional feeling had not yet come. When he speaks of Unity,⁵ in connection with Rome, it seems to us that his meaning must be twisted to be made to refer to the modern idea of Italian unity which had not then dawned : it is rather the Unity of Christendom which occupied him ; and in bewailing its divisions, it is natural for him to regret the loss of the great power of ancient Rome, the capital of the old Empire, and, to him, in uninterrupted line, of the Christian world. Rome once commanded the universe, he says ; now her voice is mocked even at Viterbo.⁶ The name of Italy does not occur. With Italian affairs, especially those of Lombardy and Tuscany, he shows himself especially acquainted, and in his survey of

¹ V. 1905-9.

² V. 14626. Eschenburg ; '*Denkmäler altd deutscher Dichtkunst*' reads this line : 'MEIN buoch sol lange wern,' which would recall Horace's '*Eregi monumentum ære perennius*,' and is not incompatible with the considerable consciousness of his own value which Thomasin elsewhere shows.

³ V. 3423-26.

⁴ V. 10607 et seqq. ; and again, v. 11003-22. Vide also his Survey of Europe, v. 2421-96.

⁵ V. 2423-39.

⁶ Man vürht si ze Biterbe niht, v. 2438. Of a period but slightly anterior, that of Thomas à Beckett, Machiavelli says : mentre che il Papa aveva tanta autorità nei principi longinqui, non poteva farsi ubbidire dai Romani ; dai quali non potette impetrare di potere stare in Roma, ancorachè promettesse d'altro che dell ecclesiastico non si travagliare ; tanto le cose che paiono sono più discosto che d'appresso temute. *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. i.

the state of the Christian world¹ the different parts of Italy occupy more space than, geographically, would be their due. Yet, the names of Italian cities are Germanized,² and in complaining of the real or apparent decay of the Lombard towns, which he witnessed as a recent event and ascribed to their own faults,³ he nowhere thinks of recommending, as a remedy, what would now be called a national policy, and what must have appeared to him as a revolt against the universality of the Christian empire, as represented by Pope and Cæsar.

In his twenty-third year we find our author at the court of the Emperor Otho IV., that is, among the Guelphs. We obtain his age at that period by comparing our former calculation with the ascertained date of Otho's presence in Lombardy, 1209, and his subsequent coronation in Rome, Sept. 27. Perhaps business connected with the see of Aquileja may have led Thomasin to go to court, but his sympathies were then with the Emperor's cause, which, for the moment, was the Pope's. Not without misgiving he saw the overconfidence of that ruler, whose decline though not his death he was to witness before the *welhische Gast* was finished. But whilst he felt compelled to pass over to the other side, he is far from insulting his ancient chief.

Previous to giving a passage very characteristic both of our author's heart and of his way of rising, in the expounding of matters of courtesy, to considerations of weightier import, it may not be unwelcome to briefly summarize the principal events of that period as far as Italy and Germany, Pope and Emperor, are concerned.

Henry VI.—the VI. as king of Germany, though the V. only as Emperor, the first German Henry, Otho I.'s father, never having borne the Imperial Crown⁴—had died after having united the two Sicilies to the other possessions of the Hohenstaufen family, leaving an only son, Frederic II., in tender years (1197). This grand-child of Frederic Barbarossa was under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His mother, Constantia, by sacrificing to the Pope important rights of the

¹ V. 2421-96.

² Biterbe, Berne, Presse = Viterbo, Verona, Brescia.

³ V. 2439-54.

⁴ German writers are apt to confound the two dignities: Machiavelli's (who is more exact) Henry I. is their Henry II., and so on.

crown, had procured his coronation as king of the Sicilies. But no similar influence could restrain the princes of Germany from falling away from their promised allegiance to a child three years of age. His uncle, duke Philip of Suabia, seized upon the crown on one hand, whilst the Guelph party elected an anti-king in Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and of Mathilda, Henry II.'s of England daughter. Otho had distinguished himself among the fighting men of his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, and now waged, with changing fortunes, a ten years' war of North against South, of Guelph against Ghibellin. After Philip of Suabia had been murdered, a victim to the private revenge of Otho of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of the Bavarian kings, the kingly and imperial dignities accrued for a space of four years (1208—1212) wholly to Otho of Brunswick. He was crowned by Pope Innocent in 1209, who, however, in the midst of Otho's victorious march through Italy, pronounced excommunication against him for having resumed the sovereignty of Ancona and Spoleto, and thus curtailed the papal states, and opposed to him his apparently half-forgotten ward, Frederic II., "our child" as Thomasin affectionately calls him.¹ Abandoned by many of his friends, surrounded by enemies, and in luckless alliance with King John Lackland, he was beaten at Bouvines in 1214 by Philip Augustus of France, but continued fighting for his position, and died in 1218. At the date of our poem he was evidently hard beset. It is of this man our author speaks with reference to Moderation in Blazonry.

When Sir Otho was in Lombardy,
 With whom things have now gone hard,
 And had also come to Rome,
 As you probably have heard,
 I came there at that time,
 And was in his court, that is true,

10475

¹ Nu nemet ouch bilde dâ bî,
 wie unser kint gestigen sî.
 dô man gewis sîn wolde
 daz er Püllen vliessen solde,
 dô gab im got tiuschiu lant, &c.

10569

... diventò Ottone nemico del Pontifice, occupò la Romagna, e ordinava di assalire il regno; per la qual cosa il Papa lo scomunicò, in modo ch'è fu de ciascheduno abbandonato, e gli Elettori elessero per imperadore Federigo re di Napoli.—*Machiavelli*, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.

About eight weeks and more :
 Then this displeased me exceedingly
 That there appeared in his shield
 No less than three lions and half an eagle. 10480
 That was doing it immoderately
 In two directions, surely.
 Three lions were too much.
 He who wishes to bear (in his shield) one lion,
 If he can direct his course of action by such a model, 10485
 Him I think an upright man.
 Likewise you shall know
 That half an Eagle is not sound :
 I will in this to you not lie :
 Half an Eagle cannot fly. 10490
 That was in Little and in Much
 Immoderation, if you will understand it.
 I have an inkling that it was to signify
 What was to come afterwards.
 One lion shows highmindedness,
 Three lions shows arrogance. 10496
 He who has the heart of three lions,
 Follows the counsel of arrogance ;
 If one has the spirit of one lion
 Methinks that he does enough. 10500
 The eagle flies very high,
 His high flight betokens honour,
 And so truly betokens
 Half an eagle the parting of honour.
 Now every one will see 10505
 That Sir Otho has
 Parted with the Empire by arrogance.
 He who wishes to ascend
 With the hearts of three lions beyond the spirit of man,
 He must shortly descend in the course of victory : 10510
 However high half an eagle might be,
 He could not but fall, that is true.
 I do not say this in order
 To reproach him in any way
 With being arrogant. 10515
 Were I to do so, it would not seem to me good.
 For however he has fared
 I will yet guard myself
 Not to speak evil of him,
 Since I should weaken myself 10520
 By doing so ; it shall not happen
 If I can help it.
 But what I have said,

I have said,	
That people may get sense,	10525
Otherwise I should not have said it,	
Yet I may well say it	
That every one may mark it,	
And take an example thereby	
That things have happened thus with him.	10530

Innocent III. had died in 1216, two years before the luckless Emperor. His death is not mentioned by Thomasin, and had it occurred at the time of the writing of *der welhische Gast*, it would in all probability not have been passed over by the poet, who is sufficiently in the habit of moralizing on contemporary events, and who moreover was evidently a strong adherent of Innocent, and much under the influence of that pope, Thomasin's fervent exhortation to a new Crusade being, as H. Rückert has well shown, chiefly a paraphrase of the Bull of Innocent. This observation, if we desire further confirmation of the date we have assigned to the poem, singularly narrows the calculation. The poem cannot have been written before 1215, and not after 1216, and we know that the first eight cantos were written in as many months.

Whether when Frederic II. in his time came into collision with the Pope, Thomasin was capable of retaining his affectionate allegiance for "our child," may fairly be doubted. His old Guelph reminiscences, his unfaltering adherence to the spiritual power and to orthodoxy, his very veneration for mind as distinguished from outward authority, his associations with clerical learning, the small store he set on princes and the nobility, unless they were officering to the welfare of the community of their fellow-men; all this must have drawn him towards, if not into, the ranks of those who hunted to death that brilliant ruler. But we are allowed, from Thomasin's bearing towards the falling Otho, to conclude that if his allegiance would be withdrawn from Frederic, somewhat of his affection would remain, and his withdrawal would be marked, not by the fiery spirit of the zealous renegade, but by the sad thoughts of one who in grievous disappointment cuts himself off from old ties, respecting the fallen because he respects himself, of whom the lost one was a part. But this is speculation: with the death of Innocent, the image of Thomasin, while yet a young man,

recedes from our view. Whatever fights he fought, whatever books he wrote, have vanished into the gray abyss. Whatever his contemporaries may have learnt from him, whether or not they felt the debt which the world owes, for the example he sets, to a man of great mind and stout heart, they do not speak of him. One single exception to this exists: his death is mentioned, again, in the shadowy manner which surrounds him, and which we have tried somewhat to clear up: no date is affixed, in the registers of the cathedral of Aquileja, to the bare record of his demise. Yet we learn by it that he did enter, or re-enter, the priesthood, and attained the dignity of a Canon.¹ We have the 'Italian Guest;' the rest is silence. And it remains to us but very briefly to sum up the man's character, and that of his book.

A man who has seen life and tasted its sweets, who has acquired the best knowledge his time could give him, and has found something higher; thinking knowledge of small account when not improving wisdom; going in all things to the root of the matter; sufficiently penetrated with the then current modes of viewing human life to enable him to understand his time, yet himself penetrating through the elegant skins and savoury flesh of the fruit to the very kernel; ascending from courtesy to goodness, from nobility of rank to nobleness of heart; seeing in all station and dignity but an office and an obligation, exchanging for a real respect for women, as one half of God's creation of noble human beings, that unhealthy tone of gallantry² which his age had carried to its utmost excess, and which has so constantly become the flimsy cover of real wrong; loudly proclaiming, in accents that remind us of Robert Burns, and of Schiller, the indestructible privileges of man in even the humblest condition; modest, yet self-conscious; convinced that he has to say things worth hearing, yet unwilling to speak to the utterly corrupt, while indefatigable in

¹ (Sine anno) . . . Obitus Tomasini de Cerclara Canonici Aquilejensis. Ex necrologio ecclesiæ Aquilejensis. Found by Signori Joppi, and communicated by Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza to the present writer, who is happy to call to this newly-discovered fact the attention of the German historians of literature.

² "Lyrical poetry . . . degenerated into an unworthy idolatry of ladies." *Max Müller*. The German Classics, xyii.

drawing forth the germs of good in those who are fit and inclined to hear his teaching ; wholly indifferent to the mockeries of the mob, though ready to value the good opinion of the honourable and the distinguished ;¹ most delicate in his appreciation of things and persons, drawing a teaching from apparently empty forms, finding “sermons in stones and good in everything ;” always firm of purpose, surprising us sometimes by the refinement of feeling which accompanies the justness of his thought ; almost always grave, rarely stern, grave with the gravity of one mellowed by misfortune and meditation, full of sympathy in contact, of illustration in speech ; incessantly warring, above all, against all unsteadiness and all frivolity, sometimes with a touch of fun and real humour ; ever generous to the fallen ; gentle and mild to all men, barring heretics—thus appears to us Thomasin, as unconsciously painted by himself.

A few extracts will justify the apparent extravagance of our praise, the reader being pleased to remember what was that age of almost universal oppression—so, at least, it appears to us—wherein our author wrote.

And first as to heretics. Their existence in Lombardy and elsewhere² having been observed by him, and treated as an unmitigated evil, seeing that, in his eyes, the heretic is a man

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

he is betrayed into this grim joke :

ON HERETICS.

Lombardy would be exceedingly well off
Had she . . . the Lord of Austria 12686

¹ Böeser liute spot ist mir unmære.
Hân ich Gâweins hulde wol,
Von reht mîn Key spotten sol. v. 76-78.

Most of our readers are familiar with the personages of the King Arthur cycle of legends. To others, we could perhaps not bring home in a more compendious form the force of the allusions to Gâwein (= Owain) and Key (= Kai) than by this passage from the Lady of the Fountain: "In very truth, said Gwenhyvar, it were better thou wert hanged, Kai, than to use such uncourteous speech towards a man like Owain." Lady Guest's Mabinogian, Lady of the Fountain, Welsh text, vol. i. p. 1—38, Engl. transl. 39—84.

² In Provence, where they have expelled Steadiness, v. 2471-72; in Milan, v. 2489.

Who knows how to seethe the heretics.
 He would find there a fine opportunity for doing justice ;
 He does not wish the devil
 Should break his teeth at once
 When he eats them, therefore he has them
 Well boiled and roasted.

12692

This Lord of Austria, let it be said in passing, is Leopold VI.¹ (1198—1230), surnamed *pater clericorum*, the successor of that Leopold with whom Richard Cœur de Lion had a mutually unpleasant acquaintance, and otherwise, it appears, a man not without good parts ; at any rate, a patron of the arts. Other testimony, contemporary and later, may be adduced, that the heretic-hunt did not do all the good that was expected. The almost complete eradication of Protestantism from Austria was reserved for later princes and another dynasty.

Whilst, however, inclined to excuse, to a great extent, by the prevalent views of the age, the savageness of feeling expressed by a man otherwise so gentle, we must yet observe that outside the ranks of the heretics themselves, there must then have been some people pleading, in the spirit of our own age, for that toleration which most of the heretics themselves, if we are to judge them by their mental descendant, Calvin, would be so little inclined to give. For Thomasin himself introduces such a one in conversation, in order to conquer what would appear to him but specious arguments. After having expatiated on the insufficiency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and claimed the arm of the secular power, he continues :

Here says perhaps a man,	12653
Who cannot rightly understand the matter :	
One ought not to force any one	12655
Into right and sound belief.	
“ We even leave the Jews unhurt,	
Though they do not wish to be Christians.”	
I will give him answer :	
If my child would not live	12660
According to my wish, as his duty is to do,	
I should beat him and censure him well.	
But if your child would not live	
Accordingly, and as by rights he ought,	

¹ Not Leopold VII., as Rückert has it in his notes, p. 603, by a misprint probably.

I should not trouble myself	12665
About beating him ; you had better do that.	
Thus shall act the Church ;	
She shall well coerce her own children	
And shall leave strange children	
Subject to their own fathers.	12670
Why should she coerce the Jews	
In any way ? They do not belong to her.	
As to heretics, it is her part to coerce them,	
Since they truly were her children.	
If a man is baptized,	12675
He is her child from that time ;	
If he afterwards wishes	
To depart from her, oh, believe me,	
One ought to coerce him	
Into acting rightly and well.	12680
And let there be secular judgment	
If the ecclesiastical will not avail.	

Poor as this reasoning may appear to us, there is perhaps cause for congratulation in it : if generally accepted, it protected at least one class of human beings—for we can hardly say of the community—against bigotry, and may have paved the way, by the mere fact of some unbelievers remaining unpersecuted, to broader views. Things might have been worse. Thomasin helped to prepare the fifth Crusade ; not only the first, but also the third, only a quarter of a century before he wrote, were almost, as a matter of course, ushered in by a grand massacre of Jews.¹

Yet one very important observation must be made in excuse of Thomasin and his contemporaries: to us, at least to many, let us hope to most of us, heresy is a matter of dogma, and we are capable of distinguishing between the holding of theological opinions and the

¹ *Michaud, Croisades*, Livre ii.—*Richard of Devizes*, Lest. 3.— : About that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion dispatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin.—*Bohn's Edition*.—Similar testimony abounds.

doing of moral acts. Not so with Thomasin ; the heretic is so, in his eyes, because he is a bad and immoral man. He is a being

To whom anything seems good 11269
That he happens to like doing,

and this he thinks he can safely assert from having known a thousand of them (v. 11300). And therefore it is useless to argue with heretics : they are without doctrine and without sense (v. 11303).¹ And Thomasin, while wishing to encourage, enlighten, and strengthen those whose dispositions are on the whole good, yet thinks it useless to occupy himself with those who are already thoroughly bad. Thus, in his Introduction, he wishes his book to fall into the hands of no *unsteady* man, and towards the conclusion of his book, he is very emphatic on this point. Addressing his work, as he sends it out into the world, he says :

Now be exhorted, Italian Guest,
When you have hold of a noble branch, 14710
Let not yourself be drawn from it
By a bad thorn. Though
One may say to the wolf
The Lord's prayer all day long,
He yet will never speak anything 14715
Like a lamb. Thus it happens
With the bad man, whatever one say to him,
It goes, as far as truth is concerned,
In by the one ear and out by the other.
How could there be any lasting impression 14720
Where a person does not think over (what has been said) ?
Know ye that a worthless person
Does not like to force his thoughts
Away from frivolous things to good.
Know ye that one cannot fill 14725
A sack with holes in it.

Therefore, my book, shalt thou remain
With him who is willing to write you
Into his heart and spirit.

¹ Thus, even half a century later, Saint Louis, fiercer than Thomasin, advises his court : " So I say to you, said the King, that no one, if he is not a very learned clerk, ought to dispute with them ; but a layman when he hears the Christian law gainsaid, should not defend it except with the sword, which he should drive into the gainsayer's body as far as he can make it go." *Joinville*, ed. Michel et Didot. 1858.—*Bohn's* ed. p. 362. (Chronicles of the Crusades.)

And again :

No man shall show to his lady-love, 14667
 Either through carelessness, or through lovingness,
 Nor to his lord, nor to his lady,
 Nor to his friend,
 This my speech,
 Unless virtue appear in them.

It may be difficult for Thomasin to conciliate with his orthodox Christianity, this repelling of those who are not already virtuous; but perhaps he only exaggerates the truth, that no fruit can be expected where there is no germ, a truth which in the following form recommends itself to, and will be approved by, educators :

To him who is virtuous or becoming so 14631
 To him I give in friendship
 My book, that with it
 He may steer his beautiful manners.¹
 Let him also with good action 14635
 Improve what he has
 Read in my book ;
 Let him be exhorted thereto.
 But he who has no good breeding and does not know how to
 act handsomely²
 Let him have nothing to do with it. 14640
 No teaching has power
 To make him virtuous
 In whom virtue is not inherent.
 You may strike the water all day long
 And yet it will not give fire,³ 14645
 Since to have fire is not in its nature.
 However cold a stone be
 Yet with cunning one wins
 Fire out of it, since that is in it.
 If there be sense in a man 14650
 However slow he may be to good works
 Yet one may with teaching bring him
 To virtue and piety.
 Know ye this as a truth ;
 Tinder brings out the fire well, 14655

¹ We have intentionally preferred this literal translation to one which, though more elegant, would wash out the original colouring of the thought.

² Swer nien hât zuht und *schoene site*. The translator has tried to come as nearly as seemed possible to him, to a convenient word expressing somewhat the *καλοκάγαθία* of the ancients. “Handsome is that handsome does.”

³ Strike the water—the old way, which some of our generation still recollect, of striking sparks with a steel out of flint, and catch them up with tinder.

Yet no one must suppose
That it could make the fire.
Thus teaching rouses into waking
The sense, and yet cannot make it.

14656

The following extracts hardly require comment.

OVER-ARDENT LOVE.

Swer einem wîb ze holt ist,
dem ist wê zaller vrist.
swenners niht gesehen mac,
sô tobet er naht unde tac.
hey waz er gedenkend ist
unnützer dinge zaller vrist !
und sêhe man waz er tuot
mit gedanke in sînem muot,
er müeste sich sîn schamen sêre.

If one is overfond of a woman,
His heart aches at all times.
When he may not see her,
He rages night and day.
Hey, what useless things
He is thinking of always !
And were one to see what he does
With his thoughts in his mind
He would have justly to be ashamed
of himself.¹

LOVE.

Ein ieglichr hât wol die sinne
daz er weiz, möht man koufen minne,
daz diu minn wâr eigen gar :
sus ist diu minne vrî, deist wâr.
swer wænet koufen minn umb guot,
der erkennet weder minn noch muot,
wan bêdiu muot und-minne
suln uns bejagen unser sinne
und unser zuht niht unser guot.

Everyone may have the sense
To know that if one could buy Love,
Love were a slave :
Now love is freeborn, that is true.
He who fancies he can buy love for
riches
He knows not the nature either of
Love or of the Soul :
Since both the Soul and Love
Ought to conquer our senses
And our manners, not our goods.²

NO MAN WHOLLY A SLAVE.

Ein man ist niht eigen gar,
daz sol man wizzen wol vûr wâr.
swer sîn wænt, hât niht vernomen
daz daz beste teil ist ûz genomen :
wan die sêle und den gedanc
nie dehein man bedwanc.

A man is not wholly another's,
That shall you truly know.
He who fancies so, has not learnt
That the best part (of man) is excepted :
Since the Soul and the Thoughts
No man ever forced.³

IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER OPPRESSION THAN TO INFLICT IT.

Ob dich dîn herre schendet sêre,
daz ist dir niht sô grôz unêre
sô, daz du zaller vrist
mit dem dinge unmüezec bist
daz du dir einn vrîen man

If thy lord should dishonourably
oppress thee,
That is not as great dishonour to thee,
As that thou at all times
Art busy about the thing
That thou shouldst wish to make a
freeman
Subject to thee,
As if he were a beast :
He who does that, is unpleasing to God.⁴

wil machen undertân,
alsô er ein vihe ware :
swerz tuot, der ist got unmære.

¹ V. 4125-33.³ V. 7875-80.² V. 1243-51. Vide also p. 122.⁴ V. 7857-64.

RECOGNIZE MAN'S NATURE IN A SERVANT.

Jâ sol man sînen eigenkneht
lâzen leben nâch mannes reht.

man sol an im got êrn,
man sol von im des dienstes gern,
daz man an die menscheit

gedenke, diu hôhe ist beleit.
wil du vertreten mit dem vuoz
den der lîht hôher sitzen muoz
denne du in unsers herren rîche,
daz enstêt niht rîterliche.

Nay, as to your own servant
One shall let him live according to
Man's Rights.

One shall in him honour God,
One shall of him ask service
In such a manner as to be mindful of
humanity.

The
Wilt thou trample underfoot
Him who perchance may sit higher
Than thou in the kingdom of our Lord?
That is ill-befitting a knight.¹

TRUE NOBILITY, AND NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

Nobility also may 3855

Make us dream. If a man

Is nobler (by birth) than another

And thinks himself always of more account

He deceives himself in that :

No one is noble but the man

Who has set his heart and mind

Towards that which is really good.

If a man be well-born

And have lost the nobility of his disposition,

I may truly tell you

He quite shames his birth :

If a man be well-born

His birth demands at all times

That he act well and justly.²

If he do not control himself thus to act,

Then his vice is all the greater :

His birth diminishes his honour.

If ye have understood me well,

You know that it is a mistake to think

That he is courtly (gentle, hüfsch) at all times,

Who is noble in the world :

For as I have said even before this,

To do well, that is Courtliness.

If one has a courteous disposition,

He does justly whatever he does.

He who acts well at all times,

¹ V. 7865-74.

² Ainsi plus votre rang vous élève en ce monde,
Plus il faut que chez vous le vrai mérite abonde ;
C'est lui seul qu'on estime, et vous devez savoir
Combien sur les humains l'exemple a de pouvoir.

Frédéric de Prusse à son frère.

Know ye that he is noble :
 Again, know ye that they are noble
 Who are wholly the children of God.

3925

Yet Thomasin is hardly a democrat, certainly not a revolutionist ; see his book iii. sect. vi. Each one is to keep his place, and it is foolish for a peasant to want to be a lord. As to the latter :

The people are to be as dear to him
 As his own life is to him.

3092

So that we arrive very nearly at the axiom : everything for the people, nothing through the people. Yet even thus to sum up, with the formula of enlightened despotism, his political views—the democratic tendency of which seems to us to have been exaggerated by Gervinus—would appear to be a mistake : formulas for constitutional government, whatever be their value to us, were very far from Thomasin's mind. He was not a constitution-monger. He accepted the state of the world as he found it, and instead of devising new machinery for guiding it, he rather sought to penetrate with a living spirit of justice and kindness the forms existing. Mr Mathew Arnold ought to rejoice in his acquaintance. Modern French socialists would be shocked by his incapacity for recognizing an equality where none exists ; he by no means overlooks the difference between the courtly knight or learned clerk and the boorish peasant ; when he wants to point out a particularly mean way of conduct, he is very apt to say that such a one acts like a tradesman, and he is, above all, a gentleman writing for gentlemen, no doubt with the view of making them conceive that word in its highest sense. His views on the position and duties of gentlemen seem to us greatly to coincide with that fine chapter in Pascal where the author forcibly shows to the young nobleman the unrealities and the unjustifiableness of his position unless filled for the public good.¹

Leaving politics alone, we may show our author's refinement and justness of feeling in some passages on Presents and Liberality.

Presents, he says, may be given out of wealth unjustly acquired, or with a view to a future advantage, or again from luxuriousness

¹ *Pensées*, art. xii. *Sur les conditions des Grands*.

(14125-50), but the giver cannot lay claim to liberality or gentleness :

Him who wishes to give to me anything in such a manner,	
I will never thank much ;	
For, truly, his present	
Has been made to Luxuriousness.	
I like the upright gentle man,	14155
But She through whom he has done it,	
Let her thank him if she like :	
I will never thank him much.	
But him who gives through gentleness	
Him I shall thank away.	14160

And again :

Let every one see	
That his present be appropriate.	
One must always see	
Who is the man to whom one gives,	
That one may give at all times	14165
According as the man is.	
Yea, one ought to give to a rich man	
Rare things, surely,	
And to a poor one at all times	
That which is good and useful to him.	14170
He who will not make a distinction in people,	
Makes his presents in an indiscreet manner.	
Where there is no discretion,	
There is never any gentleness.	
For such un-virtue lies	14175
Far from virtue always.	
He who wants to give with discretion	
Let him give neither too little nor too much.	
He has measured according to his means	
Who gives justly.	
He robs himself, truly,	14180
Who scatters his own.	

.

The man who wishes to give more,	
Must unjustly take much ;	
He must swear and lie	
And rob and cheat.	14190
He who has taken it unjustly,	
Has departed from gentleness ;	
Whilst virtue does no harm,	
Harm is done by un-virtue.	

One is to give presents to any one in suchwise 14195
 That no one derive displeasure by the gift
 From whom it may have been taken.
 He who wants to give justly,
 Let him not delay too much. 14260
 He who lets himself be begged much,
 Know ye that he has sold
 What he gives away.

.
 Such is not the action of the gentle-man
 Who can give justly,
 For he seeks out to whom to give
 And what he'd better give. 14290

.
 He who sets an angry countenance
 When he gives : know ye 14310
 He had better give nothing.

He who gives, fearing the giving,
 And holds back at all times,
 He is full of cowardice, 14315
 And is equal to him who refuses.

One ought, by one's eyes and mouth,
 To show at the time
 Of giving, that one's disposition
 Of willingly giving is perceived. 14320

Know ye that he gives properly
 Who so gives always,
 That with the present, he bestows
 Both his will and heart.
 He is but a poor fellow¹ 14325
 Who thinks of the money
 When he is to give anything :

.
 He is quite a tradesman
 Who gives for gain, that is true.

We have, in the foregoing, while speaking of the author, anticipated much that might be said of the book. On the whole, it may be observed, it justifies the remark of Hallam² that "in the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to

¹ *Boesewicht*,—but that word had not then, or at least plainly not always, the meaning of its modern form.

² Middle Ages. Chap. ix. Part II. Chivalry connected with religion, and with gallantry.

spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind." And Thomasin's conception of courtesy may again well be summed up in Hallam's observation¹ that "this word expressed the most highly refined good-breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from the heart." Yet it ought to be observed that Thomasin consciously took a wider range, and fathomed more deeply human life than similar writers did, or than he had done himself in this first book from which the second distinctly is a progressive step. Hence the more he proceeds in *The Italian Guest*, the more do externals disappear, whilst in the first canto, the partial reproduction of the Courtesy book, they still hold their place. As one who had heard much of virtue in those books which glorified chivalry, and related to the search for the Graal and to similar subjects, he proposed to himself to inquire what then was really virtue, and what the conditions of arriving at it, an inquiry by which he necessarily was led to condemn much of that very spirit which pervaded those novels and was exhibited as a model. For it appeared to him that virtue could not be acquired or kept, unless by Steadiness, a word which would, in his sense and in our vocabulary, comprise Firmness, Consistency, Fortitude, and perhaps a few more cardinal virtues. To this Steadiness, allying itself to Sense, is opposed Unsteadiness, as allying itself with Nonsense, or Frivolity and Un-wisdom, and whose children are Anger and Lies, while her sister is Immoderation.² And against that Unsteadiness, whereof the hero Percival had his good share, Thomasin's shafts are for ever levelled in many passages, whereof the following is a fair sample.

UNSTEADINESS.

What is Unsteadiness? A shame to the Lords,
A going-astray in all lands.
Unsteadiness is steadiness in bad things :
No one can constrain her

1840

¹ Ibid., Courtesy.² V. 9885.

To lean to good things.
 Unsteadiness is not free.
 Unsteadiness is quite a serf
 To Un-virtue at all times.
 Unsteadiness follows Un-virtue 1845
 Both in old age and in youth.
 Every Un-virtue has
 Both her service and her council.
 Unsteadiness is quite un-leisurely
 In all things, at all times. 1850
 What Unsteadiness does to-day
 That appears no longer good to her to-morrow.
 She builds up that which
 Her unsteady advice has broken.¹
 Unsteadiness changes quickly 1855
 The square into a curve.
 The curve she leaves not alone,
 As it had better stand on four corners.
 That is always her favourite game,
 To strive for that which she (really) has no wish for. 1860
 Change does not fright her :
 The little she makes into something great,
 The great, however, she makes little.
 Now she runs, now she walks softly,
 Now she mounts, now she falls down, 1865
 Now she goes away, to-morrow comes back,
 Now to the mountains, now to the sea,
 Now she is by herself (self-sufficient), to-morrow in a crowd,
 Now away to the wood, now in town :
 Here and there is she, 1870
 Since she carries that in her heart
 Which chases her every whither.
 From place to place she likes to go,
 But never from the desires of her own heart.
 If to the tail of a young dog 1875
 One ties a bell, he runs and turns
 Himself hither and thither, and knows not
 That he carries that from which he flees.
 Thus it is with the unsteady man.

As to the style of the book, our readers can form a correct idea by the fragments, both original and translated, which we give. On the whole, it cannot be said to be free from that prolixity which belongs to an age when time was plentiful ; yet here and there pas-

¹ Comp. Horace, Epist. I. lib. I. v. 100 et seq.

sages of great terseness occur, frequently in connection with an unexpected turn of thought.

Thomasin, like Lord Lytton, in our days, has dedicated his book to Germany, whose guest, very likely a welcome one, he felt himself.¹

We have said that *The Italian Guest* is preserved in many MSS. The oldest of these dates from 1248, and is preserved at Erbach; it is written with great neatness, and adorned with many illuminations, which Rückert believes may be reproductions of such as Thomasin himself made or indicated. The best, perhaps belonging to the end of the 13th century, is now again at Heidelberg; whence in the Thirty Years' War it had, with the rest of the library, been carried to the Vatican. It forms the basis of the text before us. Others are found at Gotha, Stuttgart, Dresden, Munich, Wolfenbüttel; and all the more valuable ones have been collated by our editor, while the Gotha MS. has served for some fragments published independently. To our Italian friends, mentioned above, we owe the information that the Abbey of Moggio in Friuli possesses, or possessed, a copy of Thomasin, the date of which reaches almost to the Erbach one.² These MSS., not counting several made in the last century, descend to the year 1457, showing therefore a continued appreciation of the book during about two centuries and a half. A writer, belonging to the middle of the 15th century, a Bavarian Knight, briefly mentions our book in his *Ehrenbrief*, which includes a kind of metrical *catalogue raisonné* of the literary works he was acquainted with.³

Still it had not the honour of being multiplied by the new art of printing; and however much it may have contributed to the spirit which produced Erasmus and the Reformers, it was not brought out again from partial oblivion by these, as was the case with Piers Ploughman, because it did not offer such polemical material

¹ V. 86-136.

² Da inventario di bene dell' Abazia di Moggio in Friuli si ha: Anno 1250 . . . liber teutonicus dictus *Valisergast*. Dall' archivio Capitolare di Udine.—No trace of this in Rückert or the other German writers.

³ Stanza 104. Den wälischen Gast gezieret Hat Thomasin von Clar. J. C. (the elder) Adelung's ed. of Püterich von Reicharzhausen. 1788, (in the Br. Mus.) p. 15.

as that book. For the first time, since the Reformation, Thomasin is mentioned by an obscure writer, named Turgel, in a short notice of MSS. in the Gotha Library, published in 1691.¹ After that, we find the book alluded to three or four times during the 18th century,² but merely as a literary fossil, and in a manner which leaves us very doubtful whether the notice which some literary antiquarians took of the MSS., led them to really read the book, and, to any extent, become aware of its spirit. The younger Adelung,³ when inquiring into the literary treasures of the Rome of his time, was one of the first to call more serious attention to *The Italian Guest*, at the end of the last century.⁴ Between his two publications on the Vatican Manuscripts, Eschenburg, the man who first gave to Germany a complete translation of Shakespere, published a few extracts from the Wolfenbüttel copy,⁵ and shortly after gave a chapter to our author in his 'Monuments of Old German Poetry.'⁶ It is, however, fairly allowable to believe that none of the writers mentioned had read Thomasin at all completely. This was reserved for our century, to the Grimms and their school. W. Grimm, in his *Reynard the Fox*, published from it a charmingly told fable; Wackernagel, in his *Reading book*, another extract on Etiquette or Courtesy rules. These two fragments have now been, for several years, before the English public, Max

¹ Monatl. Unterredungen. 1691. p. 926.

² By Cyprian, Schilter, Abbot Gebert of St Blasien, Miller, Gottsched, Bodmer. Vide Eschenburg, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*. Bremen, 1799. pp. 114-144. (In the Br. Mus.)

³ Frederick Adelung. *Nachrichten von altdeutschen Gedichten, welche aus der Heidelbergischen Bibliothek in die Vaticanische gekommen sind*. Königsberg, 1796.

Altdeutsche Gedichte in Rom, oder fortgesetzte Nachrichten von Heidelbergischen Handschriften in der Vaticanischen Bibliothek, v. Fr. Adelung. Königsberg. 1799.

⁴ *Habent sua fata libelli!* Adelung, in the first of these works just quoted, says (p. 39), "Perhaps this notice will serve to call greater attention to the treasures of the Vatican, which, alas, are probably for ever lost to our country." General Tilly, 1622, had carried away those treasures from Heidelberg; his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, presented them to the Pope. The rise of Napoleon was required to bring them from the Vatican to Paris, his fall to bring back to Heidelberg what had remained of them in spite of Tilly's soldiers and other pilferers.

⁵ In *Braga and Hermode*, vol. 2, Sect. II. pp. 134-56, &c. (not in Br. Mus.); quotation from Adelung's second report on the Vatican library.

⁶ Eschenburg, *Denkmäler*. Vide above.

Müller having included them, with translations into Modern Grammar, in his German classics.¹ Gervinus read the book in manuscript, and has the merit of communicating to his readers his high appreciation of our author; but according to his wont, speaks *ex cathedra* only, not taking the reader into his confidence, not adducing a single passage.² The book, and the public, had still to wait till 1852,³ when Dr Heinrich Rückert, now Professor at the University of Breslau, and a son of the poet Friedrich Rückert, gave us the first and only edition of Thomasin,⁴—a work of great learning and labour, but little comfort to the reader. It would certainly fall under the ire of Mr Thomas Carlyle against index-less books.⁵ And it is not an index only we miss, but also a glossary of difficult words, and those simple but useful contrivances yecept headlines, or at least indication of book and chapter at the top of the page, marginal notes, references, foot-notes. All the notes, together with the collations, are thrown to the end; and the greater part of them consists of disquisitions on details of metre and rhyme.⁶ On the whole, the typographical arrangement is uncomfortable; and the whole book seems characterized by a desire to be useful to one already deeply engaged in the study of Early German, but forbidding to the general reader, who must, it seems, by no means be attracted, by this book at any rate, to the study of the subject. In all these respects, the publications of the Early English Text Society seem to the present writer greatly preferable. They appear not to wish to warn off the premises of learning the innocent wanderer in the realms of letters who may curiously

¹ The German Classics. Longman, 1864, pp. 201, 212, and notice of Thomasin, p. xvii.

² G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. V. vols. 4 ed. Leipzig, 1853.—Vol. I. p. 429, et seq.; 3^d ed. 1846.

³ Dr Grion, an Italian writer, the author of an essay on Ciullo di Alcamo [Padua, 1858, Brit. Mus.], seems to have published a notice of Thomasin, previous to 1845. Dr Genala at Soresina, and Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza, to whom we owe this information, have, so far, not succeeded in procuring for us the *opusculum*.

⁴ Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben mit sprachlichen und geschichtlichen Anmerkungen von Dr Heinr. Rückert. Quedlinburg and Leipzig; Basse. 1852. xii. and 612 pp.

⁵ Life of Frederic the Great.

⁶ Biographically and with reference to the age in which our author lived, hardly anything is said. Even our calculations as to dates, p. 83 and 92, we had to make for ourselves, and for ourselves had to find the elements of them.

wish to stray into the paths of old national literature ; they appear rather to invite him by a little freshness in the very hedgerows which surround their paradise, and to take him kindly by the hand, and help on his step, though it be a little faltering at first, instead of scaring him with thorns and brambles of grim learning, and striking awe into him for approaching the sanctum of the initiated. Will the editor, whom we have to thank, not only with all his readers, for the immense labour he has bestowed on the book, but also personally for a courteous communication in reply to an inquiry of ours, and will other German scholars who may read this, pardon us for this friendly expression of a doubt whether by writing too much as professional and professorial *Gelehrte* for a class, nay almost a caste, of *Gelehrte*, and enwrapped in their dignity, utterly scorning the *dilettante*, they do not, almost wilfully, restrict too much the number of their readers, fail in their mission of interesting a large section of the educated public, and drive them into the insipidities of what is called in Germany popular literature ?

We now proceed to summarize at some length the first, and for this 'Book of Courtesy' most important, canto, proposing to give a much slighter sketch of the following ones. And for the first portion of this, we use an old summary, which is found in the Gotha-manuscript, written by the same hand as the whole poem, and repeated, with small variations, in most of the other MSS. Though not by Thomasin himself, it is undoubtedly very old,—much older than that Gotha MS. itself, whose date is 1340 ; it is made, on the whole, fairly enough, and for its naïve quaintness may merit partial reproduction.

S U M M A R Y.

BOOK THE FIRST.—V. 1—1706.

"He who wants to know the matter whereof this book speaks, will find (here) the matters all marked down one after the other. This book is divided into ten parts, and each part has its chapters ; some parts have ten chapters, some more, some less, and each chapter has some sub-sections, some many, some few.

V. 1—140. Before I begin the book, I say in my preface that

every man is to apply himself that he may by his works fulfil that which he has read of good things ; and I tell how the bad man turns good counsel (speech) into bad ; and then I announce that I wish to speak of the Virtues, and what piety (*frumcheit*) is, and what Discipline or Good Breeding (*zucht*) is ; and I explain that I am not quite master of the language, and ask (those of) the German tongue to favourably receive my outlandish (*welsch*) book, and not to let any *unsteady* (*unsteten*) man see it, and then I begin my book thus.

I. v. 141—296. I first of all speak of Idleness, and what one is to do at all times, and that Laziness is a blot upon (*schendet*) a man, and how difficult it is to get free of such a habit ; and what teaching one is to be ashamed of, and how wicked he is who has (in him) Vain-gloriousness, Lies and Mockery, and that one is not to boast, and that Boasting is (*wirser*) worse still in women than in men.

II. v. 297—526. I also say how young gentlemen behave noisily (*schallent*) when they come from court to the tavern, and how badly that sits upon them, and that they ought to observe those things which they have seen at court, and that they ought to treat their followers well ; and I say how and wherefore one ought to honour strangers."

Let us here interrupt the summary by introducing a set of courtesy rules : they are those which Mr Max Müller has given, as mentioned above ; and for the convenience of such of our readers as may possess his 'German Classics,' we depart, in this instance only, from Rückert's text, and adopt the forms, chiefly dialectically and not essentially differing, of the Gotha MS., which Mr Müller, with Wackernagel, has followed. For we may observe in passing that the copyists of that time, in translating a book, were inclined to adapt its language to the dialect of their part of the country.

ich wil daz einr den andern ère,
wellent si volgen zühte lère.

ir deheiner sol zeiner tür
den andern allen dringen für.

Beidiu frowen unde hêrren
sulen frömde liute èren :
ist sin ein frömder man niht wert,
si habent sich selben geêrt.

I wish that one should honour the other,
If they wish to follow the teaching of
Good Breeding.

None of them shall at a door
Press before all the others.

Both ladies as well as gentlemen
Shall honour strangers :

If any stranger be not worthy of it,
Yet they have done honour to them-
selves.

ist sîn aber wert der,
sô habent si sîn beide êr.
man enweiz niht wer der frömde ist,

dâ von êr man in zaller frist.

swenn ze hove chumt ein fremder gast,
diu chint suln im dienen vast

sam er wære ir aller hêrre,

daz ist der zûhte wille und lère.

si sulen haben chiuschiu wort,
wan daz ist der zûhte hort.

Ein frowe sol sich sehen lân,
chumt zir ein vremeder man.
swelihiu sich niht sehen lât,

diu sol ûz ir chemenât

sîn allenthalben unerchant ;
bûeze alsô, si ungenant.

ein frowe sol niht vrevêlich
schimphen, daz stêt wiplich.

ich wil ouch des verjehen,
ein frowe sol niht vaste an sehen
ein fremden man : daz stet wol.
ein edel junchêrre sol
beidiu ritter unde vrowen
gezogenliche gerne schowen.
ein juncfrowe sol senfticlich

und niht lût sprechen sicherlich.
ein junchêr sol sîn sô gereit

daz er vernem swaz man im seit,

sô daz ez undurft si,
daz man im aber sage wi.

zuht wert den vrowen alln gemein
sitzen mit bein über bein.
ein junchêr sol ûf ein banc,
si si churz oder lanc,
deheine wise stên niht,
ob er ein ritter dâ sitzen siht.
ein vrowe sol ze deheiner zît
treten weder vast noch wît.
wizzet daz ez ouch übel stet,
ritt ein ritter dâ ein vrowe gêt.

But if he be worthy of it,
Then both parties are honoured.
One does not know who a stranger
may be :

Therefore let him be honoured at all
times.

When a strange guest comes to the Hall,
The young people shall do him great
service,

The same as if he were the lord of all
of them :

Such is the will and teaching of Good
Breeding ;

Let them speak choice words,
Seeing such is the treasure of Good
Breeding.

A lady shall allow herself to be seen,
When a stranger-man comes to her :
She who does not allow herself to be
seen,

She shall, out of her own withdrawing
room,

Be unrecognized everywhere ;
Let her thus suffer for it, let her not
be mentioned.

Let not a lady jest boldly :
That looks as if she were a common
woman.

This too I will maintain :
A woman shall not look much at
A stranger-man : that is befitting.
A noble young lord shall
Like to look modestly
Both upon knights and ladies.
A young lady shall assuredly speak
softly

And not loud.

A young lord (yunker) shall be so
ready

That he understands what one says to
him,

So that there may be no need
That one should for a second time say
to him, how (to do it).

Good Breeding forbids all ladies
To sit with one leg over the other.
A young lord shall not step upon a bench
Be it short or long,

In any wise,
If he sees a knight sitting there.

A lady shall at no time
Step out fast nor wide.
Know again that it is ill befitting
If a knight rides where a lady goes.

ein vrowe sol sich, daz geloubet,
chêren gegen des pherdes houbet

swenn si rîtet ; man sol wîzen,
si sol niht gar dwerhes sizzen.
ein ritter sol niht vrâvelîch
zuo frowen rîten sicherlîch,
ein vrowe erschraht hât dick getân

den spruch der bezzer wær verlân.
swer sînem rosse des verhenget
daz ez eine vrowen besprenget,
ich wæne wol daz sîn wîb
ouch âne meisterschaft belîb.
zuht wert den rittern alln gemein
daz si niht dicke schowen ir bein,
swenn si rîtent ; ich wæne wol
daz man ûf sehen sol.
ein vrowe sol recken niht ir hant,
swenn si rîtet fûr ir gewant ;
si sol ir ougen und ir houbet

stille haben, daz geloubet.
ein junchêrr unde ein ritter sol
hie an sich ouch behûeten wol,
daz er stille habe die hant
sô im ze sprechen si gewant :
er sol swingen niht sîn hende
wider eines frumen mannes zende.
swer der zûhte wol geloubet,
der sol setzen ûf niemens houbet
sîn hant der tiurer sî denn er,

noch ûf sîn ahse : daz ist êr.

Wil sich ein vrowe mit zuht bewarn,

sô sol si niht ân hülle varn ;
si sol ir hüll ze samne hân,
ist si der garnæsch ân :
lât si amne libe iht sehen bar,

daz ist wider zûhte gar.
ein rîter sol niht vor vrowen gên
barschîncher, als ichz chan verstên.

ein vrowe sol niht hinder sich
dicke sehen, dunchet mich.
si gê vûr sich gerihte
unde sehe umb ze nihte ;
gedenchen an ir zuht über al

ob si gehêr deheinen schal.
ein juncfrowe sol selten iht

A lady shall believe ye,
Turn herself towards the head of the
horse

When she rides : one must know
She is not to sit quite crossways.
A knight shall not boldly
Ride up to ladies :
A woman, frightened, has often (done)
uttered

The speech that were better not made.
He who allows his horse
To bespatter a lady,
I quite suppose that his wife
Is without a good master likewise.
Good Breeding forbids all knights
To look much at their legs
When they ride : I am much of opinion
That one is to look upwards.
A lady shall not stretch her hand
Out of her garment, when she rides ;
She shall keep quiet her eyes and her
head,

Believe ye that.
A younker and a knight shall
Be careful in this too,
That he keeps his hand quiet
If he has to speak :
He shall not swip his hands
Against a good man's teeth.
He who well believes in Good Breeding,
Let him place on no one's head
His hand, who is of greater account
than himself,
Nor upon his shoulder : that is honour-
able.

If a lady wants to keep herself within
good breeding,
Let her not go out without mantle ;
She shall gather her mantle together
If she is without her long upper gown :
If she let any part of her body be seen
bare

That is quite against Good Breeding.
A knight shall not go before ladies
With bare legs ; as far as I can under-
stand things.

A lady shall not much
Look behind her, so it appears to me :
Let her go forth straightways
And not look about her,
Everywhere mindful of her good
breeding,

Even though she hear a noise.
A young lady shall rarely

sprechen, ob mans vrâget niht,
ein vrowe sol ouch niht sprechen vil,
ob si mir gelouben wil;
und benamen swenne si izzet,
sô sol si sprâchen niht, daz wizzet.

Man sol zem tische sich bewarn,
der mit zûhte welle varn,

(ge dâ hœret grôziu zuht zuo) :
ein ieglich biderb wirt der tuo
war, ob si haben alle gnuoc.

der gast der sî sô geuoc,
daz er tuo dem geliche gar,
sam er dâ nihtes neme war.

swelch man sich rehte versinnet,
swenne er ezzen beginnet,
son rûer niht wan sîn ezzen an
mit der hant : dar ist wol getân.

man sol daz brôt ezzen niht
ê man bring d' êrsten riht.
ein man sol sich behûeten wol
daz er niht legen sol
beidenthalben in den munt.
er sol sich hûeten ze der stunt
daz er trinch und spreche niht
di wil er hat in dem munde iht.
die mit dem becher ze den gesellen ¹

sich chêren als si in geben wellen,
ê si in tuon von den munden,
der win hât si dar zuo gebunden.
swer trinchende ûz dem becher siht,
daz zimpt hûfschen mannen niht.

ein man vor dem gesellen sîn

niht neme, daz ist diu lêre mîn,
daz im dâ gevalle wol,
wan er vor im ezzen sol.

man sol ezzen zaller frist
mit der hant diu engegen ist :

sitzt der gesell zer rechten hant,
so iz mit der linchen hant.
man sol ouch daz gerne wenden,
daz man iht ezz mit beiden henden.
man sol ouch dâ sô gâhen niht,

Speak anything, unless one ask her.
Nor shall a lady at all speak much,
If she will believe me;
And especially when she eats,
Then she shall not speak, that know.
One must be watchful over oneself
If one will bear oneself with Good
Breeding

(For it is a matter of much breeding):
Let every honest host be
Careful whether they (*his guests*) have
all of them enough;
Let the guest be so well disposed,
That he act similarly
As if he were aware of nothing (*sup-
posing anything to have gone
amiss*).

A man who is well balanced in his mind,
When he begins to eat,
He touches nothing but his food
With the hand : that is doing things
well.

One must not eat the bread
Before the first dishes are brought.
A man shall be very careful
Not to put (*food*)
On both sides in his mouth.¹
He shall at that time be on his guard
Lest he drink or speak
Whilst he has something in his mouth.
Those who turn with the beaker to
their companions

As if they were about to give it,
Before they take it from their lips,
Them the wine has bound thereto,
Who, drinking, looks over the beaker
(*does that which*) is not fitting for
courteous men.

Let a man not take before his com-
panions
Anything, that is my teaching,
Which may please him there;
For he (*the companion or guest*) shall
eat before him.

One shall eat at any time
With that hand which is over against
(*the guest*) :

If the companion sit at your right hand,
Then eat with your left hand.
One shall also willingly avoid
To eat anything with both one's hands.
One shall also not be so greedy

¹ Babees Book, Pt. II. p. 29, l. 36, &c.

daz man mit dem gemazzen¹ iht
grîfe in die schüzzel mit der hant :
wan dâ von wirt unzuht bechant.

der wirt sol ouch der spise enpern

der sîne geste niht engern
und diu in ist ungenæme,
wan daz niht wol zæme ;
und geb ouch niht ungemaine.

der wolf izzet gerne eine :
der olbent izzet eine niht
ob er des wilds iht bi im siht.
dem volgt der wirt mit êren baz
dann dem wolve, wizzet daz.
der wirt nâch dem ezzen sol
daz wazzer geben : daz stêt wol.
dâ sol im dechein chneht
denne dwahen : daz ist reht ;
wil dwahen im ein junchêrre,
der gê hin dan vil verre.

As, at the same time with one's com-
panion,
To put one's hand into the dish :
For by that want of good breeding
appears.

The host, again, shall go without such
food

As his guests do not like,
And which is unpleasant to them,
As that is not well befitting ;
And let him also give nothing apart
(for one).

The wolf likes to eat by himself :
The camel² does not eat by himself,
If he sees any of the beasts near him.
Him follows the host with more honour
Than the wolf, know that.
The host, after dinner, shall
Hand the water : that befits him well.
Therein shall no page (?)
Then wash (*his hands*) : that is right ;
If a younker wants to wash,
Let him go far away.

We return to the summary, but give up from here the quotation of the old *résumé*, still, however, availing ourselves of it, extending or restricting it, as may seem best, and varying it by the introduction of passages.

III. v. 527—580. That one ought not to laugh too much, nor secretly spy out one's companion's doings ; and that one ought to beware of him who likes thus to play the spy ; and that one shall faithfully keep secret what one's companion tells one, and why one ought to do so, and that one is to be careful of whom, to whom, what, how, and when one speaks ; and of what the children of lords are to beware.

IV. v. 581—686. That one is to speak little, and to listen much. Children are to be taught reverence. Thus made to feel reverence,

¹ *gunazzen* ? Thus the Gotha MS., in M. Müller's book. Dr Rückert, following the Heidelberg MS., has *gesellen*, which is plain.

² *Olhente*, *olbende*, or, more rarely *olpent*, seems, etymologically, clearly *elephant*, ἐλέφας, *avros*, with which compare Goth. *albandas*, O.H.G. *olpenta*, but is not used to designate this animal, but the camel.—Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. 42. Yet, we find in Müller & Zarncke's *Mittelhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch* (whereof the leaves in the Brit. Mus. copy were first cut by the present writer), p. 437, two or three passages which seem plainly to point to the elephant.

they will be able to control themselves. Every child shall bear in his mind some pious (upright, reverential, and gentle, *frumen*) man, and shall think of him, so as to fancy that this pattern sees whatever the child may do ;—and who are to be obeyed, and that one is to have (good) habits at home, so as to bear oneself well at court ;—and that one is to preserve modesty ;—and that one is not to follow (the guidance) of envy and anger.

V. v. 687—777. That one is to beware of gambling ; and that he is thought a fool that speaks too much, and also he that is too silent ; and that no one is to do or to say all that comes to his mind, and that one is to speak and to act with sense ; and how foolish he is that in his childhood fancies he may know without teaching ; for

Der sin bescheidet einen man
von dem vihe daz niht kan.

Sense distinguishes a man
From the beasts that know nothing.

and that one ought willingly to hear good teaching, and to let the bad go.

VI. v. 773—880. How one cannot find a good pattern in Helen (“*der schoenen Küneginne diu wîlen da ze Kriechen was*”) ; and that a woman is not to be glad if another woman acts badly.

On the contrary :

da von ein biderbe wîp sol
trûric sîn, tuot niht wol
ein ander wîp.

A good woman ought
To be sad, if badly acts
Another woman.

and she had better look out for herself, that she may not get into the same way :

wan si sol ir vûrhten hart
daz si niht kome in ir vart.

Let women rather take warning (lit. some sense) from the mishap of the woman who was called Helena.

In Greece over all the lands
She was a powerful queen.
She had much beauty and little sense,
Her beauty gained her great shame :
Beauty without sense is a weak security.

824-28

And what kind of sense a woman shall have, and what sense is enough for a woman ; a detail on which in these days of women's rights, colleges, examinations and so on, old Thomasin may be heard with some little additional interest, rather on the conservative side :

- v. 837. A woman has enough sense
 In that she be courteous and pliable,
 And also have good gestures
 With beautiful speech and a chaste mind.
 If she then have more sense,
 Let her have Good Breeding and Teaching,
 Let her not make a show of what she has in her mind ;
 One does not require her for a Mayor.¹
 A man must have many arts :
 In a noble woman Good Breeding requires
 That she have not much artfulness,
 If she is honest and noble.
 Simplicity sits well upon women,
 Yet it is right that a woman
 Have that teaching and that sense
 That she may beware of un-love.
 One often calls Love the thing
 That one had better call Un-love.

854

That beauty, friends, birth, riches, love (or loveliness ?) are worthless without sense ; and that Beauty may do harm to honour ; and that Beauty and lightheadedness (lit. nonsense, *unsinn*) are two girdles on a woman's body (?) ² which draw her the wrong way.

diu schöne macht daz man si bite,
 sô hilfet der unsin vast dâ mite
 daz er ræt der vrouwen wol
 ze tuon daz si niht tuon sol.

The beauty causes her to be solicited,
 And the nonsense greatly helps there-
 To advise the woman [with
 To do what she ought not to do.³

VII. v. 881-994. That one is not to give away honour for beauty ; or with a view to be made beautiful for ever :

Durch boesen Kouf ze Markte gât
 Swer umbe schoen sîn êre lât,

He makes a bad bargain
 Who gives his honour for beauty ;

and that beauty is dishonoured without discipline.

Every kind of malice has its gestures (or outward appearance).

(Yet) one is deceived by appearances ; seeing deceives vastly, in both women and men [*am sehen triuget man sich dicke*, 939].

beidiu man und ouch wîp
 erzeigent oft daz in ir lîp
 und in ir herzen niender ist :
 daz machet gar ir böeser list.

Both man, and also woman,
 Often show that which in their bodies
 And in their hearts is nowhere :
 That is caused by their wicked cunning.

¹ *ze potestât*. The author thinks of the Italian *podesta*, as chief municipal magistrate or mayor ; one of the few passages by which he betrays his origin.

² *Gebende* : ornaments, head-dresses, according to Wackernagel, *Edelsteine* ; neither gives a satisfactory sense. The word *Ge-bend-e* points to the verb *bind*.

³ v. 877-86.

A wicked woman's beauty is not to be considered as beauty, is only skin-beauty ; she is but like gilt copper, a baser metal.

daz an im lützel goldes hat
under schoener vel ist valscher rât.
man sol wizzen daz valsche liut
hânt niht mër schoene wan ir hiute.

. . . wherein there is little gold.
Under a fine skin, bad counsel.
One must know that false people
Have not more beauty than is in their
skins.

Some virtues sit better upon women than upon Knights, and some sit well upon Knights, and some vices ("un-virtues") sit worse upon women, and some worse upon Knights.

In the detail of this there seems some arbitrariness :

One gets poisoned in honey even
When the sweetness is meant to betray us.
The tongue of false women is honey,
Their will is venom, know that, Christian.
Falseness befits no one well :
A woman (however) shall guard
Against Falseness more than a man ;
Falseness sits worse upon women.
Thus mildness is befitting for all people
Every woman shall be mild ;
Yet mildness befits Knights better
Than ladies, know ye that.
Humility befits both well :
A Knight and a lady shall
Be humble-minded ; yet befits humbleness
The ladies better, and their goodness
Shall be ornamented with that virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
The Knight, piety (vrümkeit) befits well ;
The ladies, faithfulness and truth.
The Knight, if timid, is dishonoured ;
So is a false woman equally fallen (desecrated away from
her station, annihilated)
The crafty Knight is quite without honour,
The stupid woman is without good teaching.
Archness befits not the Knight :
A lady shall be on her guard against unsteadiness
And against unfaithfulness,
And against haughtiness, that is good.
If she have not these virtues in her,
Her beauty is quite desecrated.

VIII. v. 995—1162. Of the snares of the fools ; and who is a

good wife ; and what young gentlewomen and youngers like to be told ; and whom they are to follow ; and what those are to hear and to read who have come out of childhood,—romantic poems¹—*aven- tures*—are good for the young and the little-cultivated, as are pic- tures. But those whose minds are more developed, or literally *who have come to their senses*, they are to be taught (lit. mastered) differ- ently from children ; and that an eloquent (lit. well-speaking) man shall not depart from truth.

IX. v. 1163—1337. I have travelled away from my aim, and have said things that I should not have said but for the young people. I should yet have liked to speak of Knights and ladies, as I have done formerly in a book on Courtesy which I wrote in Italian."

Of what nature is love.

Der minn natûre ist sô getân :
si machet wiser wîsen man,
und gît dem tôrn mêr nârrischeit,
daz ist der minne gewonheit.

This is the nature of love :
It makes a wise man wiser,
And gives the fool more foolishness,
That is love's custom.²

How one is to guard a wife ; and one is neither to gain her by magic, nor force her, nor buy her ;³

HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

I taught (in the lost Italian book) that one
Ought to conquer one's wife with (good things) kind acts ;
That she should be steadfast (stacte) to one.
He who locks her up alone
He dispenses quite with her service.
Now tell me, of what good is it,
That I lock up her body,
If then her will is not as it should be ?
No lock will keep the mind :
The Body without the heart is a feeble possession :
Locks create great hatred :

¹ Here, v. 1029-78 is introduced a list of legendary names, the subjects either of well-known French and German poems, or mentioned in some of these ; and in some cases perhaps the titles of books that are lost. The list, beginning with Andromache, who is not known to have given the title to any substantive poem, finishes with a pæan in honour of Percival. Some passages in this are difficult and obscure. H. Rückert, 528—32.

² V. 1179-82.

³ Vide W. Humboldt, *Sphere and Duties of Government*, p. 31, seq., on Matrimony and Love.

Kind actions act as a better safeguard.
 Love, gained by magic and by force,
 And bought love, are no love.
 He who has had recourse to magic,
 Know ye that he has violated
 Her whom he has loved by such means ;
 He has the (manners) ways of an uncourteous man.
 He has quite an uncourteous mind
 Who does violence to women.

that bought love is not love ;—

swer mit hüfscheit niht werven kan,	He who cannot woo with courtesy,
der wirt billich ein koufman.	Let him properly become a tradesman.
gekouft minn hât niht minne kraft :	Bought love has not the power of love.

that love would be a serf (*eigen*) if one were to buy it ; and that it is to be free. And what one is to give through love :

One shall give heart for heart,
 One shall with faith give faith,
 With love (*liebe*, not *minne*) one shall gain love.
 One shall with steadiness confirm
 Steadiness and truth.¹

and that the gift does not mend what is evil.

That a man gives to her who makes a fool of him ;—that a man gives (will give) to her who herself has enough, and not give to her who has nothing.

A fool sees what ornaments a woman has outside on her body, the wise man sees what are the ornaments of her soul ;—the following goes again into the direction of woman's right, and this time on the side of our reformers. That a man shall not deny a woman her possessions (*guot*). On this subject our author expresses himself briefly but pithily :

Ich lêrt daz dehein biderbe man	I taught (again in the lost Italian book)
niht enkêr sînn muot dar an	that no upright man
daz er abe spricht eim wîbe ir guot.	Should turn his mind to
wan swelch wip daz getuot,	Denying a woman her goods.
ez stât ir vil boesliche :	If any woman does such a thing
doch stât es wirser ungeliche	It befits her very ill :
einem man, daz sult ir glouben.	But incomparably more ill does it befit
wizzt daz ich gerner wolde rouben.	A man : that you shall believe.
	Know ye that I sooner would rob on
	the highways. ²

¹ v. 1251-56.

² v. 1330-37.

What a woman may take from her friend :

Ich lêrt waz einer vrouwen zeme

daz si von ir vriunde neme :
hantschuoch, spiegel, vingerlin,
vürspangel, schapel, blüemelin.
ein vrouwe sol sîn wol behuot
daz si niht neme grœzer guot,
ezn wær daz sis bedorfte wol :
so erloube ich ir dan daz si sol
nemen mêre und niht sô vil,
sin erzeige wol daz si wil
daz ir der vriunt si vür daz guot,

wan anders hiet si valschen muot.
ob ir ze nemen iht geschiht
mêr, bedarf sis danne niht,
ir ist der vriunt niht liep gar,

daz sol man wizzen wol vür wâr.

I taught (before) what it was fit for a
woman

To take from her friend :
Gloves, looking-glass,¹ finger-ring,
Brooch, hat, flowers.
A woman must be well on her guard
Not to take anything of greater value,
Unless she be in want of it :
In that case I allow her to
Take more, yet not too much.
Let her plainly show that she feels
The friend to be of more value than
the present,

Otherwise she has a false spirit.
But if it happen to her to take
More, though she do not want it,
Then she really does not care for the
friend,

That ye shall know.²

That wives shall be steady to their husbands ;—likewise a husband shall not care for another's wife ; (the motive adduced is, however, not very lofty :)

ja ensol er sich niht kêren an
ander wîp ; swer eine hât,
der mac dêr andern haben rât.

Nay, he shall not care for
Another wife ; he who has one
May do without another.

“What I, however, most like in women, is that they be truthful :”

Mir was ie liep der vrouwen êre ;

kund ich iht daz in nütze wære,

ich kêrt ez gerne an ir dienst.

mir ist an einer vrowen ez liebest
daz si vor valsche si behuot.

valsch kêrt minn zunminne, unde guot

To me the honour of the ladies was
ever dear ;

If I knew aught that would be of use
to them,

I should willingly apply it in their
service.

What I like best in a woman is
That she guard herself against false-
ness.

Falseness turns love into un-love, and
good

¹ Be it not forgotten that this trait of manners is found in the 13th century : can, in the face of this, the common tradition be upheld, that the introduction of looking-glasses into England took place in the reign of Elizabeth only? And how about the looking-glass Richard II. makes use of in Shakspeare's play? of course, the incident may be introduced by the poet, and without historical foundation. Compare also a remark of Mr Rossetti's, on page 5 of his Essay, on the advance of refinement in Italy, as compared with other countries.

² v. 1338-52.

ze übelen dingen, und daz wîse
ze swarzem mit al sinem vlîze.
ze bitter gall kêrt valsch die süeze

und ze ungnâdn ir schœne grüeze.
lüge ir geheiz, ir senfte ist zorn,

ir lachen weinn, ir linde dorn.

Into evil things, and the white
Into black, with all diligence.
Into bitter gall turns falseness the
sweet,
And into disfavour her fine greetings.
Into lie her orders, her gentleness into
anger,
Her laughing into weeping, her soft-
ness into thorns.¹

An upright wife shall not allow her body to be touched ; and no man shall do it ;—nor shall a man who understands courtesy invite an upright wife ; nor solicit her (concerning which matter our author is rather prolix, showing among others the evil effect which such solicitations have in making women vain). But she is mistaken in fancying herself so very excellent : lying in her bed she thinks, such a one has done so much for my sake, another has woo'd me still more ; I know as a truth that I am beautiful and a dear creature, since these gentlemen, of so much standing, turn their love to me, with all their hearts and their minds. This is a mistake :

dar umbe sagich iu vür wâr
daz diu vrouwe ist betrogen gar
diuz vür êre haben wil
daz man si bite des dinges vil.
ich hânz iu nu genuoc geseit,
man tuotz niht durch ir werdekeit,
ave dâ von daz si hât den muot
daz man weiz daz siz gerne tuot.

Therefore I truly tell you :
That woman is wholly deceived
Who fancies it an honour
If she be much solicited.
I have now sufficiently told you,
Men do not do it from her worth,
But because she has such a spirit
That one knows she willingly does it.²

The King's treasure, which thieves know to be well guarded, is not attacked ; the poorer house, unguarded, invites the ill-doer. So does an inviting woman ; and a man having conquered the undefended beauty, goes to others.

XI. v. 1513—1706. How one can know what an old woman's disposition was in her youth (a section which forms a good counter-part to Béranger's wicked song of the Grandmamma). How one is to act by a lady whom one cannot gain. One is in kindness to leave her ; scolding will not win her, and is shameful to a man, who by so doing turns her spirit against him. "Of falseness I have said a deal (ein teil), more about it may be found in my Italian book ; I wrote it in honour of a lady who asked me for it. There

¹ V. 1371-84.

² V. 1435-45.

ich lerte wie ein vrouwe solde
diu sich gern bewaren wolde
erkenn die valschen minnere.
ich lerte mangeln schoenen list,
daz man baz sin ere vrist

vor den valschen ungetriuwen.

I have taught how a lady,
Who would guard against mischief,
Should know false lovers.
I taught many a pretty art
How one can the better keep one's
honour
Against the false and faithless ones."

Against rash marriages. That a woman shall know to whom she entrusts (lit. recommends) her heart and body; and that this is more important than to whom she entrusts her worldly goods:

Man sol den man erkennen wol
dem man sin herze enphelhen sol.
já sol wizzen ein biderbe wip
wem si enphelhen welle ir lip;

wan si ouch liht wizzen wolde
wem si ir guot enphelhen solde.

One shall know well the man
To whom one is to entrust one's heart.
Well shall an upright woman know
To whom she wishes to entrust her
body,—
Even though she should know but little
To whom she were to entrust her goods.¹

So shall likewise a man guard himself against an undesirable woman (*unvertigen* = whose ways are not the best; in modern German the word (*unfertig*) would mean, if used in this connection, *incomplete*, so that we seem enjoined to marry paragons only).

unvertigiu wip und diebe
die sint mir geliche liebe.
ein biderbe man sol han den muot,
bewar vor dieben sin guot,
und vor dem unvertigen wip
bewar noch harter sinen lip.

Loose women and thieves
Are to me of equal worth.
Let an upright man have the courage
To guard his goods against thieves;
And to guard still more his body
Against a loose woman.

A lady may love him whom she has known to be good. One of her own station is preferable; but should he not be so, let her make sure that he is upright and good; then she may do it (love him). Contrariwise, noble birth and riches must not weigh with her if he is not good. Let her not make the mistake of preferring a seemingly easy-going but foolish person to a wise man:

Ein wip gedenket lihte daz
mir wirt mit einem toren baz
dan mit einem wisen man
der allez daz merken kan
daz ich tuon ode sprich.
mit den gedanken triugt si sich.

ein wis man übersieht vil
des ein tór niht übersehen wil

A woman easily thinks thus:
'I shall be better off with a fool
Than with a wise man
Who may (observe) mark everything
I do or say.'
With such thoughts she deceives her-
self:
A wise man overlooks much
That a fool will not overlook

¹ v. 1579-84.

und niht übersehen kan.
wizzt daz der unwise man
der verkêret aller slaht,
sô hât der wis die meisterschaft

daz erz allez kêrt ze guot.

And cannot overlook.
Know that the unwise man
Turns everything into evil,
Whilst the wise man possesses the
mastery
Of turning everything into good.¹

Let not a woman leave the path of duty in hopes that nothing will be said about it, or that if said, it will not be believed. Let no man try to further his suit to a lady, by dispraising another whom she may favour, or by praising himself: the former is uncourteous; fools can do the latter. Besides, dispraising another suitor is blaming her who has seen a friend in him.

"I have taught what virtue was to be cultivated by women, and how a noble Knight was to act to make himself pleasant, and what was fitting for women, and what they should occupy themselves with, how to bear themselves, how to speak to old ones as well as to young;—(all) this I said in Welhish (Italian?), and were I to say it in German, I might not say it so (well) easily.

I will now return to my matter in hand, and speak of gentlemen, and how they are to tend their virtues, for he who does not do so, his virtue is as good as lost. And so

Ich hân verent daz êrste teil :
got gebe uns zuo dem andern heil !

I have ended the first part :
God give us grace for the second !"

BOOK II.

treats of Steadiness, then of Unsteadiness, shows the harmony existing in things above man,—the steadiness of the heavenly bodies,—the action of the elements,—and the unsteadiness of nations and kings. The end of the world is coming.

BOOK III.

continues the picture of the unsteadiness of man, and treats of Riches and Poverty, of Glory, Dominion, Power, Nobility, and Name.

1. Whence we are so unsteady, and why God does not prevent us from being so.

2. Everything in nature is steady, only man's heart is not so. Each one strives after the position of the other, instead of filling his

¹ v. 1606-19.

own. How strange if the dog would draw the cart, and the ox hunt the hare. But they are not so foolish : men are.

3. That our lots are well portioned out, and the poor are not worse off than the rich ; and what both are in want of, is Truth, and what they fancy their wants to be ; and of the great trouble men take to get what is not for their good ; and how they must leave it all behind in the end.

4. That the good things of this world do not make a man good ; and that riches do us more harm than good, and a good many kindred considerations.

5. How the poor man worries himself with the thought of how he might become rich, and what he would do then, and how this is apt to make him mean and of low cunning, and what castles in the air he builds ;—and that riches are a trouble both to get and to keep.

6. That the people are better off than the lords, and that it is foolish for every one to wish to be a lord. And how the lord is encumbered with care.

7. Of the foolish ideas and plans people make themselves as to what they would do if they were lords ; and how, not having the realities, they plague themselves with their fancies. Their imaginary hunting and hawking parties, and how they awake disenchanted.

8. That the powerful are not better than the powerless, and that the powerful are worse off ; and how they for ever scheme how to bring others into subjection, and that they never succeed to their heart's desire. And that all power is most unsteady, as many examples from ancient history and contemporaneous events prove. And the power of the powerful depends really on the powerless. Thus Riches, Lordship, and Sovereign power cannot give satisfaction to men.

9. Of the foolish and criminal thoughts of him who dreams of gathering a great army and slaying his enemies.

10. Of the frivolity of glory, of a desire to spread one's name, and of gathering praises ; and of people who praise you to your face, and slander you behind your back. And that good things are not done by desire of glory, and how greed of fame encumbers a man ; and of his foolish dreams.

11. Of nobility, and its obligations ; and what real nobility is ; and that we are all God's children by birth, and those who remain so are really noble.

12. On various desires, which various men have : Play, the pleasures of the Table, Hawking, Lying in one's Inn, Hunting, Women ; and how all these give us much trouble both whilst we are engaged with them ; and, when not possessing them, whilst we dream of them.

BOOK IV.

1. On Riches, Dominion, Power, Name, Nobility and Desire, as connected with Unsteadiness. These need not trouble us if we do not wish to serve Un-virtue.

2 & 3. On Steadiness ; definition.¹ A few virtuous acts do not make a virtuous man. Various subdivisions of this matter. The good man turns whatever befalls him into good, the bad man to evil. Thus the bad man, if he becomes rich, is uncharitable.²

4. Why God permits a bad man to do harm to a good one ; and how it can be right that the devil is powerful.

5. Why evil sometimes befalls the good man, whilst it goes well with the bad one.

6. No one can penetrate God's decrees, and what he does is done well.

7. Let the good man fear nothing, and not care how long, but how, he lives.

8. On the death of friends, which is to be regretted, but with moderation. On the death of married people, and on second marriage, not too hastily to be entered into ; and on chastity during widowhood. On secret transgressions.

9. Whether one shall recognize one's friends in the world to come.

BOOK V.

1. Division of things into good, evil, and neutral.

2. The *Summum Bonum*, and the way to it.

¹ V. 4345-62.

² V. 4391-4400.

3. What attracts us to the highest good, and how the devil tries to drag us down the ladder again, using six hooks, called Riches, Power, Nobility, Name, Desire, Dominion.

4. No one comes to God but by virtue. No one possesses virtue entirely but God. A picture of such as have gone to hell through vice. On the error of redeeming sin through almsgiving; and that it is not possible for the rich to gain more in the eyes of God than the poor. Of the emperors Constantine and Julian who burn in hell.

5. On unjust lords. That an unjust ruler is an illegitimate one.¹ Of the good old times, and that it is the fault of the lords that the times have become worse. Good knights are concealed, let the rulers find them.

6. The priests, too, were better in olden times. And the good among them now are not honoured as they used to be. Wise people are to be beloved, and the lords are to help those who wish to learn, and so are the bishops; and why they do not do so, and how great genius is allowed to run to waste through poverty.

7. Why art and knowledge are not acceptable: with something more on the neglect of learning. We are too much taken up by the desire of gain, and by the idea that the richer is the better man. And this again is the fault of the lords. Idleness leads to vice; and those lords that are responsible for the neglect of learning will fare worse even than we. And some more about hell. On pitch and sulphur abounding there; also of the chains and baths which they use in that place. And how, in defence, a chain of virtues may be prepared, and a bath hot with goodness.

BOOK VI.

1. To be steadfast in virtue, which, notwithstanding many drawbacks, ultimately gains the day. Examples of men who, by their virtue, brought great honour on God, even in their lifetimes, such as Bias, Job, Joseph, Moses, and David.

2. We ought to praise a good man, but the praise of the unwise

¹ V. 6253-80.

is worthless. Of heartless rich men and usurers. On bringing one's children up to being merciful.

3. Of gentleness, and of anger, arrogance, envy, and unchastity, as sources of sorrow. Of robbers and thieves.

4. Mild men are more rarely injured than heartless ones. Malice comes from cowardice. Of the necessity of a pious knight waging war against the vices ; and details of this warring, in which the Devil and the World and Desire help the Vices. Four troops of Vices and their order of battle.

5. Exhortation to knights and to priests. Of the duty of lords to those who are submitted to them, and how we ask our inferiors often to do both good and evil, whilst God asks us to do good only. Of our duties towards our friends.

6. Against wicked counsellors, the devil's whetstone and net. Dangers of greediness. Good cheer in poverty. On the necessity of faith in God's judgments. And some more about hell, whither hasten both priests and laymen.

BOOK VII.

1. Of the soul, and of its relations with the body, and its superiority to it.

2. Of the mind being tuned either to good or bad things ; and some more of the misdoings of priests and knights, and also of greedy judges. Of the four powers: Imagination, Memory, Reasoning power, and Intellect.

3. Of the Arts. None is so little that one could know it wholly. Of the seven arts, and who were the best masters in each.

4. Of Theology and Medicine.

5. Of the decrease of learning. Exhortation to parents.

6. Of the five doors of the soul. The five senses as the servants of the four powers (vid. above, 2).

7. The soul in the body, as a king in his land.

8. Resuming the remarks on the powers of the body and soul, and their application.

BOOK VIII.

1. Un-Steadiness has a sister: Immoderation, who is also the mes-

senger of Foolishness, and playfellow of Drunkenness. Definition and illustrations.

2. By Immoderation Virtue becomes Un-virtue.¹

3. How by Moderation, Un-virtue may be changed into Virtue.

4. No good thing is immoderate. On Moderation in prayer, in church-going, and in fasting.

5. Moderation in speech, laughing, sleeping, waking, weapons, and dress. Examples of men who were wanting in moderation, and came to grief accordingly.

6. Further examples of contemporaries who have come to grief by arrogance and immoderation, King John of England among them, and of others that have risen through humility.

7. Continues examples, taking them from olden times.

8. Of the fall of arrogant people. Of Disobedience to rulers, and of bad government. Examples of unruliness. Of the authority of the Pope (whom we scold at all times, though he is given to us a master by God).² Exhortation to continue the Crusade, and censure of those poets who mislead people from this aim, by other songs; on the high mission of poets.³ On heretics.⁴

9. Appeal to the German Knighthood to enter on a new Crusade.

10. The same to the German princes and to King Frederic (Emperor Frederic II.); much of this a paraphrase of Innocent III.'s Bull on the subject.

11. Return from this digression. Some more on arrogance, and the various ways by which it brings men to fall. Against malice, envy, and perjury.

BOOK IX.

"Here I make a little preface, and say how my pen complains against writing too much, and what answer I make, and then I begin my book." This little preface or episode we shall presently quote in full. The rest of this book is devoted to the consideration of Justice and the duties of judges, and

¹ *On a les défauts de ses qualités.*

² V. 11201-25; vide above, page 83.

³ Vide p. 97-100.

⁴ V. 11090-145.

BOOK X.

treats of Mildness, Liberality, and Kindness ; and winds up the subject, the author taking leave of his readers, and addressing his book as he sends it into the world.

Before we ourselves take leave of gentle and good Thomasin, we append a few further detached extracts from the last nine books, with which we did not wish to break the summary, and which we have thus reserved as a *bonne bouche* :

IS LEARNING CONDUCTIVE TO MORALITY ?

He who injures the mind of his child,	9291
By (false) economy and by (desire of) gain,	
In not sending him to school	
Nor to court, know ye that he turns	
His profit into a great loss.	9295
If one leaves to his child not sense,	
And leaves him riches, he knows not well	
What he is to do with them.	
Maybe that an unwise man	
Who knows nothing at all or but little,	9300
Nor, in consequence of his laziness, wishes to learn,	
Offers speech like the following :	
He answers me that	
The un-learned act better	
Than he who is a good scholar,	9305
And does not do as he ought.	
The priest who has got good learning	
Is hankering, just like unlearned people,	
After wicked things and sin,	
And making gains at all times.	9310
" Why then should we learn anything,	
Since we see that such things happen ? "	
I will give him an answer	
To his speech, with one word :	
Doest thou fancy, that he who can read decently	9315
Is therefore a learned man ?	
Truly there is a goodly number of priests,	
I really mean to assure you of that,	
Who read that they may see what is written,	
And yet may never succeed	9320
In understanding the writing.	
Thus it happens to a peasant	
Who goes to church	

And stands in front of the pictures :
 Although he sees the painting, 9325
 Yet what it means he knows not;
 He does not know what the picture signifies :
 Understanding is not such a common thing.
 How then wilt thou, that he
 Should know better than another 9330
 What he is to do, if he can understand
 Nothing at all of what is the meaning of the writing ?¹
 Now let us assume that he is really learned,
 Cannot you take a like case
 In the well-instructed physician, 9335
 Who greatly craves after unwholesome food
 And yet knows that it will injure him,
 But follows his greediness :
 Thus perchance acts a man
 Who can well understand the writings, 9340
 And whom yet his lechery draws
 Into that whereby he gains trouble and sorrow.
 (Yet) the art is to be held dear by us :
 The physician can with his physic
 Restore his health 9345
 If at any hour he fall sick.
 If a man falls into a ditch, know ye
 That he comes out of it better
 If he has sight than if he has none.
 Just so it fares with him 9350
 Who is really learned : if he do sin,
 He thinks of it at another hour
 That he may again do good,
 And comes back again to the Commandments.
 9355
 Rarely an unlearned man doeth that.

PROPER MOURNING FOR A FRIEND.

Ich wil iu sagen daz ich wil	I will tell you that I wish
daz man sin vriunt niht klage vil,	A man not to bewail much the loss of
	a friend ;
doch sol man niht an klage lân	Yet one shall not let
sine vriunt von hinne gân.	One's friend go hence without mourn-
.	ing. ²
Swie ich daz gesprochen hân,	As I have said
daz man schier lâz sin vriunde gân,	That one is to leave one's friends to
	depart,
man solz alsô verstên niht,	You must not understand

¹ The question, thus put, is still practical. See the excellent pamphlet :
 'An exaggerated estimate of the value of reading and writing,' by Dr Hodgson.
 1868.

² V. 5579-82.

swelhem man liht dâz geschiht
 daz er sinn vriunt verlorn hât,
 daz er habe sô teerschen rât
 daz er zehant var unde spil :
 wan tât er daz, des wâr ze vil.
 er mac die bluomen lâzen sîn
 ein wile, deist der rât min :
 im stêt niht wol der bluomen kranz.

er sol ouch mîden gern den tanz,
 den buhurt und daz seitespil,
 daz ist daz ich râten wil.

That he to whom perchance it happens
 To lose his friend,
 Should be so foolishly advised
 As to go off straightways to sport :
 If he did so, it would be too much.
 He may leave flowers alone
 Awhile, that is my advice :
 The wreath of flowers sits not well
 upon him.

Let him also avoid dancing,
 Tournaments and music,
 That is what I wish to counsel.¹

MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Ein arzât der wol erzen kan,
 der erzent dicke einn siechen man
 mit durst, mit hunger und mit prant.

er bint in ûf zuo einer want,
 er snidet und stichet in vil hart.

eim andern rouft er sînen bart
 und sîn hâr, wan er wil
 daz er niht enslâf ze vil.

A physician who can cure well,
 He cures vigorously a sick man
 With thirst, with hunger, and with
 burning.

He ties him up against a wall,
 He cuts and pricks him a very great
 deal.

He tears another's beard
 And hair when he desires
 Him not to sleep too much.²

SWEET SIN.

Ez ist ein krût des enkan ich niht
 genennen tiusche, swenn daz geschiht
 daz sîn ein schâf izzt, ez ist tût,
 und ist dem schâf doch harte nôt
 nâch dem selben krût : sîn suoz
 machet daz ez sterben muoz.
 al daz selbe uns geschiht :

There is a shrub that I cannot
 Name in German, if it happen
 That a sheep eat of it, she dies.
 And yet that sheep has a great longing
 After that same shrub : its sweetness
 Is the cause of her death.
 Just so it happens to us.³

ON MODERATION IN BLAZONRY.

If one, having in his shield
 Roses, would also 10425

Take the very flowers from the fields
 Into his shield,⁴

That would seem to me extravagant.

The same I will tell you 10430

Of one, who having in his shield the sun,
 Should bethink himself of having also

The stars, and moreover the moon

And the sky, it would be strange :

It would, whatever he might urge, be quite over-much.⁵ 10435

¹ V. 5591-605.² V. 5089-96.³ V. 14087-93.

⁴ N.B. *Crest* is not the word. It really refers to the ornament on the helmet. What is meant here, is the ornament in the *shield* itself, not in the imitation of it with which heraldry deals.

⁵ Those who are familiar with modern Austrian dialects, may be amused

Truly I will tell you
 What one sees in a man's exterior
 Is not without significance,
 Since it points at all times
 To that which is within. 10440
 By one's weapons and by one's dress
 One's heart is greatly known.
 I will tell you, if a man
 Can with uprightness and gentleness bring it about
 That one cares more for him 10445
 Than for his weapons and arms, that is good.
 As to what he has in his shield,
 If he is upright in the field,
 I care for it the more,
 You may believe me in that. 10450
 Yet shall one have measure in these things :
 It would seem to me not well done,
 If a man were to have the sea-dogs (?) ¹
 And would therefore paint
 On his weapons the monsters of the sea, 10455
 And the fishes below.
 If one bears a boar
 On his shield, let him guard
 Against having a swine-herd,
 For that would look ill, that is true. 10460
 He who wants to bear a dog,
 Let him not embellish the matter
 So as to bring in the very hunt :
 Let not his work be such.
 If one were to bear a wolf, 10465
 How would it look if he wished
 To have in his field
 The she-wolf and the whelps ?
 One cannot praise it
 In him to whom such a thing happens. 10470

OF A JUDGE WHO DOES NOT ENJOY SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY.

Should there be a lord who has not
 That power in his judgment seat
 Which he justly ought to have
 If people were (properly) submissive to him, 12870

in finding here a very characteristic expletive, difficult of translation in all cases, and which we hardly would have expected to meet with in grave Thomasin :

sîn waere halt gar ze vil.

¹ The passage is doubtful : the MSS. vary. The word may refer to something like those waving lines which, on Sicilian coins, indicate the sea.

Let him do like the eagle,
 That ye may truly believe.
 When the eagle has come to be aged
 He flies then so high 12875
 That the sun sets on fire
 His wings, that is true ;
 Then he leaves the sun,
 And lets himself fall down into a well,
 And thus renews himself,
 That he becomes new, whole and gladsome. 12880
 Thus a lord ought to act :
 If he cannot well control
 His people and lands,
 Let him raise himself at once
 Towards God with humility, 12885
 With prayer, and with kindness,
 That He may help him to judge well,
 And so do that which he is to do.
 When he has done so,
 Then he is to let himself down 12890
 To his work, and at once
 Justly judge his land.
 Let him not be out of spirits
 For what people may say or do to him,
 For all that will be well disposed of, 12895
 If he has that piety and gentleness
 That he desires
 To accomplish his duty.

If this extract gives a curious instance of free handling of the ancient mythological tradition of the phoenix, the following may show in what manner our author treats a bit of the historical legends of antiquity :

OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO.

Ein stat gevangen wart
 von ir vinden, dô vluchen hart
 die man in der stat vant :
 si truogen phenninge unde gewant.
 dô was ein man under in,
 der het den wistum unde den sin
 daz er niht wolde tragen :
 die andern vuoren gar geladen.
 einer vreite in zwiu er tæte daz.
 dô antwurte er im baz
 danner vrâgte : er sprach 'mîn muot
 treit mîn phenninge und mîn guot.'
 er meinte sine tugent dermite,

A town was captured
 By her enemies, then fled hastily
 Those that were found in the town :
 They bore money and dresses.
 There was a man among them
 Who had the wisdom and the sense
 Not to wish to bear (away) anything :
 The others were heavily laden.
 Some one asked him why he did so.
 Then he answered him well
 His question : he said, ' My spirit
 Is my money and my goods.'
 He meant thereby his virtue,

sinen wistuom und sin schœne site :
daz was doch ir aller spot.

dô reit nâch des herren bot

der die stat hete behert
und viengens alle an der vert,
wan si wârn geladen hart.
der ein der niht truoc an der vart,
der was ringe und kom wol hin,
wan wistuom, tugende unde sin
mûezen ze jungest brechen vûr,
swie lange si sin vor der tûr.

His wisdom, and his fair manners.
Yet that was (an object of) mockery to
all of them.

Then rode after them men sent by the
lord

Who had besieged the town,
And they caught them all on their way,
Since they were heavily laden.
The one who bore nothing on his road
He was light of foot, and got well off.
Thus wisdom, virtue, and sense
Must at the end break forth
However long they be before the door.¹

We must forbear the temptation to quote a fable of the Ass and the Wolf, very prettily told at some length and with great amplitude of moralities annexed: our readers will perhaps, by this time, care sufficiently for their Thomasin, to look it out in Max Müller's 'German Classics,' page 207-11, where a translation into modern German is given. And we conclude with this characteristic Dialogue, mentioned above, between the Author and his Pen.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND HIS PEN.

"Let me rest, since it is time,"	12223
Speaks my pen; "he who never gives	
To his own servant	12225
Rest, he greatly wrongs him.	
So have I—this is true—	
Served you this whole winter,	
That you never allowed me to remain (still):	
I had to write day and night.	12230
You have quite slit my mouth,	
Since for more than ten hours	
A day you used to mend ² and cut me.	
How could I suffer that so long?	
You cut me now large now small,	12235
And have made me common	
By writing about masters and servants.	
You do me great wrong.	
When you used to keep up good manners	

¹ V. 6817-40.

² *Tempern*. *Il temperino* = the penknife.—Müller and Zarncke, T. iii. p. 29, certainly give the word in several other passages from other writers, and other words derived from the same root, but in all of them it has the meaning of *properly mixing*, and the like; none remind us, as our passage does, of the tempering of steel. Here we have one of the few instances in which the expression betrays our author's Italian origin.

- I very much liked to be with you. 12240
 When you with knights and ladies
 Used to attend tournaments and dances,
 Then I liked exceedingly to be near you :
 When you—believe me that ¹—
 Would be at court 12245
 Amongst the people, then was my
 Belief that I was better
 By you than elsewhere ; but you know
 Now you have discontinued (all) that,
 And have given up that (sort of) thing, 12250
 And thrown yourself quite backwards.
 I have gained nothing by that,
 Since I must write all day long :
 Know that I won't stand it.
 You have become a hermit. 12255
 Whilst you were at College,
 You did not give me so much trouble.
 Your door is (now) barred all day :
 Say on, what has happened to you ?
 You have no wish to see ladies or knights. 12260
 I am troubled beyond measure by your light,
 Which you burn all night long.
 If you mean in one year
 To write and eke put into verse
 What you have in you to write, 12265
 I have no wish to remain with you.
 He who gives himself up to poetry
 Must become quite undone,
 Seeing he altogether loses himself
 With thoughts, that is true." 12270
- To which remonstrance the Pen receives this answer :
 " Leave your complaint, complain not so much,
 And hear what I will tell you.
 If I had taken to poetry
 From a desire to kill time, I should not have got
 In four years to where I am, 12275
 Unless I am much mistaken
 You know well that I speak truth.
 In eight months have I quite
 Finished the eight parts
 (Not without much night-watching on your side also), 12280
 And I am to make two more of them :
 So you must do still two months' watching.
 With that, observe that my poetizing

¹ This line is obscure in the original.

Is no amusement to me at all.	
I might get out of it something like five years	12285
Of amusement, that is true,	
If I had taken to it for amusement.	
As it is, I have taken it up	
From necessity, as I see well	
That people never do as they ought.	12290
Therefore have I put aside	
What I otherwise should have done,	
As I must absolutely speak out	
What to be silent about troubled me much,	
You say that he becomes undone	12295
Who gives himself to poetry :	
If people had not in olden times	
Been thus undone, there	
Would not have been so many good men	
As we read of in books.	12300
And we should now be quite undone	
If we did not find written that	
Wherein a man may take a model and meaning.	
I have become aware of one thing,	
That one gets quite lost in thought	12305
Whilst one poetizes, that is true,	
So that one can hardly bear oneself properly	
Whilst one is thinking much of it.	
But when it has all come out	
And one has in good time returned to oneself,	12310
One may yet bear oneself better	
Than one did before, know you that.	
If my door is barred for a while,	
That must not disturb (you) too much,	
Since in a (secluded) corner one must	12315
Make a foot for a poem,	
That in aftertimes it may run	
In the wide, wide world.	
I am exceedingly desirous of seeing	
Both knights and ladies,	12320
Yet methinks it is well done	
That I should miss their company for a while,	
In the words that I speak	
(And) that are to be for the good of both.	
He has not good counsel	12325
Who, having served much and well,	
Would for the sake of one small service,	
Lose what he has served for well.	
Thus I speak for your sake :	
You have with your service gained me ;	12330

But if now you will leave me,
 Then what you have done is lost.
 I have of Unsteadiness,
 With your help, said much,
 (Also) of Steadiness and Measure; 12335
 Wild-conduct (lit. Unmeasure) I do not overlook,
 Since of it I have also said
 That she is the sister of Unsteadiness.
 Steadiness and Measure are sisters,
 They are children of one virtue. 12340
 Right is the brother of the twain,
 And of him I am now
 To say willingly and to write well
 What I have to say of him.—
 And thou Right, write in my heart about right, 12345
 That in my utterance of it it become not wrong.
 Thou indeed writest not with ink :
 But everything will be worthless
 That I may write with ink,
 Unless it be that Thou seest to it all the day long." 12350

In looking out for other books of about the same period, and treating of kindred subjects, we find the *Advice of a Father to his Son by* (the knight of) *Winsbeke*, to which is added the answer of the son. The date is not ascertainable, further than that the language assigns it to the 13th century, and that an allusion to Wolfram's *Percival*, which was written between 1205 and 1215, shows it to be later than this poem, and consequently later than our *Thomasin*. Like that greater author, *Winsbeke* deals little in the externals of ceremony, much less than the writers of similar English performances in this volume and in the *Babes Book*. Another hand has added *Advise of the Lady of Winsbeke* (die *Winsbekin*) to her *Daughter*.

Both books, of much smaller extent than *Thomasin*, were edited by Haupt, in 1845.¹ They are divided into stanzas, and the metre is rather more lively than *Thomasin's*.

We quote a few passages from the

ADVICE OF THE FATHER.

Sun, swer bi dir ein mære sage,	Son, if any one in your house tell a tale,
mit worten imz niht widersprich :	Do not contradict him in terms :

¹ Moritz Haupt. *Der Winsbeke und die Winsbekin*. Mit Anmerkungen, Leipzig. Weidmann, 1845 (Br. Mus.).

und swer dir sînen kumber klage

in schame, des erbarme dich :

der milte got erbarmet sich
über alle die erbärmic sint.

den wîben allen schône sprich :

ist undr in einiu sælden vrî,
dâ wider sint tûsent oder mê

den tugent und êre wonet bî.¹

Sun, du solt kiuscher worte sên

und stætes muotes : tuost du daz
sô habe ez ûf die triuwe mîn,
du lebst in êren desten baz,
trac niemen nît nach langen haz,

wes gên den vînden wol gemuot,
den friunden niht mit dienste laz,
dâ bî in zûhten wol gezogen,

und grîeze den du grîezen solt,

sô has dich sælde niht betrogen.

And if some one makes plaint to you
of his grief

With a feeling of shame, have pity on
him.

Gentle God has pity

On all those who are pitying.

To all the ladies speak courteously
(beautifully):

If there is among them one too free,
There are, as a set off, a thousand and
more

In whom dwell virtue and honour.

Son, thou shalt use choice (chaste)
words

And be of steady spirit : if thou dost so
Thou may'st believe on my faith

Thou shalt live in honour all the more.
Do not long bear hatred against any-
one,

Be of good spirit towards thy enemies,
Do not grow tired of serving thy friends,
Be at the same time like one well
brought up in Good-Breeding,

And salute him whom it is right for
thee to salute,

Then thou wilt be rarely disappointed.²

That late Latin author who justly, or by a mistake, has been called Dionysius Cato, and who, according to one who has specially inquired into the matter, may have lived in the fourth century after Christ, left to our ancestors a favourite reading book, in his *Sententie*, or collection of maxims on life. A very early prose translation was made of them by Notker in the 10th century (d. 1022). Many translations, extensions, adaptations followed, each writer altering or adding to the ground-work as, in his desire for the moralization of the world, appeared fit to him. Of such a "German Cato," which seems not to be later than the middle of the 13th century, we throw together a few extracts, bearing, to some extent, on the subject of courtesy.³

121 Wis ob dînem tische vrô :
an vrômden stat tuo niht alsô.

121 Be joyful at your own table :
At that of a stranger it is not
equally fitting.⁴

¹ Stanza 10.

² Stanza 39.

³ Fr. Zarncke, *Der deutsche Cato. Geschichte der deutschen Uebersetzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis zur Verdrängung derselben durch die Uebersetzung Seb. Brant's am Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts.*—Leipzig, G. Wigand, 1852. (In the Brit. Mus.)

⁴ Compare the injunction in the *Babees Book*, II. 26/29, 'to talk morosely'

- bî vrömdes wirtes brote
hüet dîner rede genöte ;
- 125 merke waz der wirt tuo
ant swic du alle zît dar zuo.
- sô der wirt iht vräge dich,
sô antwurt im unde sprich.
Swigen ist in grôziu tugent
beide an alter und an jugent.
- 130 Vliuch niuware,
wis niht im sagære :
swigen schadet keinen tac,
klaffen wol geschaden mac.
- 140 Enruoeche waz dîn wîp sage,
sô si von den knechten klage :
- wîp hazzent dicke einen Man
dem der wirt wol gustes gan.
- 145 Manestu dînen vriunt ze vil
des er dir niht volgen wil,
- ist er dir liep, swier denne tuot,
- sô mane in doch, ob ez si guot.
- 213 mit dienste manicvalden
sol man den vriunt behalden.
- 265 Gedenke niht deheine vrist
des zornes des vergezzen ist.
- 515 Du solt der knechte schônen
die dir dienen durch lônên ;
gedenke daz ir einer ist
ein mensche als du selbe bist,
- When taking the bread of a
stranger host,
Guard your speech.
- 125 Mark what the host does,
And be you silent about it at all
times.
- If the host ask you anything,
Answer him and speak.
To be silent is a great virtue,
Both in old age and in youth.
- 130 Flee from slander,
Be no tale-bearer :
To be silent, harms not any day,
Yelping may indeed do harm.
- 140 Inquire what thy wife says,
If she complains about the
servants :
- Wives greatly hate a man
To whom the master of the house
is favourable.
- 145 If you exhort your friend too much
So that he is not inclined to
follow you,
(Yet) if he is dear to you, what-
ever he do,
- Still exhort him, it may be good.
- 213 By services of all kind
You shall retain your friend.
- 265 Never think at any time
Of the anger which has been for-
gotten.
- 515 You shall spare the servants
Who serve you for wages ;
Think that each of them is
A human being, as you are your-
self.

These editions and amplifications of Dionysius Cato, into which later authors freely introduced passages from Thomasin and from the Fridanc,¹ lead us to a metrical performance by a writer calling himself the Tannhäuser,² and whom Gervinus considers the originator of such rules of table-discipline as have been inserted into the Cato. This opinion loses somewhat of its probability if we compare the Tannhäuser's work with the similar ones in English, French, and especially in Latin, with which the *Babes Book* has made us ac-

always, except at table when you are told to be jocose ; here then doctors of courtesy differ.

¹ Gervinus, vol. ii. p. 428.

² Or Tanhauser, Tauhäuser, Tannawser, Tanhûsacere, Tannhuser.

quainted, and with Mr Rossetti's Italian text in the present volume. The text of Tannhäuser was published by Haupt from a MS. preserved at Vienna,¹ of the year 1395. It does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the poem; the language is, however, slightly more modern than that of Thomasin,² and the passage v. 217-20—see it below, with the original in the note—offers so striking a coincidence with one occurring in a poem by Trimberg (1260-1309), that we may fairly consider it to be written in reference to it, and to place our Tannhäuser at about the end of the 13th century.³

We are here in contact with a man of much slighter calibre than Thomasin, and are rather surprised on finding the line (257),

‘ Who never suffered, never did enjoy.’

On the whole, beyond the usual pious exordium and peroration, and some care for one's health, we find the author entirely concerned with externals, in which a touch, here and there, differs from the parallel productions just mentioned. We let our author speak :

COURTLY BREEDING BY TANNHAEUSER.

<p>He appears to me to be a well-bred man, Who can appreciate all courtliness, Who never fell into habits of ill-breeding And whose manners never departed from him. 4 There are many rules of Good Breeding, And they are useful for many things; Know ye now that he who will follow them, He will very rarely do amiss. 8 These are maxims of great courtesy Which a noble man shall keep, And they treat of many a bad habit Which may be known thereby. 12 Courtesy surely is good for people,</p>	<p>And he who gives Good Breeding its due Has preserved himself from acting badly; 15 Him God makes right high-minded. Therefore I advise my friends that They hate the essence of Ill Breeding. He who never forgot his rules of courtesy, How rarely had he ever to blush! 20 At meals you shall speak as soon As ye have sat down :⁴ ‘ May Jesus Christ bless us.’ Think ye of God at all times. 24 When you eat, be exhorted Not to forget the poor,⁵ So shall you be well known by God,</p>
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¹ Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt. Bd. VI. p. 488-96.

² This, after all, proves little, seeing how readily, in the middle ages, the copyists adapted the words of an original to the dialectic forms to which they were accustomed.

³ About the middle of the 13th century there lived a poet, of the name of Tanhaeuser, who appears as a contemporary of Pope Urban IV. (1264-68). He may be identical with our author.

⁴ Mark, not standing, as we moderns should think it more right.

⁵ See above, in Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 15.

If good is done by you.	28	And smacks like a Bavarian,	
Be mindful of the great need		How much does he renounce Good	
Of orphans, wherein they are :		Breeding.	64
Give them, ¹ through God, your bread,		He who wishes both to speak and	
So you shall free yourself from hell.		eat,	
No two noble men shall	33	To do the two kinds of work at the	
Use the same spoon in eating their		same time,	
broth : ²		And to speak in his sleep,	
That is well befitting for courteous		He can but very rarely rest well.	68
people,		During meal, leave disputing alone	
For very unknighly things happen.		Whilst you eat, as some do :	
To drink out of the dish befits no one,		Think on that, oh my friends,	
Though many a one praise such bad		That never were there such ill-befitting	
manners,	38	manners.	72
Who takes it very wrongfully,		The man who puts the loaf against his	
And pours down (the broth) like an		body,	
enraged man ;			
And him who leans over the dish		And cuts as a sick woman may do	75
Whilst he eats, like a pig,	42		
And, in a very uncleanly manner,		And if a little dish is brought in	
snorts		With sauce when you go to dine,	
And smacks with his mouth.		You must not put into it	
Some people bite off pieces of bread		Your bare hand, that befits ill.	80
And thrust it (the remainder) back		It appears to me a very bad action,	
into the dish,	46	In whomsoever I see this piece of ill-	
According to boorish manners :		breeding,	
Such Ill Breeding courteous people		If a man has got in his mouth some-	
give up.		thing to eat,	
Some people are inclined,		And the while drinks like a beast.	84
When they have gnawed a bone,	50	Some people blow into their drink ;	
To put it back again into the dish :		Many a one likes to do so as a regular	
That you have to consider as acting		thing :	
greatly amiss.		It is very uncertain whether you will	
Those who like to eat mustard and		be thanked for doing so ;	
saucers,		Such ill-breeding one ought to be	
Let them be very careful	54	without. ⁵	88
To forbear being dirty,		Some people look over their beakers	
And not to push their fingers into		Whilst they drink ; that does not be-	
them.		fit well :	
He who belches when he is to eat		Have not such people as cavaliers	
And blows his nose into the table-cloth,		Where you are to have the best.	92
Both these things are not befitting, ³		Before you drink, wipe your mouth,	
As far as I can understand.	60	Lest you dirty the drink with fatty	
He who grunts (snouts), like a		matter :	
waterbadger, ⁴		Courtly manner befits well at all mo-	
Whilst he eats, as some are accusom-		ments,	
ed to do,		And is a courtly of thinking.	96

¹ An additional touch, not contained in the Italian parallel poem.

² Same remark.

³ Vide Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 23, and note.

⁴ The compound word not to be found : about the parts there is no doubt, but I know not what animal is meant. An otter ? or beaver ?

⁵ In potum tuum sufflare nolito. *Babes Book*, II. 28/29.

Between the courses a man may
Well drink, if need impels him,
(And) if he can have the drink ;
Not all people like it. 100

He who puts his finger on the knife
Whilst he cuts, as a skinner¹ does,
How rarely does such a man stir
When one conquers over heathens !
And those who loll on the table
Whilst they eat,—which does not befit
well—

How rarely they shake their helmets
When one is called upon to serve the
Ladies ! 108

Again, you must not scratch your
throat,
Whilst you eat, with the bare hand :
But if it happen (that you cannot help
scratching)

Then courteously take a portion of
your dress, 112

And scratch with that : that is more
befitting.

Than that your skin should become
dirtied,

The lookers-on observe it
(In him) who does not refrain from
such ill manners. 116

You are not to clean your teeth
With knives, as some do,
And as still happens here and there :
He who does so, it is not good. 120

He who likes to eat with spoons,
And cannot manage to lift the food
with them,

Let him forbear from the dirty way
Of shoving it on them with his fingers.

He who whilst at table, takes it into
his head 125

To let out his girdle,
He may for a long while wait for me,

He is an odd fish, and not sound to the
back-bone.²

He who blows his nose at table
And rubs it with his hand, 130
He is a disgraceful fellow, if I under-
stand it well ;

He is not aware of better breeding.
If it happen that one must
Place some little dish between (several
guests),

Ye would be wanting in all good
breeding
If ye were to put your hands in all at
the same time. 136

He who means to eat with bread
(steeping it into the broth)
Whilst another eats with him,
Let him well guard against that,
If he has got the least virtue.³ 140

I hear it said of some
(If it is true, it is ill-befitting)
That they eat without having washed
themselves :

May their joints grow lame ! 144
Some are so over-joyous,

They eat, as it appears to me,
Without being aware of the where-
abouts of their mouths

And bite their own fingers, 148
And their tongue, so I hear it said.⁴

To whom will he complain of the
damage.

Now take good care of your manners :
If your companion at table wishes to
drink,

You must not be eating the while :
That is courteous and well-befitting.

He who takes matter from his nose
And from his eyes, as some do,

¹ The 'skinner' makes his appearance here somewhat unexpectedly ; but very likely he may be thought of as connected with the knacker, and the latter's business was ordinarily combined with the functions of the executioner, —of whom courtesy and fighting the heathen could certainly not be expected.

² er ist niht visch unz an den grât,—*bis auf die Gräten, nicht ganz was er sein soll*—not a fish to the backbone.

³ Perhaps this translation is rather forced. The original is obscure, and some line or lines may be lost.

⁴ *hoere ich*, which is repeated below, is, at present, a frequent expletive among the Germans of Bohemia: this observation, were it strengthened by others, might allow a guess at the home of the author.

To clean one's ears is not seemly
Whilst he eats, these three things are
not good. 160

It is rarely, (nay) never good,
If one means to eat in company,
To wrong Moderation
With overeating; it is not befitting.

Towards night no one ought to eat
much 165

Who has eaten well in the morning;
He who will greatly over-feed himself,
His boiled meat will rarely do him
good. 168

Of overeating comes gout
And other disease, I hear it affirmed:
By gluttony many sins are done,
By drinking much wickedness has
been done. 172

Hunger is truly better
Than to eat too much meat:
It is preferable that a man should
hunger

Unless he wants to become an invalid.
Of overeating comes much trouble
For Carnival-time and at Easter-
tide: 178

Many thousands have died of eating
Which has ruined their stomachs.

He therefore who spoils his bread
with sauces,¹

That he may change his dress into
drink,
And consequently gets into great
trouble,

He must be called a fool. 184

He who, without being thirsty, will
drink a great deal,

He draws near to death;
And (he who), without being hungry,
will eat a great deal,

He won't live long, methinks. 188
On the other hand, if one shoves
little into his mouth,

When great hunger oppresses him,
He becomes very rarely quite well;
In the long run he fares like the other.

Many people have died of hunger,
And such things still happen. 194

Of thirst many suffer,
Who yet do not die of thirst.

God bless our drink;
He who never had beginning 198

And never can come to an end,
May cause the drink to be salutary
to us.

Hereof spake Sir Fridanc,
(Saying) good wine is the best drink:

His view follows Tannhäuser:
Yet a good many heathens won't
believe it. 204

Hot dishes
You ought to avoid, if ye be wise,

However great hunger you may have:
Such food injures many a one.

The household is quite desecrated
Where food is not properly attended to;
It cannot be called a household.

If there is neither bread nor drink.²

¹ Persicos, odi, puer apparatus.—*Hor.*

² I give the original of a few lines here, as a specimen of Tannhäuser's language:

swer machet eine hôchzit,
swie manige traht man gît,
dâ mac kein wirtschaft sîn,
da ensî guot brôt unde wîn.
swâ man des schâchzabels gert
und swa manz von hunger mert,*
dâ mac kurzwîle gevalen niht
und ist diu wirtschaft gar enwiht. 220
diu lazheit reizet manegen man
daz er guotes niht enkan:
daz wirt ein ewiger tût
und bringet manege sêle in nôt.
nu lâit in die zuht behagen 225
.

ê daz si komen zuo ir tagen
den kinden sol manz niht versagen.
swer alle zuht behalten kan
und lâit die unzuht under wegen, 230
der wirt vor goten ein lieber man,
mac ers an sinen tût gepflegen.
swer alle zuht kan bewarn
und volget nâch der zûhte wol,
des sêle mac vil wol gevarn, 235
sô der lîp sterben sol.
vlorn wirt kein wol gezogen man,
kein ungezogen man der kan
ze himelriche nimmer komen,
alsô hân ich vernomen. 240

* Obscure line of which we attempt no translation. Even the learned German editor gives it up, declaring: 'diese Zeile ist mir nicht deutlich.'

No gross feeder ever becomes quite
wise; 213

That you may see by many a glutton.
No good sense has the wine-bibber
Who pays heed to nothing but his
belly.

Overmuch food and drunkenness.

He regrets it in his old age
And it makes many people stupid.
If one in his youth becomes a wine-
bibber, 221
And amidst gluttony comes to his old
age,
He gets by it a big belly,
But how little that does good to the
soul!

A man ought to bear good and evil,
And amidst it all live courteously,
And ought not to lose heart
If things do not at every moment do
according to his wish.

Who never suffered, never did
enjoy; ¹ 229

A pious man ought to bear everything,
Whatever fortune befall him,
Both the sweet and the bitter.

If a man gives a feast,
However many courses be given,
There can be no household 235
If there be no good bread and wine.

Where one plays with scanty bits
of bread, like chessmen ²

There can take place no enjoyment
And the household is quite desecrated.

Laziness attracts many a man
That he may not do good : 242
That becomes an everlasting death
And gets many a soul into trouble.
Now let Good-breeding please you.

Before they come to years
One shall not refuse it to the children.
He who can keep all Good-breeding
And leaves alone Ill-breeding, 250
He becomes dear in the eyes of God,
If he practises it (Good-breeding) to
his death.

He who can guard all Good-breeding
And well follows the rules of Courtesy,
His soul may fare exceedingly well,
Though the body is to die. 256

No well-educated man is lost,
No badly-brought-up man can
Ever come to Heaven,
So have I understood.
Tannhäuser has made
This discourse with some trouble. 262
It warns well against evil actions
Him who is not (*yet*) thoroughly as
he ought to be.

Here this good teaching cometh to an
end;
God from Ill-Breeding us forbend.
Amen. ³

¹ Wer nie sein Brod mit Thraenen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Naechte,
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Maechte, &c.—*Goethe*.

² This passage is explained by one in the *Renner* of Hugo of Trimberg :
God, let me never sit there
Where they play chess with little bits of bread on the table.
If I should chance to get a King
Or a Castle, I might do well :
With pawns I could hardly satisfy my hunger.

Wackernagel refers this to the over careful arrangement of pieces of bread on the table of a miser. Wackernagel über d. Schachspiel in Mittelalter in Krug und Weissenbach Beitr. zur Gesch. und Lit. Is. 28 fig. Aarau, 1846.

³ der Tannhüsaere gemacht hât
die rede mit sümlîcher rât,
ez kret wol für missetât

der niht ist vîzch biz an den grât.
Dise gut ler hat ain ende
Got an vns alle vnzucht wend. Amen.

NOTE ON

Le Ménagier de Paris,

1393-4 A.D.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

THE French *Contenances de la Table*, &c., printed in Part II of the *Babees Book*, are, perhaps, enough of an Early English Text to have devoted to early French Manners and Cookery; but the importance of the *Ménagier*, which I had seen, but not worked at all, when I edited the *Babees Book*, may excuse a page or two being given to it, after the elaborate treatment of Thomasin von Zirclaria which we have made room for. The following paragraph by me on the work was inserted in *The Athenæum* of July 24th, 1859, p. 118, col. 1, 2.

'*Le Ménagier de Paris*' [is] a treatise on morals and domestic economy, composed about the year 1393, by a wealthy Parisian, for the instruction of his young wife, and edited in 1847 by M. Pichon, for the Société des Bibliophiles Français. The book, though scarce, is still procurable, and is certainly no less valuable in its way, while it is even more curious, than its better-known fellow, '*The Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry*,' wherein he wrote, in 1372, 'the Good Manners of Good Dames, and their Good Deeds,' to the end that his daughters might take example thereby. The '*Ménagier*' begins with the love of God and the salvation of the young wife's soul,—she is only fifteen,—ends with recipes for cooking sardines and young herrings, and embraces between these extremes the Whole Duty of Woman, as well the propriety of keeping her eyes on the ground as she walks about the town, as of ordering her servants to put their bed-candles out with their fingers or their mouths, and not with their shirts¹. Part of the wife's personal duty to the husband in winter, and in summer too, we must quote in the original²:—"Gardez en yver qu'il ait bon feu sans fumée; et entre vos mamelles [soit] bien couchié, bien couvert; et illec l'ensorcellez³ Et en

¹ ii. 71.² i. 171.³ Charme, inchaunt, bewitch, eye-bite. *Cotgrave*.

esté, gardez que en vostre chambre, ne en vostre lit, n'ait nulles puces ; ce que vous pouvez faire en six manières, si comme j'ay oy dire." And then follow the six methods for getting rid of these pestilent parasites. The book, to our surprise, notices the custom of servants using the word "sanglant" in their oaths: "de males *sanglantes* fièvres... de male *sanglante* journée."¹ We know no such early use of "bloody" in English, but may notice that some costermongers have lately substituted the participle "bleeding" for the adjective. "My bleeding barrow" is the latest phrase in vogue. The '*Ménagier*' contains a treatise on Hawking, a great many bills-of-fare for dinners, weddings, &c., and numerous recipes for dishes,—among which may be noticed one for Chaucer's *blancmanger* (our 'Forme of Cury' has two); another for an English dish, "*soubtil brouet d'Angleterre*"²—chestnuts, eggs, pig's liver, and spices, boiled and strained; and another containing four ways of making the *gaufres*, since popular at penny-ice shops. The ginger "columbine," that puzzled Mr Furnivall in his '*Russell's Book of Nurture*,' is explained to be an inferior kind of ginger, cheaper and worse than the darker-skinned whiter-insided "*gingembre mesche*," worth 20 sols a pound, while columbine costs only 11³.

But this sketch is a very incomplete one, as the reader will see from the title of the book, which is as follows :

"*Le Ménagier de Paris*, Traité de Morale et d'Économie Domestique, composé vers 1393 (A.D.) par un Bourgeois Parisien ; contenant *des préceptes moraux*, quelques fait historiques, des instructions sur *l'art de diriger une maison*, des renseignements sur la *consommation du Roi, des Princes, et de la ville de Paris*, à la fin du quatorzième siècle, des conseils sur le *jardinage* et sur le *choix des chevaux* ; un *traité de cuisine* fort étendu, et un autre non moins complet sur la *chasse à l'epervier* : ensemble, L'histoire de *Grisélidis, Mellibée et Prudence* par Albertan de Brescia (1246), traduit par frère Renault de Louens ; et le *chemin de Povreté et de Richesse*, poème composé, en 1342, par Jean Bruyant, notaire au Châtelet de Paris ; publié pour la première fois par la *Société des Bibliophiles Français*." Paris, 1846 (2 vols. 8vo., edited by M. Jérôme Pichon, President of the Society.)

The book well deserves translation into English, the moral parts being written in a loving, tender spirit, which speak well for the character of the old husband of near sixty, though he had married a

¹ ii. 59.² ii. 166.³ ii. 230.

young orphan-girl of 15 ; "seldom will you see ever so old a man who will not willingly marry a young woman" (i. 158). And though, as the reader will have seen, the old man has some regard for his creature and sexual comforts, yet he looks even more to his young wife's second husband than himself, and more to her being as thoroughly mistress of her household for her own sake than for his. A sweet and loving wife, a sensible religious woman, and a finished housewife, would the good old bourgeois husband—a gentleman in spirit and station too—make of the young untrained girl whose life he had linked to his own.

The work is divided into three *Distinctions* or Parts, each with its *articles* or sections.

I. How to gain the love of God and the salvation of your soul.

1. Pray to God and the Virgin when you wake in the morning. (p. 9-15)
2. On choosing good companions, going to church, confession, &c. 15-16
3. Always love God and the Virgin ; with an abstract of a treatise on Repentance, Confession, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues. 16-62
4. Live chastely, like Susanna, Lucretia, &c. 62-76
5. Love your husband (whether me or another) like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel. 76-96
6. Be humble and obedient to your husband, like Grisild, &c. In the illustrative story, p. 158-165, a cure for a saucy wife is given : bleed her till she faints. 96-168
7. Be 'curieuse' and careful of his person (From this is the extract above, p. 149, 150. An interesting chapter) 168-177
8. Keep your husband's secrets, and conceal his faults ; don't talk scandal, exaggerate, as other women do, &c. 177-185
9. If your husband's going to make a fool of himself like Melibeus, quietly stop him, as Prudence did 185-240

Part II. begins the second volume, and is of Managing the Household, gaining Friends, guarding against Mishaps and Old Age.

- § 1. Take care of, and pleasure in, your house (including the Poem of '*The Way of Poverty and Riches*,' by Jean Bruyant, 1342 A.D., p. 4-42) 1-42
- § 2. Of the flower- and kitchen-garden, &c. 43-53
- § 3. How to choose men-servants, women-servants, &c., and tradesmen ; to teach servants to clean dresses, &c., to look after sheep, horses, &c., and to take care of and cure wines. (A good chapter) 53-79
- § 4. Of the Butchers and the consumption of Paris ; cartes of divers dinners and suppers, and one wedding-breakfast of *Maistre Jean de Haute-court* (p. 118-123) ¹ 80-124
- § 5. Recipes for all kinds of soups, sauces, joints, &c., for invalids as well as healthy people ; with an Appendix of Recipes, by M. Pichon (p. 273-7) 125-277

Part III. Of this, unluckily, only the second section, the *Book of Hawking*, vol. ii, p. 279-326, exists in the MSS, says M. Pichon. The 1st section should have been on games of chance, dice, and (?) chess (*par rocs et par roys*). The 3rd section should have been of games by questions, which wanted reckoning and numbers to answer them, and were difficult to find out.

As a sample of the Recipes, Part II., § 5, here are two for cooking un-English French dishes, special to Johnny Crapaud :

FROGS.² To take them, have a line and a little fish-hook with a bait of flesh or of red cloth ; and, having caught your frogs, cut them across through the body, near the thighs, and empty what you'll find in the arse³ ; and take the two thighs of the said frogs ; cut off the feet ; skin the said thighs all raw ; then have cold water, and wash them ; and if the thighs stop a night in cold water, they'll be so much the better and tenderer. And thus soaked, let them be washed in warm water, and then put in a towel, and wiped. The said thighs, thus washed and wiped, let them be besmeared with

¹ Compare 'A Feste for a Bryde,' *Babees Book*, p. 357.

² ii. 222-3.

³ *Col* : m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament. *Cotgrave*.

flour, that is, bemealed or floured¹ (*en farine touillées*, id est, *enfarinées*), and afterwards fried in oil, lard,² or other liquor, and be put in a dish, and powder [spice, &c.] on it.

SNAILS, which are called *escargols* (snails), should be caught in the morning. Take the young small snails, those that have black shells, from the vines or elder-trees; then wash them in so much water that they throw up no more scum; then wash them once in salt and vinegar, and set them to stew (*cuire*) in water. Then you must pick these snails out of the shell at the point of a pin or needle; and then you must take off their tail, which is black, for that is their turd; and then wash them, and put them to stew and boil in water; and then take them out, and put them in a plate or dish to be eaten with bread. And also some say that they are better fried in oil and onion, or other liquor, after they have been cooked as above said; and they are eaten with powder [spice, &c.] and are for rich people.

On this, M. Pichon comments: We find at the end of *The Shepherds' Calendar* (Paris, 1493, folio, fol. N vj), a very curious piece on the Snail, in which the writer says to it: 'Never does a Lombard eat thee in such sauce as we make for thee. We put thee in a big plate, with black pepper and onions.'³

Besides recipes for dishes, *Le Ménagier* contains others for making glue (ii. 250), marking-ink (ii. 263); for curing toothache (ii. 257), &c., &c., and one for curing the bite of a mad dog or other beast (ii. 259); an odd bit of gibberish:—"Take a crust of bread, and write what follows: † Bestera † bestie † nay † brigonay † dictera † sagragan † es † domina † fiat † fiat † fiat †."

This bare sketch does, of course, no kind of justice to the book, which is full of interest of all kinds to the Englishman as well as the Frenchman. Those members who can afford it, should buy it; and

¹ *Enfariné*. . . Bemealed; whited or strewed ouer with meale. *Cotgrave*.

² *Sain*: m. Seame; the tallow, fat, or grease of a Hog, or of a rauenuous wild beast. *ib.*

³ Oncques Lombard ne te mangeat,
A telle saulce que [nous] ferons;
Si te mettrons en vug grant plat,
Au poyvre noir et aux ognons.

any one who wishes to pursue the subject farther should read Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, depuis l'origine de la Nation jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols. Paris, 1782; *Le Livre fort excellente de Cuisine*, Lyons, 1542, or its reprint, the *Grand Cuisinier de toutes Cuisines* (Paris, between 1566 and 1574) —the new edition of it by M. de la Villegille, preparing in 1846, has not been published;—the *Fleur de toute Cuisine . . revue et corrigée par Pierre Pidoue*, Paris, 1543; and M. Pichon's article on 'Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent . . écuyer de cuisine de Charles VI en 1386 . . dans le *Bulletin* du bibliophile de Techener, no. de juin 1843.'¹ M. Bachelin-Deflorenne says that 'of the many books of *Cuisinières Bourgeoises*, there is only one to be recommended, that by M. Hanffe, *Le Livre de Cuisine*, with 25 plates in chromolithography, and 161 vignettes engraved on wood, 1847, large 8vo, price about 50 francs.'

¹ *Le Ménagier*, p. xxxv-vi.

The Lay of
Havelok the Dane.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. IV.

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P R E F A C E.

§ 1. THE English version of the Lay of Havelok, now here reprinted, is one of the few poems that have happily been recovered, after having long been given up as lost. Tyrwhitt, in his Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, has a footnote (No. 51) deploring the loss of the Rime concerning Gryme the Fisher, the founder of Grymesby, Hanelok [*read* Havelok] the Dane, and his wife Goldborough; and Ritson, in his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy—(vol. i. p. lxxviii. of his Metrical Romanceës)—makes remarks to the same effect. It was at length, however, discovered by accident in a manuscript belonging to the Bodleian library, which had been described in the old Catalogue merely as *Vitæ Sanctorum*, a large portion of it being occupied by metrical legends of the Saints. In 1828, it was edited for the Roxburghe Club by Sir F. Madden, the title-page of the edition being as follows:—"The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text: with an introduction, notes, and a glossary, by Frederick Madden, Esq., F.A.S. F.R.S.L., Sub-Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, London. W. Nicol, Shakspeare Press, MDCCCXXVIII." This volume contains a very complete Introduction, pp. i—lvi; the English version of Havelok, pp. 1—104; the French text of the Romance of Havelok, from a MS. in the Heralds' College, pp. 105—146; the French Romance of Havelok, as abridged and altered by Geffrei Gaimar, pp. 147—180; notes to the English text, pp. 181—207; notes to the French

text, pp. 208—210; and a glossary, &c., pp. 211—263. But there are sometimes bound up with it two pamphlets, viz. "Remarks on the Glossary to Havelok," by S. W. Singer, and an "Examination of the Remarks, &c.," by the Editor of Havelok. In explanation of this, it may suffice to say, that the former contains some criticisms by Mr Singer (executed in a manner suggestive of an officious wish to display superior critical acumen), of which a few are correct, but others are ludicrously false; whilst the latter is a vindication of the general correctness of the explanations given, and contains, incidentally, some valuable contributions to our general etymological knowledge, and various remarks which have proved of service in rendering the glossary in the present edition more exactly accurate.¹

§ 2. Owing to the scarcity of copies of this former edition, the committee of the Early English Text Society, having first obtained the approval of Sir Frederic Madden, resolved upon issuing a reprint of it; and Sir Frederic having expressed a wish that the duty of seeing it through the press should be entrusted to myself, I gladly undertook that responsibility. He has kindly looked over the revises of the whole work,² but as it has undergone several modifications, it will be the best plan to state in detail what these are.

§ 3. With respect to the text, the greatest care has been taken to render it, as nearly as can be represented in print, an exact copy of the MS. The text of the former edition is exceedingly correct, and the alterations here made are few and of slight importance. Sir F. Madden furnished me with some, the results of a re-comparison, made by himself, of his printed copy with the original; besides this, I have myself carefully read the proof sheets with the MS. *twice*, and it may therefore be assumed that the complete correctness of the text is established. It seems to me that this is altogether the most important part of the work

¹ In particular, we find there a complete proof, supported by some fifty examples, that, *as* can be traced, through the forms *ase*, *als*, *alse*, *also*, to the A.S. *eall-sæa*; a proof, that in the difficult phrase *lond and lithe*, the word *lithe* [also spelt *lede*, *lude*] is equivalent to the French *tenement*, *rente*, or *fe*; and, thirdly, a complete refutation of Mr Singer's extraordinary notion that the adverb *swithe* means *a sword*!

² In the same way, *William of Palerne* was prepared by me for the press, subject to his advice; see *William of Palerne*, Introduction, p. ii.

of a *Text Society*, in order that the student may never be perplexed by the appearance of words having no real existence. For a like reason the letters þ and p (the latter of which I have represented by an italic *w*) have now been inserted wherever they occur, and the expansions of abbreviations are now denoted by italics. For further remarks upon the text, see the description of the MS. below, § 26. Sidenotes and headlines have been added, but the numbering of the lines has not been altered. The French text of the romance, the title of which is *Le Lai de Aveloc*, and the abridgment of the story by Geffrei Gaimar, have not been here reprinted; the fact being, that the French and English versions differ very widely, and that the passages of the French which really correspond to the English are few and short. *All* of these will be found in the Notes, in their proper places, and it was also deemed the less necessary to print the French text, because it is tolerably accessible; for it may be found either in vol. i. of *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, ed. Petrie, 1848, in the reprint by M. Michel (1833) entitled "*Le Lai d'Havelok*," or in the edition by Mr T. Wright for the Caxton Society, 1850. An abstract of it is given at p. xxiii. The Notes are abridged from Sir F. Madden's, with but a very few additions by myself, which are distinguished by being placed within square brackets. The Glossarial Index is, for the most part, reprinted from Sir F. Madden's Glossary, but contains a large number of *slight* alterations, re-arrangements, and additions. The references have nearly all been verified,¹ and the few words formerly left unexplained are now either wholly or partially solved. I have now only to add that a large portion of the remainder of this preface, especially that which concerns the historical and traditional evidences of the story (§ 4 to § 18), is abridged or copied from Sir F. Madden's long Introduction, which fairly exhausts the subject.² All extracts included between marks of quotation are taken from it without alteration. But I must be considered responsible for the re-

¹ I say *nearly*, because I have not been able to verify *every* reference to *every* poem quoted. I have verified and critically examined all the citations from the *poem itself*, from Ritson's Romances, Weber's Romances, Lazamon, Beowulf, Chaucer, Langland, and Sir Walter Scott's edition of Sir Tristrem (3rd edition, 1811).

² To this, the reader is referred for fuller information.

arrangement of the materials, and I have added a few remarks from other sources.

§ 4. NOTICES OF THE STORY OF HAVELOK BY EARLY WRITERS. There can be little doubt that the tradition must have existed from Anglo-Saxon times, but the earliest mention of it is presented to us in the full account furnished by the French version of the Romance. Of this there are two copies, one of which belongs to Sir T. Phillipps; the other is known as the Arundel or Norfolk MS., and is preserved in the Heralds' College, where it is marked E. D. N. No. 14; the various editions of the latter have been already enumerated in § 3. This version was certainly composed within the first half of the twelfth century. From the fact that it is entitled a *Lai*, and from the assertion of the poet—"Qe vn lai en firent li Breton"—"whereof the Britons made a lay"—we easily conclude that it was drawn from a British source. From the evident connection of the story with the Chronicle called the *Brut*, we may further conclude that by *Breton* is not meant Armorican, but belonging to *Britain*. The story is in no way connected with France; the tradition is British or Welsh, and the French version was doubtless written in England by a subject of an English king. That the language is French is due merely to the accident that the Norman conquerors of England had acquired that language during their temporary sojourn in France. From every point of view, whether we regard the British tradition, the Anglo-Norman version, or the version printed in the present volume, the story is wholly English. It is not to be connected too closely with the Armorican lays of Marie de France.¹

§ 5. We next come to the abridgment of the same as made by Geffrei Gaimar, who wrote between the years 1141 and 1151. In one place, Geffrei quotes Gildas as his authority, but no conclusion can easily be drawn from this indefinite reference. In another place, he mentions a feast given by Havelok after his defeat of Hodulf—*si cum nus dit la verai estoire*—"as the true

¹ "The word Breton, which some critics refer to Armorica, is here applied to a story of mere English birth." Hallam; *Lit. of Europe*, 6th ed. 1860; vol. i. p. 36. See the whole passage.

history tells us." As this feast is not mentioned in the fuller French version, and yet reappears in the English text, we perceive that he had some additional source of information; and this is confirmed by the fact that he mentions several additional details, also not found in the completer version. That the lay of Havelok, as found in Gaimar, is really his, and not an interpolation by a later hand, may fairly be inferred from his repeated allusions to the story in the body of his work. There are three MS. copies containing Gaimar's abridgment, of which the best is the Royal MS. (Bibl. Reg. 13 A xxi.) in the British Museum; the two others belong respectively to the Dean and Chapter of Durham (its mark being C. iv. 27) and to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln (its mark being H. 18). It is curious that the Norfolk MS. contains not only the fuller French version of the story, but also the Brut of Wace, and the continuation of it by Gaimar. Gaimar's abridgment, as printed in Sir F. Madden's edition, is taken from the Royal MS., supplemented by the Durham and Lincoln MSS. See also *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. p. 764. It is important to mention that Gaimar speaks of the Danes as having been in Norfolk since the time that Havelok was King, after he has been relating the combats between the Britons and the Saxons under the command of Cerdic and Cynric. Another allusion makes Havelok to have lived long before the year 800, according to every system of chronology.

§ 6. The next mention of Havelok is in the French Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft, of Langtoft in Yorkshire, who died early in the reign of Edward II., and whose Chronicle closes with the death of Edward I. Here the only trace of the story is in the mention of "*Gountere le pere Havelok, de Danays Ray clamez*"—Gunter, father of Havelok, called King of the Danes. The allusion is almost valueless from its evident absurdity; for he confounds Gunter with the Danish invader defeated by Alfred, and who is variously called Godrum, Gudrum, Guthrum, or Gurmound. He must have been thinking, at the moment, of a very different Gurmund, viz. the King of the Africans, as he is curiously called, whose terrible devastations are described very fully in *Lazamon*, vol. iii. pp. 156—177, and who may fairly be supposed to have lived much nearer to the time of Havelok; and he must further

have confounded this Gurmund with Gunter. For the account of Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft's Chronicle, see below, § 10.

§ 7. But soon after this, we come to a most curious account. In MS. Harl. 902 is a late copy, on paper, of a Chronicle called *Le Bruit Dengleterre*, or otherwise *Le Petit Bruit*, compiled A. D. 1310, by Meistre Rauf de Boun, at the request of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. It is a most worthless compilation, put together in defiance of all chronology, but with respect to our present inquiry it is full of interest, as it soon becomes obvious that one of his sources of information is the very English version here printed, which he cites by the name of *l'estorie de Grimesby*, and which is thus proved to have been written before the year 1310. "The Chronicler," says Sir F. Madden, "commences, as usual, with Brute, B. C. 2000, and after taking us through the succeeding reigns to the time of Cassibelin, who fought with Julius Cæsar, informs us, that after Cassibelin's death came Gurmound out of Denmark, who claimed the throne as the son of the eldest daughter of Belin, married to Thorand, King of Denmark. He occupies the kingdom 57 years, and is at length slain at *Hunteton*, called afterwards from him *Gurmoundcestre*. He is succeeded by his son Frederick, who hated the English, and filled his court with Danish nobles, but who is at last driven out of the country, after having held it for the short space of 71 years. And then, adds this miserable History-monger: 'Et si entendrez vous, que par cel primer venue de auaunt dit Roy Gormound, et puis par cele hountoux exil de son fitz Frederik, si fu le rancour de Daneis vers nous enpendaunt, et le regne par cel primere accion vers nous enchalangount plus de sept C auns apre, *iekis a la venue Haneloke, fitz le Roy Birkenebayne de Dannemarche, q̃ le regne par mariage entra de sa femme*.'—f. 2 b.

"After a variety of equally credible stories, we come to Adelstan II.¹ son of Edward [the Elder], who corresponds with

¹ "The Chronicler writes of him, f. 6. 'Il feu le plus beau bacheleir qe vnqes reigna en Engleterre, *ceo dit le Bruit*, par quoy ly lays ly apellerunt *King Adelstane with gilden kroket*, pour ce q'il feu si beaus.' We have here notice of another of those curious historical poems, the loss of which can never

the real king of that name, A. D. 925—941. He is succeeded by his son [brother] Edmund, who reigned four years [A. D. 941—946], and is said to have been *poisoned* at Canterbury; after whom we have ADELWOLD, whose identity with the Athelwold of the English Romance, will leave no doubt as to the source whence the writer drew great part of his materials in the following passage :

Après ceo vient Adelwold son fitz q̃ reigna xvj et demie, si engendroit ij feiz et iij filis, dount trestoutz murrirrent frechement fors q̃ sa pune file, le out a nom *Goldburgh*, del age de vj aunz kaunt son pere Adelwold morust. Cely Roy Adelwold quant il doit morir, comaunda sa file a garder a vn Count de Cornewayle, al houre kaunt il quidouïe (sic) hountousment auoir deparagé, quaunt fit *Haueloke*, fitz le Roy Byrkenbayne de Denmarche, esposer le, encountre sa volonté, q̃ primis fuit Roy Dengleterre et de Denmarch tout a vn foitz, par quele aliaunce leis Daneis queillerunt gendr̃ (sic) mestrie en Engleterre, et long temps puise le tindrunt, *si cum vous nouncie l'estorie de Grimesby*, come *Grime* primez nurist Haueloke en Engleterre, depuis cel houre q'il feut chasé de Denmarche &c. deqis al houre q'il vint au chastelle de Nichole, q̃ cely auaunt dit traite *Goudriche* out en garde, en quel chastel il auaunt dit Haueloke espousa l'auaunt dit Goldeburgh, q̃ fuit heir Dengleterre. Et par cel reson tynt cely Haueloke la terre de Denmarche auxi comme son heritage, et Engleterre auxi par mariage de sa femme; et si entendrez vous, q̃ par la reson q̃ ly auaunt dit Gryme ariua primez, kaunt il amena l'enfaunt Haueloke hors de Denmarche, par meyme la reson reseut cele vile son nom, de Grime, quel noun ly tint vnquore Grimisby.

'Après ceo regna meyme cely Haueloke, q̃ mult fuit prodhomme, et droiturelle, et bien demenoit son people en reson et ley. Cel Roy Haueloke reigna xlj. aunz, si engendroit ix fitz et vij filis, dount trestoutz murrerount ainz q̃ furunt d'age, fors seulement iiij de ses feitz, dont l'un out a noun Gurmound, cely q̃ entendy auoir son heire en Engleterre; le secound out a noun Knout, quen fitz feffoit son pere en le regne de Denmarche, quant il estoit del age de xvij aunz, et ly mesme se tynt a la coroune Dengleterre, quel terre il entendy al oeps son ainez fitz Gurmound

be sufficiently deplored. The term *crocket* (derived by Skinner from the Fr. *crochet*, uncinulus) points out the period of the poem's composition, since the fashion alluded to of wearing those large rolls of hair so called, only arose at the latter end of Hen. III. reign, and continued through the reign of Edw. I. and part of his successor's."

auoir gardé. Mes il debusa son col auxi comme il feu mounté vn cheval testous q̃ poindre volleyt, en l'an de son regne xxiiij entrant. Le tiers fitz ont a noun Godard, q̃ son pere feffoit de la Seneschacie Dengleterre, q̃ n'auoût (sic) taunt come ore fait ly quart. Et le puisnez fitz de toutz out a noun Thorand, q̃ espousa la Countesse de Hertouwe en Norway. Et par la reson q̃ cely Thorand feut enherité en la terre de Norway, ly et ses successors sont enheritez iekis en sa p̃ce (sic) toutdis, puis y auoit affinité de alliaunce entre ceulx de Denmarche et ceulx de Norway, a checun venue q̃ vnkes firent en ceste terre pur chalenge ou clayme mettre, iekis a taunt q̃ lour accion feut enseyne destrut par vn noble chevallere *Guy de Warwike*, &c. Et tout en sy feffoit Haueloke sez quatre fitz : si gist a priorie de *Grescherche* en Loundrez.'— f. 6 b.

"The *Estorie de Grimesby* therefore, referred to above, is the identical English Romance before us, and it is no less worthy of remark, that the whole of the passage just quoted, with one single variation of import, has been literally translated by Henry de Knyghton, and inserted in his Chronicle.¹ Of the sources whence the information respecting Havelok's sons is derived, we are unable to offer any account, as no trace of it occurs either in the French or English texts of the story."

§ 8. "About the same time at which Rauf de Boun composed his Chronicle, was written a brief Genealogy of the British and Saxon Kings, from Brutus to Edward II., preserved in the same MS. in the Heralds' College which contains the French text of the Romance. The following curious rubric is prefixed :—*La lignée des Bretons et des Engleis, queus il furent, et de queus nons, et coment Brut vint premerement en Engleterre, et combien de tens puis, et dont il vint. Brut et Cornelius furent chevalers chacez de la bataille de Troie, m. cccc. xvii. anz deuant qe dieus nasquit, et vindrent en Engleterre, en Cornewaille, et riens ne fut trouee en la terre fors qe geanz, Geomagog, Hastripoldius, Ruscalbundy, et plusurs autres Geanz.* In this Genealogy no mention of Havelok occurs under the reign of Constantine, but after the names of the Saxon Kings Edbright and Edelwin, we read : ' *ATHELWOLD auoit vne fille Goldeburgh, et il regna vi. anz. HAUelok esposa meisme*

¹ See below, § 16.

cele Goldeburgh, et regna iij. anz. ALFRED le frere le Roi Athelwold enchaca Haveloc par Hunehere, et il fut le primer Roi corone de l'apostoille, et il regna xxx. anz.'—fol. 148 b. By this account Athelwold is clearly identified with Ethelbald, King of Wessex, who reigned from 855 to 860, whilst Havelok is substituted in the place of Ethelbert and Ethered."

§ 9. "Not long after the same period was written a Metrical *Chronicle of England*, printed by Ritson, Metr. Rom. V. ii. p. 270. Two copies are known to exist,¹ the first concluding with the death of Piers Gavestone, in 1313 (MS. Reg. 12. C. xii.), and the other continued to the time of Edw. III. (Auchinleck MS.). The period of Havelok's descent into England is there ascribed to the reign of King Ethelred (978—1016), which will very nearly coincide with the period assigned by Rauf de Boun, viz. A. D. 963—1004."

'Haveloc com tho to this lond,
With gret host & eke strong,
Ant sloh the Kyng Achelred,
At Westmustre he was ded,
Ah he heuede reigned her
Seuene an tuenti fulle 3er.

MS. Reg. 12. C. xii.'

"This date differs from most of the others, and appears founded on the general notion of the Danish invasions during that period."

§ 10. Before proceeding to consider the *prose* Chronicle of the Brute, it is better to speak first of the translation of Peter de Langtoft's Chronicle by Robert of Brunne, a translation which was completed A. D. 1338. At p. 25 of Hearne's edition is the following passage :

'3it a nother Danes Kyng in the North gan aryue.
Alfrid it herd, thidere gan he dryue.
Havelok² fader he was, Gunter was his name.
He brent citees & tounes, ouer alle did he shame.
Saynt Cutbertes clerkes tho Danes thei dred.
The toke the holy bones, about thei tham led.

¹ The poems in MSS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Ff. 5. 48 and Dd. 14. 2 resemble this Chronicle, but do not mention Havelok's name.

² *Hanelok* in Hearne, throughout, but undoubtedly *contra fidem* MSS.

Seuen ȝere thorgh the land wer thei born aboute,
 It comforted the kyng mykelle, whan he was in doute
 ¶ Whan Alfrid & Gunter had werred long in ille,
 Thorgh the grace of God, Gunter turned his wille.
 Cristend wild he be, the kyng of fonte him lift,
 & thritty of his knyghtes turnes, thorgh Godes gift.
 Tho that first were foos, and com of paien lay,
 Of Cristen men haf los, & so thei wend away.'

"This is the whole that appears in the original, but after the above lines immediately follows, in the language of Robert of Brunne himself (as noted also by Hearne, Pref. p. lxvii.), the following curious, and to our inquiry, very important passage: "

'Bot I haf grete ferly, that I fynd no man,
 That has writen in story, how Hauelok this lond wan.
 Noither *Gildas*, no Bede, no Henry of Huntinton,
 No William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton,
 Writes not in ther bokes of no kyng Athelwold,
 Ne Goldeburgh his douhtere, ne Hauelok not of told,
 Whilk tyme the were kynges, long or now late,
 Thei mak no menyng whan, no in what date.
 Bot that thise *lowed men vpon English tellis*,
 Right story can me not ken, the certeynte what spellis.
 Men sais in Lyncoln castelle ligges ȝit a stone,
 That Hauelok kast wele forbi euer ilkone
 & ȝit the chapelle standes, ther he weddid his wife,
 Goldeburgh the kynges douhter, *that saw is ȝit rife*.
 & of Gryme a fisshere, *men redes ȝit in ryme*,
 That he bigged Grymesby Gryme that ilk tyme.
 Of alle stories of honoure, that I haf thorgh souht,
 I fynd that no compiloure of him tellis ouht.
 Sen I fynd non redy, that tellis of Hauelok kynde
 Turne we to that story, that we writen fynde.'

"There cannot exist the smallest doubt, that by the 'Ryme' here mentioned 'that lowed men vpon English tellis,' the identical English Romance, now before the reader, is referred to. It must therefore certainly have been composed prior to the period at which Robert of Brunne wrote,¹ in whose time the traditions respecting Havelok at Lincoln were so strongly preserved, as to

¹ This proof is rendered unnecessary by the citations from it by Rauf de Boun in 1310, and by the age of our MS. itself.

point out various localities to which the story had affixed a name, and similar traditions connected with the legend, as we shall find hereafter, existed also at Grimsby. The doubts expressed by the Chronicler, as to their authenticity, or the authority of the 'Ryme,' are curious, but only of value so far as they prove he was ignorant of the existence of a French Romance on the subject, or of its reception in Gaimar's historical poem."

§ 11. "But on consulting the Lambeth copy of Rob. of Brunne, in order to verify the passage as printed by Hearne from the Inner Temple MS. we were not a little surprised to ascertain a fact hitherto overlooked, and indeed unknown, viz. that the Lambeth MS. (which is a folio, written on paper, and imperfect both at the beginning and close)¹ does not correspond with the Edition, but has evidently been revised by a later hand, which has abridged the Prologues, omitted some passages, and inserted others. The strongest proof of this exists in the passage before us, in which the Lambeth MS. entirely omits the lines of Rob. of Brunne respecting the authenticity of the story of Havelok, and in their place substitutes an abridged outline of the story itself, copied apparently from the French Chronicle of Gaimar. The interpolation is so curious, and so connected with our inquiry, as to be a sufficient apology for introducing it here."

¶ Forth wente Gounter & his folk, al in to Denemark,
 Sone fel ther hym vpon, a werre styth & stark,
 Thurgh a Breton kyng, th^t out of Ingeland cam,
 & asked the tribut of Denmark, th^t Arthur whylom nam.
 They wythseide hit schortly, & non wolde they zelde,
 But rather they wolde dereyne hit, wyth bataill y the felde.
 Both partis on a day, to felde come they stronge,
 Desconfit were the danes, Gounter his deth gan fonge.
 When he was ded they schope brynge, al his blod to schame,
 But Gatferes doughter the kyng, *Eleyne* was hure name,
 Was kyng Gounteres wyf, and had a child hem bytwene,
 Wyth wham scheo scapede vnethe, al to the se with tene.
 The child hym highte HAUELOK, th^t was his moder dere,
 Scheo mette with grym atte hauene, a wel god marinere,

¹ The writing in the earlier portion (concerning Havelok) is hardly later than A.D. 1400.

He hure knew & highte hure wel, to helpe hure with his might,
 To bryng hure saf out of the lond, wythinne th^t ilke night.
 When they come in myd se, a gret meschef gan falle,
 They metten wyth a gret schip, lade wyth outlawes alle.
 Anon they fullen hem apon, & dide hem Mikel peyne,
 So th^t wyth strengthe of their assaut, ded was quene Eleyne.
 But ȝyt ascapede from hem Grym, wyth Hauelok & other fyue,
 & atte the hauene of Grymesby, ther they gon aryue.
 Ther was brought forth child Hauelok, wyth Grym & his fere,
 Right als hit hadde be ther own, for other wyste men nere.
 Til he was mykel & mighti, & man of mykel cost,
 Th^t for his grete sustinaunce, nedly serue he most.
 He tok leue of Grym & Seburc, as of his sire & dame,
 And askede ther blessinge curteysly, ther was he nought to blame.
 Thenne drow he forth northward, to kynges court Edelsie,
 Th^t held fro Humber to Rotland, the kyngdam of Lyndesye.
 Thys Edelsy of Breton kynde, had Orewayn his sister bright
 Married to a noble kyng, of Northfolk Egelbright.
 Holly for his kyngdam, he held in his hand,
 Al the lond fro Colchestre, right in til Holand.
 Thys Egelbright th^t was a Dane, & Orewayn the quene,
 Hadden gete on Argill, a doughter hem bytwene.
 Sone then deyde Egelbright, & his wyf Orewayn,
 & therefore was kyng Edelsye, bothe joyful & fayn.
 Anon their doughter & here Eyr, his nece dame Argill,
 & al the kyngdam he tok in hande, al at his owene will.
 Ther serued Hauelok as quistron, & was y-cald Coraunt,
 He was ful mykel & hardy, & strong as a Geaunt.
 He was bold Curteys & fre, & fair & god of manere,
 So th^t alle folk hym louede, th^t auewest hym were.
 But for couetise of desheraison, of damysele Argill,
 & for a chere th^t the kyng sey, scheo made Coraunt till,
 He dide hem arraye ful symplely, & wedde togydere bothe,
 For he ne rewarded desparagyng, were manion ful wrothe.
 A while they dwelt after in court, in ful pore degre,
 The schame & sorewe th^t Argill hadde, hit was a deel to se.
 Then seyde scheo til hure maister, of whenne sire be ȝe ?
 Hauē ȝe no kyn ne frendes at hom, in ȝoure contre ?
 Leuer were me lyue in pore lyf, wythoute schame & tene,
 Than in schame & sorewe, lede the astat of quene.
 Thenne wente they forth to Grymesby, al by his wyues red,
 & founde th^t Grym & his wyf, weren bothe ded.
 But he fond ther on Aunger, Grymes cosyn hend,
 To wham th^t Grym & his wyf, had teld word & ende.

How th^t hit stod wyth Hauelok, in all manere degre,
 & they hit hym telde & consealed, to drawe til his contre,
 Tasaye what grace he mighte fynde, among his frendes there,
 & they wolde ordeyne for their schipyng, and alth^t hem nedewere.
 When Aunger hadde y-schiped hem, they seilled forth ful swythe,
 Ful-but in til Denemark, wyth weder fair & lithe.
 Ther fond he on sire Sykar, a man of gret pousté,
 Th^t hey styward somtyme was, of al his fader fe.
 Ful fayn was he of his comyng, & god help him behight,
 To recouere his heritage, of Edulf kyng & knyght.
 Sone assembled they gret folk, of his sibmen & frendes,
 Kyng Edulf gadered his power, & ageyn them wendes.
 Desconfyt was ther kyng Edulf, & al his grete bataill,
 & so conquered Hauelok, his heritage saunz faille.
 Sone after he schop him gret power, in toward Ingelond,
 His wyues heritage to wyne, ne wolde he nought wonde.
 Th^t herde the kyng of Lyndeseye, he was come on th^t cost,
 & schop to fighte wyth hym sone, & gadered hym gret host.
 But atte day of bataill, Edelsy was desconfit,
 & after by tretys gaf Argentill, hure heritage al quit.
 & for scheo was next of his blod, Hauelokes wyf so feyr,
 He gaf hure Lyndesey after his day, & made hure his Eyr.
 & atte last so byfel, th^t vnder Hauelokes schelde,
 Al Northfolk & Lyndeseye, holy of hym they helde.'

MS. Lamb. 131. leaf 76.

§ 12. We now come to the prose Chronicle called *The Brute*, which became exceedingly popular, and was the foundation of "Caxton's Chronicle," first printed by Caxton A. D. 1480, but of which Caxton was not the author, though he may have added some of the last chapters. The original is in French, and was probably compiled a few years *before* Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft was made, as it concludes with the year 1331, or, in some copies, with 1332. The author of it is not known, but it was probably only regarded as a compilation from the Chronicles of the earlier Historians. "In this Chronicle, in all its various shapes, is contained the Story of Havelock, *engrafted on the British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and in its detail, following precisely the French text of the Romance. The only variation of consequence is the substitution of the name of Birkabeyn (as in the English text) for that of Gunter, and in some copies, both of the French and English MSS. of the Chronicle, the name of

Goldeburgh is inserted instead of *Argentille*; which variations are the more curious, as they prove the absolute identity of the story. For the sake of a more complete illustration of what has been advanced, we are induced to copy the passage at length, as it appears in the French Chronicle, taken from a well-written MS. of the 14th century, MS. Reg. 20 A 3, fol. 165 b."¹

‘*Des Rois Adelbright & Edelfi*, Cap. III^{xx}. XIX.

Après le Roi Constantin estoient deux Rois en graunt Brutaigne, dount li vns out a noun Aldelbright, & fust Danois, & [tint] tut le pais de Norff & de Suffolk, & ly altre out a noun Edelfi, qe fust Brittone, & tint Nicol & Lindesey, & tote la terre desques a Humber. Ceux deux Rois soi entreguerroierent, [& moult s’entrehaierent] mais puis furent il entre acordez & soi entreamèrent, taunt com s’il vssent estee freres de vn ventre neez. Le Roi Edelfi out vne soer, Orewenne par noun, & la dona par grant amour al Roi Aldelbright a femme. Et il engendra de ly vne fille qe out a noun Argentille. En le tiercz an apres vne greue Maladie ly suruint, si deuerait morrir, & maunda par vn iour al Roi Edelfi, soun frere en lei, q’il venist a ly parler, & cil ly emparla volentiers. Donqe ly pria le Roi Aldelbright et ly coniuira en le noun [de] Dieu, q’il apres sa mort preist Argentille sa fille, & sa terre, & q’il la feist honestement garder [& nurrir] en sa chambre, & quant ele serreit de age, q’il la feist marier al plus fort hom & plus vaillaunt q’il porroit trouver, & qe a donqe ly rendist sa terre. Edelfi ceo graunta, & par serment afferma sa priere. Et quant Adelbright fust mort, & enterree, Edelfi prist la damoysele, & la norrist en sa chambre, si deuynt ele la plus beale creature qe hom porreit trouver.

Coment le Roi Edelfi Maria la damoisele Argentille a vn quistroun de sa quisine. Cap^m. C.

Le Roi Edelfi, qe fust vnclre a la Damoysele Argentille, pensa fausement coment il porreit la terre sa Nece auoir pur touz iours, & malueisement countre soun serment pensa a deceiure la pucelle, si la maria a vn quistroun de sa quisyne qe fust apellée Curan, si esteit il le plus haut, le plus fort, & le plus vaillaunt de corps, qe hom sauoit nulle part a cel temps, & la quidoit hountousement marier, pur auoir sa terre a remenaunt, Mais il fust deceu. Car

¹ Sir F. Madden adds—"collated with another of the same age, MS. Cott. Dom. A. x, and a third, of the 15th century, MS. Harl. 200." I omit the collations; the words within square brackets are supplied from these other copies.

cest Curan fust [le Roi] Hauelok, filz le Roi Kirkebain de Denemarche, & il conquist la terre sa femme [en Bretagne], & occist le Roi Edelfi, vncle sa femme, & conquist tote la terre, *si com aillours est trouée plus pleinement [en l'estorie]*, & il ne regua qe treis aunz. Car Saxsouns & Danoys le occirent, & ceo fust grant damage a tote la grant Brutaigne. Et les Brutouns le porterent a Stonhenge, & illoeques ly enterrerent a grant honour.'

§ 13. "With the above may be compared the English version, as extant in MS. Harl. 2279, which agrees with the Ed. of Caxton, except in the occasional substitution of one word for another."¹

'MS. Harl. 2279, f. 47. *Of the kinges Albright & of Edelf.*
Ca^o IIII^{xx}. XI^o.

After kyng Constantinus deth, ther were .ij. kynges in Britaigne, that one men callede Adelbright, that was a Danoys, and helde the cuntray of Northfolk and Southfolk, that other hight Edelf, and was a Britoun & helde Nichole, Lindeseye, and alle the lande vnto Humber. Thes .ij. kynges faste werred togeders, but afterward thei were acorded, and louede togedere as thei had ben borne of o bodie. The kyng Edelf had a suster that men callede Orewenne, and he yaf here thurghe grete frenshipe to kyng Adelbright to wif, and he begate on here a doughter that men callede Argentille, and in the .iiij. yeer after him come vppon a strong sekenesse that nedes he muste die, and he sent to kyng Edelf, his brother in lawe, that he shulde come and speke with him, and he come to him with good wille. Tho prayed he the kyng and coniured also in the name of God, that after whan he were dede, he shulde take Argentil his doughter, and the lande, and that he kepte hir wel, and noreshed in his chambre; and whan she were of age he shulde done here be mariede to the strongest and worthiest man that he myȝt fynde, and than he shulde yelde vp her lande ayen. Edelf hit grauntid, and bi othe hit confermede his prayer. And whan Adelbright was dede and Enterede, Edelke toke the damesel Argentil, and noreshid her in his chambre, and she become the fayrest creature th^t myȝt lif, or eny man finde.

How kyng Edelf mariede the damysel Argentil to a knaue of his kichyn. Ca^o IIII^{xx}. XII.

This kyng Edelf, that was vncle to the damesel Argentil, bithought how that he myȝte falsliche haue the lande from his nece

¹ I omit the collations with MSS. Harl. 24 and 753. Sir F. Madden proves that this English version was made A. D. 1435, by *John Maundecile*, rector of Burnham Thorp in Norfolk.

for euermore, and falsly ayens his othe thouȝte to desceyue the damysel, and marie here to a knave of his kichon, that men callede Curan, and he become the worthiest and strengest man of bodie that eny man wist in eny lande that tho leuede. And to him he thouȝt here shendfully haue mariede, for to haue had here lande afterward; but he was clene desceyuede. For this Curan that was Hauelokis son that was kyng of Kirkelane in Denmark, and this Curan Conquerede his wifes landes, and slow kyng Edelf, that was his wifes vncler, and had alle here lande, as in a-nother stede hit [MS. but] telleth more oponly, and he ne regnede but iij. year, for Saxones and Danoyis him quelde, and that was grete harme to al Britaigne, and Britouns bere him to Stonehenge, and ther thei him interede with mochel honour and solempnite.'

"It must not be concealed, that in some copies, viz. in MSS. Harl. 1337, 6251, Digby 185, Hatton 50, Ashmole 791 and 793, the story is altogether omitted, and Conan made to succeed to Arthur. In those copies also of the English Polychronicon, the latter part of which resembles the above Chronicle, the passage is not found." "Among the Harl. MSS. (No. 63) is a copy of the same Chronicle in an abridged form, in which the name of *Goldeburghe* is substituted for that of *Argentille*." Sir F. Madden now adds—that "the story occurs also in some interpolated copies of Higden (the Latin text, viz. MSS. Harl. 655, Cott. Jul. E. 8, Reg. 13 E. 1. In an earlier form it is found in a Latin Chronicle of the 13th century, MS. Cott. Dom. A. 2, fol. 130."

§ 14. "It was, in all probability, to this Chronicle also, in its original form, that Thomas Gray, the author of the *Scala Cronica* (or *Scale Cronicon*), a Chronicle in French prose, composed between the years 1355 and 1362, is indebted for his knowledge of the tale." The original MS. is No. 132 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and was edited by Stevenson for the Maitland Club in 1836. The passage relative to Havelok is translated by Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 511. This account resembles the others, and involves no new point of interest.

§ 15. I may here introduce the remark, that the story is also to be found in the *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. Haydon, 1860, vol. ii. p. 378. I here quote the passage at length, as it is not referred to in Sir F. Madden's edition. The date of the Chronicle is about 1366. For various readings, see Haydon's edition.

Non enim est prætermittendum de quodam Dano generoso ætate juvenili florente, qui tempore regis Edelfridi casualiter Angliam adiit, qui a propria patria expulsus per quendam ducem falsissimum, cui pater ejus illum commiserat ipso moriente et ducem rogavit ut puerum nutriret usque dum posset Denemarchiæ regnum viriliter gubernare. Dux vero malitiam machinans juvenem hæredem rectum, Hæwelok nomine, voluit occidisse. Puer vero comperiens aufugit per latibula usque dum quidam Anglicus et mercator in illis partibus adventaret; nomen autem mercatoris Grym vocitabatur. Hæwelok autem, Grym rogans ut ipsum in Angliam transvectaret, ipse autem annuens, puerum secum conduxit et cum eo per aliquot tempus apud Grymesby morabatur. Tandem ipsum ad curiam regis Edelfridi conduxit et ibi in coquina regis moratus est.

Rex autem Edelfridus quamdam habuit sororem nomine Orwen et illam maritavit regi Athelberto, quod conjugium inter duos reges vinculum amoris catenavit. Rex autem Athelbert terram citra Trentam cum regio diademate occupavit, cum terra de Northfolk' et de Southfolk' et eis adjacentibus. Rex vero Edelfrid comitatum Lincolnæ et Lyndeseye et eis spectantibus. Ante maritagium puellæ Orwen illi duo reges semper debellabant, post matrimonium factum nulla fuit divisio, nec in familia inter eos nec in dominio.

Rex vero Ethelbert de uxore sua quamdam filiam genuit, nomine Argentile, pulcherrimam valde. Athelberto obiente, vel ante mortem ejus, regem rogavit Edelfridum ut filiam suam homini fortissimo ac validiori totius sui regni in conjugium copularet, nihil doli vel mali machinans.

Rex autem Adelfrid omnem malitiam ingeminans de conjugio puellæ malitiose disponens, cogitans se habere unum lixam in coquina sua qui omnes homines regni sui in vigore et fortitudine superabat, et juxta votum patris puellæ ad illum hominem fortissimum illam generosam juvenulam toro maritali copulavit, ob cupiditatem regni puellæ ipsam ita enormiter maritabat. Hæwelok in patria Danemarchiæ et Argentile in Britannia æquali sorte ad custodiendum deputati sunt, totum tamen nutu Divino cedebat eis in honorem. Nam Hæwelok post paucos annos regnum Britannæ adoptus est, et a Saxonibus tandem occisus et apud le Stonhenge est sepultus. Pater ejus Kirkeban vocabatur.

This agrees closely with the accounts given above (§ 12 and § 13). The chief point to be noticed is that this account identifies Edelfrid with the Æthelfrith son of Æthelric who was king of the Northumbrians from A.D. 593 to 617, according to the

computation of the A. S. Chronicle, and who was succeeded by Eadwine son of Ælle, who drove out the æthelings or sons of Æthelfrith. It may be remarked further, that the same Æthelfrith is called Æluric by Laȝamon, who gives him a very bad character ; see Laȝamon, ed. Madden, vol. iii. p. 195.

§ 16. The story is also mentioned by Henry de Knyghton, a canon of Leicester abbey, whose history concludes with the year 1395. But his is no fresh evidence, as it is evidently borrowed from the French Chronicle of Rauf de Boun ; see § 7. It is also alluded to in a blundering manner in a short historical compilation extending from the time of Brutus to the reign of Henry VI., and preserved in MS. Cotton Calig. A. 2. At fol. 107 *b* is the passage—"Ethelwolde, qui generavit filiam de (*sic*) Haueloke de Denmarke, per quem Danes per cccc. annos postea fecerunt clameum Anglie." Some omission after the word *de* has turned the passage into nonsense ; but it is noteworthy as expressing the claim of the Danes to the English crown by right of descent from Havelok ; a claim which is more clearly expressed in MS. Harl. 63, in which the King of Denmark is represented as sending a herald to Æthelstan (A.D. 927)—"to witte wheder he wold fynde a man to fight *with* Colbrande¹ for the righ[t]e of the kyngdom Northumbre, that the Danes had claymed byfore by the title of kyng Haueloke, that wedded Goldesburghe the kyngis daughter of Northumbre"—fol. 19.² Four hundred years before this date would intimate some year early in the sixth century. Finally, the story is found at a later period in Caxton's Chronicle (A.D. 1480) as above intimated in § 12 ; whence it was adopted by Warner, and inserted into his poem entitled Albion's England ; book iv. chap. 20, published in 1586. Warner called it the tale of "Argentile and Curan ;" and in this ballad-shape it was reprinted in Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry (vol. ii. p. 261 ; ed. 1812) with the same title. Not long after, in 1617, another author, William Webster, published a larger poem in six-line stanzas ; but this is a mere paraphrase of Warner. The title is—"The most

¹ Colbrande is the giant defeated by Guy in the Ballad of "Guy and Colebrande." See *Percy Folio MS.* ; ed. Hales and Furnivall, vol. ii. p. 528, where *Auelocke* means *Anlaf*.

² Quoted in a note in Sir F. Madden's preface, p. xxiii.

pleasant and delightful historie of Curan, a prince of Danske, and the fayre princesse Argentile," &c. John Fabyan, in his *Concordance of Historyes*, first printed in 1516, alludes to the two kings Adelbryght and Edill, only to dismiss the "longe processe" concerning them, as not supported by sufficient authority. See p. 82 of the reprint by Ellis, 4to, 1811.

§ 17. The only other two sources whence any further light can be thrown upon our subject are the traditions of Denmark and Grimsby. A letter addressed by Sir F. Madden to Professor Rask elicited a reply which was equivalent to saying that next to nothing is known about it in Denmark. This seems to be the right place to mention a small book of 80 pages, published at Copenhagen in the present year (1868), and entitled "*Sagnet om Havelok Danske; fortalt af Kristian Köster.*" It contains (1) a version, in Danish prose, of the English poem; (2) a version of the same story, following the French texts of the *Arundel* and *Royal MSS.*; and (3) some elucidations of the legend. The author proposes a theory that Havelok is really the Danish king Amlet, i. e. Hamlet; but I have not space here to state all his arguments. As far as I follow them, some of the chief ones are these; that Havelok ought to be found in the list of Danish kings;¹ that Hamlet's simulation of folly or madness is paralleled by Havelok's behaviour, as expressed in ll. 945—954 of our poem; and that both Hamlet and Havelok succeeded in fulfilling the revenge which they had long cherished secretly. But I am not much persuaded by these considerations, for, even granting some resemblance in the names,² the resemblance in the stories is very slight. But I must refer the reader to the book itself.

§ 18. Turning however to local traditions, we find that Camden briefly alludes to the story in a contemptuous manner

¹ So then ought Hamlet; but the editor of *Saxo Grammaticus* says, "*in antiquioribus regum Daniæ genealogiis Amlethus non occurrit.*" See *Saxo Gram.* ed. Müller, Havniæ, 1839; end of lib. iii. and beginning of lib. iv.; also the note on p. 132 of the *Notæ Uberiores*. The idea that Havelock is Amlet is to be found in *Grundtvig, North. Myth.* 1832, p. 565.

² Havelok [*or* Hanelock, as it is sometimes read] is quite as like Anlaf, whence the blunder noticed in note 1, p. xviii. In the form Hablok, it is not unlike *Bleeca*, who was a great man in *Lindesey* soon after the days of *Æthelberht* of Kent; see *Saxon Chronicle*, An. DCXXVII.

(p. 353; ed. 8vo, Lond. 1587); but Gervase Holles is far from being disposed to regard it as fabulous. "In his MSS. collections for Lincolnshire, preserved in MS. Harl. 6829, he thus speaks of the story we are examining.¹

"And it will not be amisse, to say something concerning y^e Common tradition of her first founder Grime, as y^e inhabitants (with a Catholique faith) name him. The tradition is thus. *Grime* (say they) a poore Fisherman (as he was launching into y^e Riuer for fish in his little boate vpon Humber) espyed not far from him another little boate, empty (as he might conceaue) which by y^e fauour of y^e wynde & tyde still approached nearer & nearer vnto him. He betakes him to his oares, & meetes itt, wherein he founde onely a Childe wrapt in swathing clothes, purposely exposed (as it should seeme) to y^e pittylesse [rage] of y^e wilde & wide Ocean. He moued with pittie, takes itt home, & like a good foster-father carefully nourisht itt, & endeaoured to nourishe it in his owne occupation: but y^e childe contrarily was wholly deuoted to exercises of actiuity, & when he began to write man, to martiall sports, & at length by his signall valour obteyned such renowne, y^t he marryed y^e King of England's daughter, & last of all founde who was his true Father, & that he was Sonne to y^e King of Denmarke; & for y^e comicke close of all; that *Haueloke* (for such was his name) exceedingly aduanced & enriched his foster-father Grime, who thus enriched, builded a fayre Towne neare the place where Hauelocke was founde, & named it Grimesby. Thus say some: others differ a little in y^e circumstances, as namely, that Grime was not a Fisherman, but a Merchant, & that Hauelocke should be preferred to y^e King's kitchin, & there liue a longe tyme as a Scullion: but however y^e circumstances differ, they all agree in y^e consequence, as concerning y^e Towne's foundation, to which (sayth y^e story) Hauelocke y^e Danish prince, afterward graunted many immunities. This is y^e famous Tradition concerning Grimsby w^{ch} learned Mr. Cambden gives so little credit to, that he thinks it onely *illis dignissima, qui anilibus fabulis noctem solent protrudere*."

And again, after shewing that *by* is the Danish for *town*, and quoting a passage about Havelock's father being named Gunter, which may be found in Weever (Ancient Funeral Monuments, fol. Lond. 1631, p. 749), he proceeds: "that Hauelocke did sometyes reside in Grimsby, may be gathered from a great blew

¹ His account has been printed in the *Topographer*, V. i. p. 241. sq. 8vo, 1789. We follow, as usual, the MS. itself, p. 1.

Boundry-stone, lying at y^e East ende of Briggowgate, which retaines y^e name of *Havelock's-Stone* to this day. Agayne y^e great priuiledges & immunityes, that this Towne hath in Denmarke aboue any other in England (as freedome from Toll, & y^e rest) may fairely induce a Beleife, that some preceding favour, or good turne called on this remuneration. But lastly (which prooffe I take to be *instar omnium*) the Common Seale of y^e Towne, & that a most auncient one," &c. [Here follows a description of the Seal.]

"The singular fact," adds Sir F. Madden, "alluded to by Holles, of the Burgesses of Grimsby being free from toll at the Port of Elsineur, in Denmark, is confirmed by the Rev. G. Oliver, in his *Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby*, 8vo, Hull, 1825, who is inclined from that, and other circumstances, to believe the story is not so totally without foundation." There is also an absurd local story that the church at Grimsby, which has now but one turret, formerly had four, three of which were kicked down by Grim in his anxiety to destroy some hostile vessels. The first fell among the enemy's fleet; the second dropped in Wellowgate, and is now Havelock's stone; the third fell within the churchyard, but the fourth his strength failed to move. Perhaps amongst the most interesting notices of the story are the following words by Sir Henry Havelock, whose family seems to have originally resided in Durham. His own account, however, is this. "My father, William Havelock, descended from a family which formerly resided at Grimsby in Lincolnshire, and was himself born at Guisborough in Yorkshire."¹ And it may at least be said with perfect truth, that if the name of *Havelock* was not famous formerly, it is famous now.

§ 19. The last evidence for the legend is the still-existing seal of the corporation of Great Grimsby. The engraving of this seal, as it appears in the present edition, was made from a copy kindly furnished to the E. E. T. S. by the Mayor of Grimsby, and I here subjoin a description of it, communicated to me by J. Hopkin, Esq., Jun., of Grimsby, which was first printed, in a slightly different form, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. xi. p. 41; see also p. 216.

¹ Quoted in Brock's *Biography of Sir H. Havelock*, 1858; p. 9.

"The ancient Town Seal of Great Grimsby is engraven on a circular piece of brass not very thick; and on the back, which is rather arched, is a small projecting piece of brass, placed as a substitute for a handle, in order when taking an impression the more easily to detach the matrix from the Wax. This seal is in an excellent state of preservation, and is inscribed in Saxon characters 'Sigillvm Comunitatis Grimebye' and represents thereon Gryme ('Gryem') who by tradition is reported to have been a native of Souldburg in Denmark, where he gained a precarious livelihood by fishing and piracy; but having, as is supposed, during the reign of Ethelbert,¹ been accidentally driven into the Humber by a furious storm, he landed on the Lincolnshire Coast near Grimsby, he being at this time miserably poor and almost destitute of the common necessities of life; for Leland represents this 'poor fisschar' as being so very needy that he was not 'able to kepe his sunne Cuaran for poverty.' Gryme, finding a capacious haven adapted to his pursuits, built himself a house and commenced and soon succeeded in establishing a very lucrative Trade with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Other Merchants having in process of time settled near him, attracted by the commercial advantages offered by this excellent Harbour, they jointly constructed convenient appendages for extensive Trade, and the colony soon rose into considerable importance, and became known at an early period by the name of Grimsby. For not only was Grimsby constituted a borough so early as the seventh century, but Peter of Langtoft speaks of it as a frontier Town and the boundary of a Kingdom erected by the conquests of Egbert in the year 827, which he states included all that portion of the Island which lay between 'the maritime Towns of Grymsby and Dover.' So that even at that period, Grimsby must have been a place of peculiar strength and importance. Gryme is represented on the seal as a man of gigantic stature with comparatively short hair, a shaven chin, and a moustache, holding in his right hand a drawn sword and bearing on his left arm a circular shield with an ornate boss and rim. The sleeveless tunic above his under vest is most probably the panzar or panzara of the Danes. Between his feet is a Conic object, possibly intended for a helmet, as it resembles the chapelle-de-fer worn by William Rufus on his Great Seal, and which in the laws of Gula is distinguished as the Steel hufe. On the right hand of Gryme stands his protégé Haveloc ('Habloc'), whom, during one of his mercantile excursions soon after his arrival in Lincolnshire, Gryme had the good fortune to save

¹ Æthelberht of Kent reigned from A.D. 560—616 (56 years).

from imminent danger of Shipwreck, and who proved to be the Son of Gunter, King of Denmark, and who was therefore conveyed to the British Court, where he subsequently received in marriage Goldburgh, the Daughter of the British Sovereign. Above Gryme is represented a hand, being emblematical of the hand of providence by which Haveloc was preserved, and near the hand is the star which marks the point where the inscription begins and ends. Haveloc made such a favourable representation of his preserver at the British and Danish Courts, that he procured for him many honours and privileges. From the British Monarch Gryme, who had already realised an abundance of wealth, received a charter, and was made the chief governor of Grimsby; and the Danish Sovereign granted to the Town an immunity (which is still possessed by the Burgesses of Grimsby) from all Tolls at the Port of Elsinour. Gryme afterwards lived in Grimsby like a petty prince in his Hereditary Dominions. Above Haveloc is represented a crown and in his right hand is a battle axe, the favourite weapon of the Northmen, and in his right hand is a ring which he is presenting to the British Princess Goldburgh ('Goldebvrgh'), who stands on the left side of Gryme and whose right hand is held towards the Ring. Over her head is a Regal Diadem, and in her left hand is a Sceptre. Sir F. Madden states that it is certain that this seal is at least as old as the time of Edward I. (and therefore contemporaneous with the MS.) as the legend is written in a character which after the year 1300 fell into disuse, and was succeeded by the black letter, or *Gothic*."

§ 20. SKETCH OF THE STORY OF "Le Lai d'Aueloc."¹

It is my intention to offer some remarks on the probable sources of the legend, and to fix a conjectural date for the existence of Havelok. But it is obviously convenient that a sketch of the story should first be given. It appears, however, that the resemblance between the French and English versions is by no means very close, and it will be necessary to give separate abstracts of them. I begin with the French version, in which I follow the Norfolk MS. rather than the abridgment by Gaimar. I have already said that the former is printed in Sir F. Madden's edition, and that it was reprinted by M. Michel with the title "*Lai d'Havelok le Danois*," Paris, 1833, and by Mr Wright for the Caxton Society in 1850.

¹ For this latter portion of the Preface I am entirely responsible.

The Britons made a lay concerning King Havelok, who is surnamed Cuaran. His father was Gunter, King of the Danes. Arthur crossed the sea, and invaded Denmark. Gunter perished by the treason of Hodulf, who gained the kingdom, and held it of Arthur. Gunter had a fine castle, where his wife and son were guarded, being committed to the protection of Grim. The child was but seven years old; but ever as he slept, an odorous flame issued from his mouth. Hodulf sought to kill him, but Grim prepared a ship, and furnished it with provisions, wherein he placed the queen and the child, and set sail from Denmark. On their voyage they encountered pirates ("outlaghes"), who killed them all after a hard fight, excepting Grim, who was an acquaintance of theirs, and Grim's wife and children. Havelok also was saved. They at last arrived at the haven, afterwards named "Grimesbi" from Grim. Grim there resumed his old trade, a fisherman's, and a town grew up round his hut, which was called Grimsby. The child grew up, and waxed strong. One day Grim said to him, "Son, you will never thrive as a fisherman; take your brothers with you, and seek service amongst the King's servants." He was soon well apparelled, and repaired with his two foster-brothers to Nicole [Lincoln].¹ Now at that time there was a king named Alsi, who ruled over all Nicole and Lindesie;² but the country southward was governed by another king, named Ekenbright, who had married Alsi's sister Orewen. These two had one only daughter, named Argentille. Ekenbright, falling ill, committed Argentille to the care of Alsi, till she should be of age to be married to the strongest man that can be found. At Ekenbright's death, Alsi reigned over both countries, holding his court at Nicole. Havelok, on his arrival there, was employed to carry water and cut wood, and to perform all menial offices requiring great strength. He was named Cuaran, which means—in the British language—a scullion. Argentille soon arrived at marriageable age, and Alsi determined to marry her to Cuaran, which would sufficiently fulfil her father's wish—Cuaran being confessedly the strongest man in those parts. To this marriage he compelled her to consent, hoping thereby to disgrace her for ever. Havelok was unwilling that his wife should perceive the marvellous flame, but soon forgot this, and ere long fell asleep. Then had Argentille a strange vision—that a savage bear and some foxes attacked Cuaran, but dogs and boars defended him. A boar having killed the bear, the foxes cried for quarter from Cuaran,

¹ *Nicole* is a French inversion of Lincoln. It is not uncommon.

² The northern part of Lincolnshire is called *Lindsey*.

who commanded them to be bound. Then he would have put to sea, but the sea rose so high that he was terrified. Next she beheld two lions, at seeing which she was frightened, and she and Cuaran climbed a tree to avoid them; but the lions submitted themselves to him, and called him their lord. Then a great cry was raised, whereat she awoke, and beheld the miraculous flame. "Sir," she exclaimed, "you burn!" But he reassured her, and, having heard her dream, said that it would soon come true. The next day, however, she again told her dream to a chamberlain, her friend, who said that he well knew a holy hermit who could explain it. The hermit explained to Argentille that Cuaran must be of royal lineage. "He will be king," he said, "and you a queen. Ask him concerning his parentage. Remember also to repair to his native place." On being questioned, Cuaran replied that he was born at Grimsby; that Grim was his father, and Saburc his mother. "Then let us go to Grimsby," she replied. Accompanied by his two foster-brothers, they came to Grimsby; but Grim and Saburc were both dead. They found there, however, a daughter of Grim's, named Kelloc, who had married a tradesman of that town. Up to this time Havelok had not known his true parentage, but Kelloc thought it was now time to tell him, and said: "Your father was Gunter, the King of the Danes, whom Hodulf slew. Hodulf obtained the kingdom as a grant from Arthur. Grim fled with you, and saved your life; but your mother perished at sea. Your name is HAVELOK. My husband will convey you to Denmark, where you must inquire for a lord named 'Sigar l'estal;' and take with you my two brothers." So Kelloc's husband conveyed them to Denmark, and advised Havelok to go to Sigar and show himself and his wife, as then he would be asked who his wife is. They went to the city of the seneschal, the before-named Sigar, where they craved a night's lodging, and were courteously entertained. But as they retired to a lodging for the night, six men attacked them, who had been smitten with the beauty of Argentille. Havelok defended himself with an axe which he found, and slew five, whereupon the sixth fled. Havelok and his party fled away for refuge to a monastery, which was soon attacked by the townsmen who had heard of the combat. Havelok *mounted the tower*, and defended himself bravely, *casting down a huge stone on his enemies*.¹ The news soon reached the ears of Sigar, who hastened to see what the uproar was about. Behold-

¹ Hence the obvious origin of the legend of "Havelok's stone," and the local tradition about Grim's casting down stones from the tower of Grimsby church.

ing Havelok fixedly, he called to mind the form and appearance of Gunter, and asked Havelok of his parentage. Havelok replied that Grim had told him he was by birth a Dane, and that his mother perished at sea; and ended by briefly relating his subsequent adventures. Then Sigar asked him his name. "My name is Havelok," he said, "and my other name is Cuaran." Then the seneschal took him home, and determined to watch for the miraculous flame, which he soon perceived, and was assured that Havelok was the true heir. Therefore he gathered a great host of his friends, and sent for the horn which none but the true heir could sound, promising a ring to any one who could blow it. When all had failed, it was given to Havelok, who blew it loud and long, and was joyfully recognized and acknowledged to be the true King. Then with a great army he attacked Hodulf the usurper, whom he slew with his own hand. Thus was Havelok made King of Denmark.

But after he had reigned four years, his wife incited him to return to England. With a great number of ships he sailed there, and arrived at Carleflure;¹ and sent messengers to Alsi, demanding the inheritance of Argentille. Alsi was indeed astonished at such a demand as coming from a scullion, and offered him battle. The hosts met at Theford,² and the battle endured till nightfall without a decisive result. But Argentille craftily advised her lord to support his dead men by stakes, to increase the apparent number of his army; and the next day Alsi, deceived by this device, treated for peace, and yielded up to his former ward all the land, from Holland³ to Gloucester. Alsi had been so sorely wounded that he lived but fifteen days longer. Thus was Havelok king over Lincoln and Lindsey, and reigned over them for twenty years. Such is the lay of Cuaran.

§ 21. The chief points to be noticed in Gaimar's abridgment are the few additional particulars to be gleaned from it. We there find that Havelok's mother was *Alvive*, a daughter of King *Gaifer*; that the King of Nicole and Lindeseie was a *Briton*, and was named Edelsie; that his sister, named Orwain, was married to Adelbrit, a *Dane*, who ruled over Norfolk; and that Edelsie and Adelbrit lived in the days of Costentin (Constantine), who

¹ Possibly Saltfleet, suggests Mr Haigh. Such, at least, is the position required by the circumstances.

² In the Durham MS. it is Tiedfort, i. e. Tetford, not far from Horncastle, in Lincolnshire.

³ A name given to the S.E. part of Lincolnshire.

succeeded Arthur. It is also said that the usurper Hodulf was brother to Aschis, who is the Achilles of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Another statement, that Havelok's kingdom extended from Holland to *Colchester*, seems to be an improvement upon "from Holland to *Gloucester*."

The words of Mr Petrie, in his remarks upon the lay in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i., may be quoted here. "Although both [French versions] have the same story in substance, and often contain lines exactly alike, yet, besides the different order in which the incidents are narrated, each has occasionally circumstances wanting in the other, and such too, it should seem, as would leave the story incomplete unless supplied from the other copy. Thus, the visit to the hermit, which is omitted in Gaimar, was probably in the original romance; for without it Argentille's dream tells for nothing; and in the Arundel copy there is a particular account of Haveloc's defence of a tower by hurling stones on his assailants, which in Gaimar is so obscurely alluded to as to be hardly intelligible. On the other hand, instead of the description of the extraordinary virtues of Sygar's ring in Gaimar, it is merely said in the Arundel copy that Sygar would give his *anel d'or* to whoever could sound the horn; and, to omit other instances, a festival is described in Gaimar on the authority of *l'Estorie*, of which no notice whatever occurs in the Arundel MS."

§ 22. SKETCH OF THE ENGLISH POEM.

The "Lay of Havelok" has been admirably paraphrased by Professor Morley, in his "English Writers," vol. i. pp. 459—467, a book which should be in every reader's hands, and which should by all means be consulted. I only intend here to give a briefer outline, for the sake of comparing the main features of our poem with those of the French *Lai*.

Hear the tale of Havelok! There was once a good king in England, named Athelwold, renowned and beloved for his justice. He had but one child, a daughter named Goldborough. Knowing that his end was approaching, he sent for all his lords to assemble at Winchester, and there committed Goldborough to the care of Godrich, the earl of Cornwall; directing him to see her married

to the strongest and fairest man whom he could find. But Godrich imprisoned her at Dover, and resolved to seize her inheritance for his own son. At that time there was also a King of Denmark, named Birkabeyn, who had one son, Havelok, and two daughters, Swanborough and Helfled. At the approach of death, he committed these to the care of Earl Godard. But Godard killed the two girls, and only spared Havelok because he did not like to kill him with his own hand. He therefore hired a fisherman, named Grim, to drown Havelok at sea. But Grim perceived, as Havelok slept, a miraculous light shining round the lad, whereby he knew that the child was the true heir, and would one day be king. In order to avoid Godard, Grim fitted up a ship, and provisioned it, and with his wife Leve, his three sons, his two daughters, and Havelok, put out to sea. They landed in Lindesey at the mouth of the Humber, at a place afterwards named Grimsby after Grim. Grim worked at his old trade, a fisherman's, and Havelok carried about the fish for sale. Then arose a great dearth in the land, and Havelok went out to seek his own livelihood, walking to Lincoln barefoot. He was hired as a porter by the earl of Cornwall's cook, and drew water and cut wood for the earl's kitchen. One day some men met to contend in games and to "put the stone." At the cook's command, Havelok also put the stone, hurling it further than any of the rest.¹ Godrich, hearing the praises of Havelok's strength, at once resolved to perform his oath by causing him to marry Goldborough; and carried his design into execution. As soon as the pair were married, Havelok suddenly quitted Lincoln with his wife, and returned to Grimsby, where he found that Grim was dead, but that his five children are yet alive. At night, Goldborough perceived a light shining round about Havelok, and observed a cross upon his shoulder. At the same time she heard an angel's voice, telling her of good fortune to come. Then he awoke, and told her a dream; how he had dreamt that all Denmark and England became his own. She encouraged him, and urged him to set sail for Denmark at once. He accordingly called to him Grim's three sons, and narrated to them his own history, and Godard's treachery, asking them to accompany him to Denmark. To this they assented, and sailed with him and Goldborough to Denmark. There he sought out a former friend of his father's, Earl Ubbe, who invited him and his friends to a sumptuous feast. After the feast, Havelok and Goldborough and Grim's sons went to the house of one Bernard Brown, whose house was that night attacked by sixty thieves. By dint of

¹ Here again is an allusion to "Havelok's stone."

great prowess, the friends at length slew all their sixty assailants, and Ubbe was so amazed at Havelok's valour that he resolved to dub him a knight, and invited him to sleep in his own castle. At night, he peeped into Havelok's chamber, and beheld the marvellous light, and saw a bright cross on his neck. Rejoiced at heart, he did homage to Havelok, and commanded all his friends and dependents to do the same. He also dubbed him knight, and proclaimed him King. With six thousand men he set out to attack Godard, whom he defeated and made prisoner, and afterwards caused to be flayed, drawn, and hung. Then Havelok swore that he would establish at Grimsby a priory of black monks, to pray for Grim's soul; and Godrich, having heard that Havelok has invaded England, raised a great army against him. An indecisive combat took place between Ubbe and Godrich, but a more decisive one between Godrich and Havelok; for Havelok cut off his foe's hand and made him prisoner. Then the English submitted to Goldborough, and acknowledged her as queen; but Godrich was condemned and burnt. Havelok rewarded both his own friends and the English nobles; for he caused Earl Reyner of Chester to marry Gunild, Grim's daughter, and Bertram, formerly Godrich's cook, to marry Leive, another of Grim's daughters; bestowing upon Bertram the earldom of Cornwall. Then were Havelok and Goldborough crowned at London, and a feast was given that lasted forty days. The kingdom of Denmark was bestowed upon Ubbe, who held it of King Havelok. Havelok and Goldborough lived to the age of a hundred years, and their reign lasted for sixty years in England. They had fifteen children, who were all kings and queens. Such is the *geste* of Havelok and Goldborough.

§ 23. POSSIBLE DATE OF HAVELOK'S REIGN.

The various allusions to the story of Havelok already cited naturally lead us to consider the question as to what date we should refer such circumstances of the story as may have some foundation in truth, or such circumstances as may have originated the story. I do not look upon this as altogether a hopeless or profitless inquiry, for it seems to me that a theory may be constructed which will readily and easily fit in with most of the statements of our authorities. In the first place, to place Havelok's father in the time of Alfred, as is done by Peter de Langtoft and his translators, is absurd, and evidently due to the confusion between the names of Gunter and Godrum or Guthrum. We

may even adduce Langtoft's evidence against himself, as he alludes to Grimsby as being the boundary of Egbert's kingdom; and indeed, the mere fact of its being a British lay points to a time before the establishment of the Heptarchy. As already suggested in § 16, some of the authorities point to the sixth century. But the evidence of the French poem and of Gaimar points still more steadily to a similar early date. There we find Gunter appearing as the enemy, not of Alfred, but of Arthur. The French prose chronicle of the Brute places Adelbright and Edelfi after the death of Constantine, and it is clear that there is some close connection between the British lay of Havelok and the British Chronicle. The *Godrich* of the English version is the *Alsi* of the French poem, the *Edelsi* of Gaimar, the *Adelfrid*¹ or *Edelfrid* of the Eulogium Historiarum, the *Elfroi* of Wace, the *Æluric* of Lazamon, the *Æthelfrith* who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria A. D. 593, according to the Saxon Chronicle. The *Athelwold* of the English version is the *Adelbrikt* of Gaimar, the *Ekenbright* of the French poem, the *Athelbert* of the Eulogium Historiarum, the *Aldebar* of Wace, and the *Æthelbert* of Lazamon, i. e. no other than the celebrated *Æthelberht* of Kent, who was baptized by St Augustine A. D. 596, according to the Saxon Chronicle. This is the right clue to the *names*, from which, when once obtained, the rest follows easily. The variations between the English and French versions are very great, and it is clear that each poet proceeded much as poets are accustomed to do. Taking a legend as the general guide or thread of a narrative, it is the simplest and easiest plan to dress it up after one's own fashion, and to draw upon the materials that are supplied by the *general surroundings* of the story. I feel confident that the narrators of the Lay of Havelok must have used materials not much unlike those used by Lazamon, and a mere comparison of the French and English lays with Lazamon will amply suffice to elucidate this. *Æluric* is first mentioned at p. 195 of vol. iii. of Lazamon, as edited by Sir F. Madden; if we allow ourselves a margin on both sides of this, we may find many things akin to the lay of Havelok

¹ Hence, by confusion, the placing of Havelok's father in the time of *Ælfred*.

between pages 150 and 282 of that volume, as I will now shew. The character of the good king Athelwold is taken from that of Æthelberht of Kent, and his love of justice may remind us of the ancient collection of laws which are still extant as having been made by that king. His extensive rule, such as is also attributed to Godrich and Havelok, may point to the title of *Bretwalda*, which Æthelberht so long coveted, and at last obtained. Our poet, in describing Birkabeyn, repeats this character so exactly, and makes the circumstances of the deaths of Athelwold and Birkabeyn so similar, that they are almost indistinguishable; a fault which he doubles by repeating the character of Godrich in describing that of Godard. Both of these answer to Lazamon's Æluric, who was "the wickedest of all kings" (Laz. iii. 195). So far, perhaps, the connection of the various stories is not very evident, but I will now mention an obvious coincidence. The quarrel and reconciliation between Athelbert and Edelfrid, as told in the *Eulogium Historiarum*, &c., exactly answers to the quarrel and reconciliation between Cadwan and Æluric as told in Lazamon (vol. iii. p. 205); where Cadwan has come forward in place of Æthelbert, who has by this time dropped out of Lazamon's narrative. Again, the Gunter or Gurmond who was Havelok's father reminds us of the Gurmund of Lazamon (p. 156), who is curiously described as king of Africa; but the name is Danish. The character of Grim is fairly paralleled by that of Brian, who makes sea-voyages, and goes about as a merchant (Lazamon, iii. 232). In several respects Havelok may have been drawn from Cadwalan, whose gallant attempts to gain the king of Northumberland are recorded in Lazamon (iii. 216—254); his opponent being Edwin, who has replaced Ethelfrid as Lazamon's narrative proceeds. At last he overthrows him and slays him in the great battle of Heathfield or Hatfield, which took place, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 633. This great battle resembles the decisive one between Havelok and Godrich. As Cadwalan was well supported by his liegeman Penda (Lazamon, iii. 251), so was Havelok by Ubbe. Again, Cadwalan marries Helen, whom he found at

—þan castle of Deoure
on þere sæ oure; (Lazamon, iii. 250),

which reminds us of Havelok's wife Goldborough, who was imprisoned at

—doure

þat standeth on þe seis oure ; (l. 320).

The very name Helen, though not the name of Havelok's wife, was that of his mother, who was killed by the pirates. For the connection between Lazamon's Helen and pirates, see Sir F. Madden's note, vol. iii. p. 428. There is a most curious contradiction in the English lay about Havelok's religion ; in l. 2520 he is a devout Christian, but in l. 2580 Godrich speaks of him as being a cruel pagan. Now it was just about this very time that Paulinus preached in Lindsey, "where the first that believed was a powerful man called *Blecca*, with all his followers" (A.S. Chron. ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 21 ; A. D. 627). Havelok, according to some, was buried at Stonehenge ; but so was Constantine (Lazamon, iii. 151). A dearth is mentioned in the English lay (l. 824) ; cf. Lazamon, iii. 279. And I may here add another coincidence, of an interesting but certainly of a very circuitous nature. A close examination of the Lay of King Horn shews that there is no real connection between the story therein contained and that of Havelok. Yet there is a connection after a sort. Though by different authors, and in different metre, both lays are found in English in the same MS. ; both versions belong to the same date ; both are from French versions, written by Englishmen from British sources ; and now, if we compare King Horn with the very part of Lazamon now under consideration, there is at once seen to be a most exact resemblance in one point. The story of the ring given by Horn to Rymenhild (K. Horn, ed. Lumby, ll. 1026—1210) is remarkably like that of the ring whereby Brian is recognized by his sister (Lazamon, iii. 234—238). But it is hardly worth while to pursue the subject further. It may suffice to suppose that the period of the existence of Havelok and Grim may be referred to the times of Æthelberht of Kent and Æthelfrith and Eadwine of Northumbria.¹ It is exceedingly probable that Havelok was never more than a chief or a petty prince, and

¹ Or, as I should prefer to say, earlier than those times. The two kings spoken of in the Lay may have had names somewhat similar to these, which may have been replaced by the more familiar names here mentioned.

whether he was a Danish or only a British enemy of the Angles is not of very great importance. If, however, more exact dates be required, they may be found in "The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons," by Daniel P. Haigh, London, 8vo, 1861, pp. 363—367; where the following dates are suggested. Havelok's father slain, A. D. 487; his expedition to Denmark, A. D. 507; his reign in England, A. D. 511—531, or a little later. These dates follow a system which is here about 16 years earlier than the dates in the A.S. Chronicle. His results are obtained from totally different considerations. On the whole, let us place Havelok in the *sixth* century, at *some* period of his life.

§ 24. It is, perhaps, worthy of a passing remark that some of the circumstances in the Lay may have been suggested by the romantic story of Eadwine of Northumbria, who was also born at the close of the sixth century. For he it was who really married the *daughter of Æthelberht*, and it was the *archbishop of York*, Paulinus, who performed the ceremony. The relation of how Eadwine was persecuted by *Æthelfrith*, how he fled and was protected by Rædwald, king of the East Angles, how he saw a vision of an angel who promised his restoration to the throne and that his rule should exceed that of his predecessors, how, with the assistance of Rædwald, he overthrew and *slew Æthelfrith* in a terrible battle beside the river Idle, may be found in Beda's Ecclesiastical History, bk. II. ch. 9—16.¹ In the last of these chapters there is again mention of *Blecca, the governor of the city of Lincoln*. Sir F. Madden, in his note to l. 45, speaks of the extraordinary proofs of the peaceable state of the country in the reign of Ælfred; but Beda uses similar language in speaking of the reign of Eadwine; and the earlier instance is even more remarkable. "It is reported that there was then such perfect peace in Britain, wheresoever the dominion of King Edwin extended, that, *as is still proverbially said*, a woman with her new-born babe might walk throughout the island, from sea to sea, without receiving any harm. That king took such care for the good of his nation, that in several places where he had seen clear springs near the highways, he caused stakes to be fixed, with brass dishes hanging

¹ Cf. Lappenberg's History of England, tr. by Thorpe, vol. i. pp. 145—154.

at them, for the conveniency of travellers ; nor durst any man touch them for any other purpose than that for which they were designed, either through the dread they had of the king, or for the affection which they bore him, &c.”¹ Readers who are acquainted with the pleasing poem of “Edwin of Deira,” by the late Alexander Smith, will remember his adventures ; and it may be noted, as an instance of the manner in which poets alter names at pleasure, that Mr Smith gives to Æthelfrith the name of Ethelbert, to Eadwine’s wife Æthelburh, that of Bertha, and to his father Ælle, that of Egbert. My theory of the Lay of Havelok is then simply this, that I look upon it as the general result of various narratives connected with the history of Northumbria and Lindesey at the close, or possibly the beginning, of the sixth century, gathered round some favourite local (i. e. Lincolnshire) tradition as a nucleus. A similar theory may be true of the Lay of Horn.

§ 25. ON THE NAMES “CURAN” AND “HAVELOK.”

The French version tells us that *Coaran*, *Cuaran*, or *Cuheran* is the British word for a scullion. This etymology has not hitherto been traced, but it may easily have been perfectly true. A glance at Armstrong’s Gaelic Dictionary shews us that the Gaelic *cearn* (which answers very well to the Old English *hirne*, a corner) has the meaning of a *corner*, and, secondly, of a *kitchen* ; and that *cearnach* is an adjective meaning *of or belonging to a kitchen*. But we may come even nearer than this ; for by adding the diminutive ending *-an* to the Gaelic *cocaire*, a cook, we see that *Cuheran* may really have conveyed the idea of *scullion* to a British ear, and this probably further gave rise to the story of Havelok’s degradation. It is a common custom—one which true etymologists must always deplore—to invent a story to account for a derivation ; and such a practice is invariably carried out with greater boldness and to a greater extent if the said derivation chances to be false. For it is possible that Curan may be simply the Gaelic *curan*, a brave man, and the Irish *curanta*, brave. The derivation of Havelok is certainly puzzling.

¹ See the same statement in Fabyan’s Chronicles, p. 112 ; ed. Ellis, 1811.

Professor Rask declared it to have no meaning in Danish. It bears, however, a remarkable resemblance to the Old English *gavelok*, which occurs in Weber's *Kyng Alisaunder*, l. 1620, and which is the A.S. *gafeluc*, Icel. *gaflak*, Welsh *gaflach*, a spear, dart, or javelin. This is an appropriate name for a warrior, and possibly reappears in the instance of Hugh *Kevelock*, earl of Chester (Bp. Percy's Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, i. 128). It is remarkable that the Gaelic and Irish *corran* has the same sense, that of a *spear*, whilst *curan*, as above-mentioned, means a *brave man*. It is best, perhaps, to stop here; for etymology, when pursued too far, is wont to beguile the pursuer into every possible quagmire of absurdity.

§ 26. DESCRIPTION OF THE MS., &c.

The MS. from which the present poem is printed is in the Laudian collection in the Bodleian Library, where its old mark is K 60, and its present one Misc. 108. Being described in the old printed catalogue merely as *Vitæ Sanctorum*, the romance was in consequence for a long time overlooked. The Lives of the Saints occupy a large portion of the volume, and are probably to be ascribed to the authorship of Robert of Gloucester. "These Lives or Festivals," says Sir F. Madden, "are [here] 61 in number, written in long Alexandrine verse. Then succeed the Sayings of St Bernard and the Visions of St Paul, both in six-line stanzas; the *Disputatio inter Corpus et Animam*, the English Romance of Havelok, the Romance of Kyng Horn, and some additions in a hand of the 15th century, including the lives of St Blaise, St Cecilia, and St Alexius, and an alliterative poem intitled *Somer Soneday*, making in all the Contents of the Volume to amount to 70 pieces." The lays of Havelok and Horn are written out in the same handwriting, of an early date, certainly not later than the end of the thirteenth century. The Havelok begins on fol. 204, and is written in double columns, each column containing 45 lines. A folio is lost between fol. 211 and 212, but no notice of this has been taken in numbering the folios; hence the catchword which should have been found at the bottom of fol. 215 *b*, appears at the bottom of fol. 214 *b* (see l. 2164). The poem terminates at the

27th line on fol. 219 *b*, and is immediately followed by Kyng Horn in the same column. The character of the handwriting is bold and square, but the words are very close together. The initial letter of every line is written a little way apart from the rest, as in William of Palerne, and other MSS. Both the long and short *s* (f and s) are used. The long *s* is in general well distinguished from *f*, and on this account I have taken the liberty of printing both *esses* alike, as my experience in printing the Romans of Partenay proved that the difficulty of avoiding misprints is greater than the gain of representing the difference between them. The chief point of interest is that, as in *early* MSS., the long *s* is sometimes found at the *end* of a word, as in "uf" in l. 22, and "if" in l. 23. The following are all the examples of the use of this letter in the first 26 lines; fo (4), wictefte (9), ftede (10), crift, fchilde (16), Krift, fo (17), fo (19), fchal (21), Krift, uf (22), if (23), ftalworpi (24), ftalworpefte (25), ftede (26). With this exception, the present reprint is a faithful representation of the original; for, as the exact fidelity of a text is of the first importance, I have been careful to compare the proof-sheets with the MS. twice throughout; besides which, the original edition is itself exceedingly correct, and had been re-read by Sir F. Madden with the MS. His list of errata (nearly all of them of minor importance) agreed almost exactly with my own. A great difficulty is caused by the use of the Saxon letter *w* (*p*). This letter, the thorn-letter (*þ*), and *y*, are all three made very nearly alike. In general, the *y* is dotted, but the dot is occasionally omitted. Wherever the letter really appears to be a *w*, I have denoted it by printing the *w* as an italic letter. The following are, I believe, the *only* examples of it. *Wit-drow* = withdrew, l. 502; *we*, 1058; *was*, 1129 (cf. "him was ful wa," *Sir Tristr.* f. iii. st. 43); *berwen*, 1426 (written "berwen" in l. 697); *wat* = known, 1674; *we*, miswritten for *wo* = who, 1914; to which perhaps we may add *wit*, 997. This evidence is interesting as shewing that this letter was then fast going out of use, and I think that we may safely date the final disappearance of this letter from MSS. at about the year 1300. As regards the *th*, we may remark that at the end of a word both *þ* and *th* are used, as in "norþ and suth,"

l. 434; sometimes *th* occurs in the middle of a word, as “sithen,” l. 1238, which is commonly written “sipen,” as in l. 399. The words *pe*, *pat*, *per*, &c., are hardly ever written otherwise. But the reader will remark many instances in which *th* final seems to have the hard sound of *t*, as in *brouth*, 57, *nouth*, 58, *lith*, 534, *pouth*, 1190, &c.; cf. § 27. The letter *t* is sometimes shortened so as nearly to resemble *c*, and *c* is sometimes lengthened into *t*. The letters *n* and *u* are occasionally alike, but the difference between them is commonly well marked. The *i* has a long stroke over it when written next to *m* or *n*. On the whole, the writing is very clear and distinct, after a slight acquaintance with it. The poem is marked out into paragraphs by the use of large letters. I have introduced a slight space at the end of each paragraph, to shew this more clearly.

§ 27. ON THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS OCCURRING IN THE POEM.

The following peculiarities of spelling may be first noted. We frequently find *h* prefixed to words which it is usual to spell without one. Examples are: *holde* for *old*, *hete* for *ete* (eat), *het* for *et* (ate), *heuere* for *euere*, *Henglishe* for *Englishe*, &c.; see the Glossary, under the letter H. This enables us to explain some words which at first appear puzzling; thus *her* = *er*, *ere*; *hayse* = *ayse*, ease; *helde* = *elde*, old age; *hore* = *ore*, grace; *hende* = *ende*, which in one passage means *end*, but in another *a duck*. The forms *hof*, *hus*, *hure*, for *of*, *us*, *ure* are such as we should hardly have expected to find. On the other hand, *h* is omitted in the words *auelok*, *aueden*, *osed*, and in *is* for *his* (l. 2254). These instances, and other examples such as follow, may readily be found by help of the Glossarial Index. Again, *d* final after *l* or *n* was so slightly sounded as to be omitted even in writing. Examples are: *lon* for *lond*, *hel* for *held*, *bihel* for *biheld*, *shel* for *sheld*, *gol* for *gold*. But a more extraordinary omission is that of *r* final in *the*, *neythe*, *othe*, *douthe*, which does not seem to be satisfactorily explained even by the supposition that the scribe may have omitted the small upward curl which does duty for *er* so frequently in MSS. For we further find the omission of *l* final, as in *mike* for *mikel*, *we* for *wel*, and of *t* final, as in *bes* for *best*; from which

instances we should rather infer some peculiarity of pronunciation rendering final letters indistinct, of which there are numerous examples, as *fiel* for *field*, in modern provincial English. Cf. *il* for *ilk*, in ll. 818, 1740; and *twel* for *twelf*. "From the same license," says Sir F. Madden, "arises the frequent repetition of such rhythm as *riden* and *side*, where the final *n* seems to have been suppressed in pronunciation. Cf. ll. 29, 254, 957, 1105, 1183, 2098, &c., and hence we perceive how readily the infinitive verbal Saxon termination glided into its subsequent form. The broad pronunciation of the dialect in which the poem was written is also frequently discernible, as in *slawen*, l. 2676, and *knaue*, l. 949, which rhyme to *Rauen* and *plawe*.¹ So likewise, *bothe* or *bethe* is, in sound, equivalent to *rede*, ll. 360, 694, 1680." Other peculiarities will be noticed in discussing the Metre. Observe also the Anglo-Saxon *hw* for the modern *wh*, exemplified by *hwo*, 368, *hwan*, 474, *hweper*, 294, *hwere*, 549, *hwil*, 301; compare also *qual*, *qui*, *quan*, meaning *whale*, *why*, *when*.² The letter *w* (initial) is the modern provincial 'oo, as in *wlf*, *wluine*, *wman*; cf. *hw*, *w*, both forms of *how*; and *lowerd* for *louerd*. In particular, we should notice the hard sound of *t* denoted by *th* in the words *with*, *rithe*, *brouth*, *nouth*, *rieth*, *knieth*, meaning *white*, *right*, *brought*, *naught*, *right*, *knight*; so too *douter*, daughter, *neth*, a net, *uth*, out, *woth*, wot, *leth*, let, *lauthe* (*laught*), caught, *nither-tale* (*nighter-tale*), night-time.³ On the other hand, *t* stands for *th* in *hawet*, 564, *seyt*, 647, *herknet*, 1, *wit*, 100. When *th* answers to the modern sound, it seems equivalent to A.S. *þ* rather than to A.S. *p*; examples are *mouth*, 433, *oth*, 260, *loth*, 261. *Y* and *g* are interchangeable, as in *yaf*, *gaf*, *youen*, *gouen*; *g* even occurs for *k*, as in *rang*, 2561. In MSS., *e* is not uncommonly written by

¹ "Cf. K. Horn, 1005, where *haue* rhymes with *plawe*."—M. Mr A. J. Ellis would consider *slawen*, *knaue*, &c., as assonances—"Do not think of the pronunciation of modern *draven*. Read *sla-wen*, *kna-ue*, an assonance. *Bepe* does not rhyme to *reden*; it is only an assonance."—Ellis. On the other hand, we find the spellings *rathe*, *rothe* instead of *rede* in ll. 1335 and 2817.

² "*Qual* = *quhal*, the aspirate being omitted; and *quhal* = *whal*."—Ellis.

³ The use of *th* for *t* is not uncommon. In the *Romans of Partenay*, we have *thown*, *thaken*, *thouchyng*, &c., for *town*, *taken*, *touching*: see Preface, p. xvi. In the copy of *Piers Plowman* in MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Dd 1. 17, I have observed several similar examples. Cf. Eng. *tea*, Ital. *tè*, Span. *té*, with Fr. *thé*, Swed. *the*, G. Du. Dan. *thee*.

mistake for *o*; this may perhaps account for *helde*, 2472, *meste*, 233, *her*, 1924, which should rather be *holde*, 30, *moste*, and *hor*, 235; there is a like confusion of *weren* and *woren*; and perhaps *grotinde* should be *gretinde*.¹ The vowel *u* is replaced by the modern *ou* in the words *prud*, 302, *suth*, 434, *but*, 1040, *hus*, 740, *spusen*, 1123; cf. *hws* in l. 1141. Mr Ellis shews, in his *Early English Pronunciation*, chap. v, that in pure specimens of the *thirteenth* century, there is no *ou* in such words, and in the *fourteenth* century, no simple *u*. This furnishes a ready explanation of the otherwise difficult *sure*, in l. 2005; it is merely the adverb of *sour*, *sourly* being used in the sense of *bitterly*; to *bye it bitterly*, or *bye it bittre*, is a common phrase in *Piers Plowman*. Other spellings worth notice occur in *ouerga*, 314, *stra*, 315 (spelt *strie* in l. 998), *hawe*, 1188, *plawe*, 950, *sal*, 628 (commonly spelt *shal*). Note also *arum* for *arm*, *harum* for *harm*, *boren* for *born*, 1878, and *koren* for *corn*, 1879. There are several instances of words joined together, as *hawi*, 2002, *biddi*, 484; *shaltu*, 2186, *wiltu*, 905, *wenestu*, 1787; *wilte*, 528, *thenkeste*, 578, *shaltou*, 1800; *thouthe*, 790, *hauedet*, *youenet*, *hauenet*; *sawe*, 338; *latus*, 1772; where the personal pronouns *i*, *pu*, *he*, *it*, *we*, *us* are added to the verb. Hence, in l. 745, it is very likely that *calleth* is written for *callet*, i. e. call it; and on the same principle we can explain *donez*; see *Es* in the Glossary. In like manner *goddot* is contracted from *God wot*; and *perl* from *pe erl*.

Nouns. As regards the nouns employed, I may remark that the final *e* is perhaps always sounded in the oblique cases, and especially in the dative case; as in *nedè*, *stedè*, &c. (see ll. 86—105), *willè*, 85, *gyuè*, 357, *blissè*, 2187, *cricè*, 2450; cf. the adjectives *longè*, 2299, *wisè*, 1713; also the nominatives *rosè*, 2919, *newè*, 2974. *Frend* is a pl. form; cf. *hend*, which is both a plural (2444) and a dat. sing. (505). In the plural, the final *e* is fully pronounced in the adjectives *allè*, 2, *hardè*, 143, *starkè*, 1015, *fremdè*, 2277, *bleike*, 470, and in many others; cf. the full form *bopen*, 2223. Not only does the phrase *none kines*, of no kind, occur in ll. 861, 1140, but we find the unusual phrase *neuere kines*, of

¹ "Is *e* for *o* a mistake, or may it be compared with *preue* for *prove*, &c.?"—Ellis. I would observe that *gretting* is the spelling of the *substantive* in l. 166.

never a kind, in l. 2691. Among the numerals, we find not only *pre*, but *prinne*.

Pronouns. The first personal pronoun occurs in many forms in the nominative, as *i*, *y*, *hi*, *ich*, *ic*, *hic*, and even *ihe*; the oblique cases take the form *me*. For the second person, we have *þu*, *pou*, in the nominative, and also *tu*, when preceded by *þat*, as in l. 2903. We may notice also *hijs* for *his*, l. 47; *he* for *they*; *sho*, 112, *scho*, 126, *sche*, 1721, for *she*; and, in particular, the dual form *unke*, of you two, 1882. The most noteworthy possessive pronouns are *minè*, pl. 1365, *pinè*, pl. 620; *his* or *hise*, pl. *hisè*, 34; *ure*, 606; *youres*, 2800; *hirè*, 2918, with which cf. the dat. sing. *hirè* of the personal pronoun, 85, 300. *þis* is plural, and means *these*, in l. 1145. As in other old English works, *men* is frequently an impersonal pronoun, answering to the French *on*, and is followed by a singular verb; as in *men ringes*, 390, *men seyt and suereth*, 647, *men fetes*, 2341, *men nam*, 900, *men birþe*, 2101, *mèn dos*, 2434; cf. *folk sau*, 2410; but there are a few instances of its use with a plural verb, as *men haueden*, 901, *men shulen*, 747. The former is the more usual construction.

Verbs. The infinitives of verbs rarely have *y-* prefixed; two examples are *y-lere*, 12, *y-se*, 334. Nor is the same prefix common before past participles; yet we find *i-gret*, 163, *i-groten*, 285, and *i-maked*, 5, as well as *maked*, 23. Infinitives end commonly in *-en* or *-e*, as *riden*, 26, *y-lere*; also in *-n*, as *don*, 117, *leyn*, 718; and even in *-o*, as *flo*, 612, *slo*, 1364. The present singular, 3rd person, of the indicative, ends both in *-es* or *-s*, and *-eth* or *-th*, the former being the more usual. Examples are *longes*, 396, *leues*, 1781, *haldes*, 1382, *fedes*, 1693, *bes*, 1744, *comes*, 1767, *glides*, 1851, *þarnes*, 1913, *haues*, 1952, *etes*, 2036, *dos*, 1913; also *eteth*, 672, *haueth*, 804, *bikenneth*, 1269, *doth*, 1876, *lip*, 673. The full form of the 2nd person is *-est*, as *louest*, 1663; but it is commonly cut down to *-es*, as *weldes*, 1359, *slepes*, 1283, *haues*, 688, *etes*, 907, *getes*, 908; cf. *dos*, 2390, *mis-gos*, 2707, *slos*, 2706. The same dropping of the *t* is observable in the past tense, as in *refstes*, 2394, *feddes* and *claddes*, 2907. Still more curious is the ending in *t* only, as in *þu bi-hetet*, 677, *pou mait*, 689; cf. ll. 852, 1348. In the subjunctive mood the *-st* disappears as in Anglo-Saxon,

and hence the forms *bute pou gonge*, 690, *pat pu fonge*, 856, &c. ; cf. *bede*, 668. In the 3rd person, present tense, of the same mood, we have the *-e* fully pronounced, as in *shildè*, 16, *yeuè*, 22, *leuè*, 334, *redè*, 687 ; and in l. 544, *wreken* should undoubtedly be *wrekè*, since the *-en* belongs to the plural, as in *moten*, 18. The plural of the indicative present ends in *-en*, as, *we hauen*, 2798, *ye witen*, 2208, *pei taken*, 1833 ; or, very rarely, in *-eth*, as *ye bringeth*, 2425, *he* (they) *strangleth*, 2584. Sometimes the final *-n* is lost, as in *we haue*, 2799, *ye do*, 2418, *he* (they) *brenne*, 2583. There is even a trace of the plural in *-es*, as in *haues*, 2581. The *present* tense has often a *future* signification, as in *etes*, 907, *eteth*, 672, *getes*, 908.

Past tense. Of the third person singular and plural of the past tense the following are selected examples. WEAK VERBS : *hauede*, 770, *sparedè*, 898, *yemedè*, 975, *semedè*, 976, *sparkèdè*, 2144, *pankedè*, 2189 ; pl. *loueden*, 955, *leykeden*, 954, *woundeden*, 2429, *starcen*, 1037, *yemede* (rather read *yemededen*), 2277, *makeden*, 554, *sprauleden*, 475 ; also *calde*, 2115, *gredde*, 2417, *herde*, 2410, *kepte*, 879, *fedde*, 786, *ledde*, 785, *spedde*, 756, *clapte*, 1814, *kiste*, 1279 ; pl. *herden*, *brenden*, 594, *kisten*, 2162, *ledden*, 1246 ; and, thirdly, of the class which change the vowel, *aute*, 743, *laute*, 744, *bitauhte*, 2212. Compare the past participles *osed*, 971, *mixed*, 2533, *parred*, 2439, *gadred*, 2577 ; *reft*, 1367, *wend*, 2138, *hyd*, 1059 ; *told*, 1036, *sold*, 1638, *wrouth* = *wrout*, 1352. There are also at least two past participles in *-et*, as *slenget*, 1923, *grethet*, 2615, to which add *weddeth*, *beddeth*, 1127. In l. 2057, *knawed* seems put for *knawen*, for the rime's sake.

STRONG VERBS : third person singular, past tense, *bar*, 815, *bad*, 1415, *yaf*, or *gaf*, *spak* ; *kam*, 766 (spelt *cham*, 1873), *nam*, *kneu*, *hew*, 2729, *lep*, 1777, *let*, 2447 (spelt *leth*, 2651), *slep*, 1280, *wex*, 281 ; *drow*, 705, *for*, 2943, *low*, 903, *slow*, 1807, *hof*, 2750, *stod*, 983, *tok*, 751, *wok*, 2093 ; pl. *beden*, 2774, *youen*, or *gouen* ; *comen*, 1017 (spelt *keme*, 1208), *nomen*, 2790 (spelt *neme*, 1207), *knewen*, 2149, *lopen*, 1896, *slepen*, 2128 ; *drowen*, 1837, *foren*, 2380, *lowen*, 1056, *slowen*, 2414, &c. And secondly, of the class which more usually change the vowel in the *plural* of the preterite, we find the singular forms *bigan*, 1357, *barw*, 2022, *karf*, 471, *swank*, 788, *warp*, 1061, *shon*, 2144, *clef*, 2643, *sau*, 2409, *grop*, 1965, *drof*, 725, *shof*,

892; pl. *bigunnen*, 1011, *sowen*, 1055, *gripen*, 1790, *driue*, for *driuen*, 1966; also *bunden*, 2436, *scuten*, 2431 (spelt *schoten*, 1864, *shoten*, 1838), *leyen*, 2132, &c. Compare the past participles *boren*, 1878, *youn* or *gouen*, *cumen*, 1436, *nomen*, 2265 (spelt *numen*, 2581), *laten*, 1925, *waxen*, 302, *drawen*, 1925, *slawen*, 2000, which two last become *drawe*, *slawe* in ll. 1802, 1803.

We should also observe the past tenses *spen*, 1819, *stirt*, 812, *fauth* for *faut* or *fauht*, 1990, *citte*, 942, *bere*, 974, *kipte*, 1050, *flow*, 2502, *plat*, 2755; and the past participles *demd* for *demed*, 2488, *giue* for *giuen*, 2488, *henge*, 1429, *keft*, 2005.

Imperative Mood. Examples of the imperative mood singular, 2nd person, are *et*, *sit*, 925, *nim*, 1336, *yif*, 674; in the plural, the usual ending is *-es*, as in *liþes*, 2204, *comes*, 1798, *folwes*, 1885, *lokes*, 2292, *bes*, 2246, to which set belong *slos*, 2596, *dos*, 2592; but there are instances of the ending *-eth* also, as in *cometh*, 1885, *yeueþ*, 911, to which add *doth*, 2037, *goth*, 1780. Indeed both forms occur in one line, as in *Cometh swiþe, and folwes me* (1885). Instead of *-eth* we even find *-et*, as in *herknet*, 1. These variations afford a good illustration of the unsettled state of the grammar in some parts of England at this period; we need not suppose the scribe to be at fault in all cases where there is a want of uniformity.

Of reflexive verbs, we meet with *me dremede*, 1284, *me met*, 1285, *me þinkes*, 2169, *him hungrede*, 654, *him semede*, 1652, *him stondes*, 2983, *him rewede*, 503. The present participles end most commonly in *-inde*, as *fastinde*, 865, *grotinde* (? *gretinde*), 1390, *lauhwinde*, 946, *plattinde*, 2282, *starinde*, 508; but we also find *gangande*, 2283, *driuende*, 2702. Compare the nouns *tipande*, 2279, *offrende*, 1386, which are Norse forms, *tiðindi* (pl.) being the Icelandic for *tidings*, and *offrandi* the present participle of *offra*, to offer. But the true Icelandic equivalent of the substantive *an offering* is *offran*, and the old Swedish is *offer*; and hence we see at how very early a date the confusion between the noun-ending and the ending of the present participle arose; a confusion which has bewildered many generations of Englishmen. Yet this very poem in other places has *-ing* as a noun-ending *only*, never (that I remember) for the present participle. Examples of it are

greting, 166, *dreping*, i. e. slaughter, 2684, *buttinge*, *skirming*, *wrastling*, *putting*, *harping*, *piping*, *reding*; see ll. 2322—2327. Such words are frequently called *verbal nouns*, but the term is very likely to mislead. I have found that many suppose it to imply *present participles used as nouns*, instead of *nouns of verbal derivation*. If such nouns could be called by some new name, such as *nouns of action*, or by any other title that can be conventionally restricted to signify them, it would, I think, be a gain. Amongst the auxiliary verbs, may be noted the use of *cone*, 622, as the subjunctive form of *canst*; *we mone*, 840, as the subjunctive of *mowen*; cf. *ye mowen*, 11; but especially we should observe the use of the comparatively rare verbs *birpe*, it behoves, pt. t. *birde*, it behoved, and *purte*, he need, the latter of which is fully explained in the Glossary to William of Palerne, s. v. *port*.

The prefix *to-* is employed in *both* senses, as explained in the same Glossary, s. v. *To-*. In *to-brised*, *to-deyle*, &c., it is equivalent to the German *zer-* and Mæso-Gothic *dis-*; of its *other* and *rarer* use, wherein it answers to the German *zu-* and Mæso-Gothic *du-*, there is but *one* instance, viz. in the word *to-yede*, 765, which signifies *went to*; cf. Germ. *zugehen*, to go to, *zugang* (A.S. *to-gang*), access, approach. There are some curious instances of a peculiar syntax, whereby the infinitive mood active partakes of a passive signification, as in *he made him kesten*, and *in feteres festen*, he caused him to be cast in prison (*or perhaps*, overthrown), and to be fastened in fetters; l. 81. But it is probable that this is to be explained by considering it as a phrase in which we should *now* supply the word *men*, and that we may interpret it by “he caused [men] to cast him in prison, and to fasten him with fetters;” for in ll. 1784, 1785, the phrase is repeated in a less ambiguous form. See also l. 86. So also, in ll. 2611, 2612, I consider *keste*, *late*, *sette*, to be in the infinitive mood. Such a construction is at once understood by comparing it with the German *er liess ihn binden*, he caused him to be bound. In l. 2352, appears the most unusual form *ilker*, which is literally *of each*, and hence, *apiece*; cf. *unker*, which also is a genitive plural. It will be observed that the verb following is in the plural, the real nominative to it being *þei þre*. In l. 2404, the expression *þat þer þrette*, “that there threat,” recalls a colloquialism

which is still common. The word *prie*, 730, is, apparently, the O.E. adverb *thrie*, thrice; *liues*, 509, is an adverb ending in *-es*, originally a genitive case. *pus-gate* is, according to Mr Morris, unknown to the Southern dialect; it occurs in ll. 785, 2419, 2586. I may add that *Havelok* contains as many as five expressions, which seem to refer to *proverbs* current at the time of writing it. See ll. 307, 648, 1338, 1352, 2461.

§ 28. ON THE METRE OF HAVELOK.

The poem is written in the familiar rhythm of which I have already spoken elsewhere, viz. at p. xxxvii of the Preface to Mr Morris's edition of *Genesis and Exodus*. The metre of *Havelok* is rather more regular, but many of the remarks there made apply to it. The chief rule is that every line shall contain four accents,¹ the two principal types being afforded (1) by the eight-syllable and nine-syllable lines—

(a) For hém | ne yé|dē góld | ne fé, 44 ;

(b) It wás | a kíng | bi á|rē dāwēs, 27 ;

and (2) by the seven-syllable and eight-syllable lines—

(c) Hérk|net tó | me gó|dē men, 1 ;

(d) Al|lē thát | he mīth|ē fyndē, 42.

To one of these four forms every line can be reduced, by the use of that slighter utterance of less important syllables which is so very common in English poetry. It is not the number of *syllables*, but of *accents*, that is essential. In *every* line throughout the poem there are four accents, with only two or three excep-

¹ "This *four accents* I consider to be a wrong way of stating the fact. . . The metre consists of four measures, each generally, not always, of *two* syllables, the first often *one* syllable, the others often of *three* syllables, and each measure has generally more stress on the last than on any other, but the accents or principal stresses in the verse are usually 2, sometimes 3, perhaps never 4."—A. J. Ellis. I need hardly add that such a statement is more exact, and that I here merely use the word *accent* in the loose sense it often bears, viz. as denoting the "stress," more or less heavy, and sometimes imperceptible, which is popularly supposed to belong to the last syllable in a measure. I must request the reader to remember that this present sketch of the metre is very slight and imperfect, and worded in the usual not very correct popular language. For more strict and careful statements the reader is referred to Mr A. J. Ellis's work on *Early English Pronunciation*. Until readers have made themselves acquainted with that work, they will readily understand what I *here* mean by "accents;" afterwards, they can easily adopt a stricter idea of its meaning.

tions, viz. ll. 1112, 1678, &c., which are defective. In a similar manner, we may readily scan any of the lines, as e. g. ll. 2—4 ;

- (c) Wi|uēs, mayd|nēs, and all|lē men
 (b) Of a ta|lē pat | ich you | wile tellē¹
 (b) Wo-so | 't wil' her' | and per|to duellē, &c.

Here the syllables *-nes* and in l. 3, of *a* in l. 4, and *it wile* in l. 5, are so rapidly pronounced as to occupy only the room of one unaccented syllable in lines of the strict type. However awkward this appears to be in theory, it is very easy in practice, as the reciter readily manages his voice so as to produce the right rhythmical effect ; and, indeed, this variation of arrangement is a real improvement, preventing the recitation from becoming monotonous. Those who have a good ear for rhythm will readily understand this, and it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it more at length. But it may be remarked, that the three lines above quoted are rather *more irregular than usual*, and that the metre is such as to enable us to fix the instances in which the final *-e* is pronounced with great accuracy, on which account I shall say more about this presently. I would, however, first enumerate the rimes which seem to be more or less inexact or peculiar, or otherwise instructive.

I. *Repetitions*. Such are *men, men* ; *holden, holde*, 29 ;² *erpe, erpe*, 739 ; *heren, heren*, 1640 ; *nithes, knithes*, 2048 ; *youres, youres*, 2800. To this class belong also *longe, londe*, 172, *heye, heie*, 1151, 2544 ; where *longe, londe* is, however, only an assonance.

II. *Assonant rimes*. Here the rime is in the vowel-sound ; the consonantal endings differ. Such are *rym, fyn*, 21 ; *yeme, quene*, 182 ; *shop, hok*, 1101 (where *shop* is probably corrupt) ; *odrat, bad*, 1153 ; *fet, ek*, 1303 ; *yer, del*, 1333 ; *maked, shaped*, 1646 ; *bepe, rede*, 1680 ; *riche, chinche*, 1763, 2940 ; *feld, swerd*, 1824, 2634 ; *seruede, werewed*, 1914 ; *wend, gent*, 2138 ; *pank, rang*, 2560 ; *bopen, ut-drowen*, 2658. To the same class belong *name, rauen*,

¹ "You cannot scan this line in any way. This method of doing it is quite impossible ; it is a mere chopping to make a verse like this. The line is corrupt. Omit *pat*, and you have

or better,
 Of | a tal' | ich you | wile telle
 Of | a tal' | ich wil|e telle."—Ellis.

² The number is that of the *first* line of the pair.

1397, *grauen*, name, 2528; *slawen*, *rauen*, 2676. *Henged*, *slenget*, 1922, should rather be called an imperfect rime.¹ There is also found the exact opposite to this, viz., an agreement or *consonance* at the end, preceded by an apparent diversity in the vowel; as *longe*, *gange*, 795 (but see *longe*, *gonge*, 843), *bidde*, *stede*, 2548, *open*, *drepen*, 1782, *gres*, *is*, 2698, *bope*, *rathe*, 2936 (but see *rathe*, *bathe*, 1335, 2542), *fet* (long *e*), *gret*, 2158; and not unlike these are some instances of loose rimes, as *bepe*, *rede*, 360, *knaue*, *plawe*, 949, *sawe*, *hawe* (where *hawe* is written for *have*), 1187, *sawe*, *wowe*, 1962 (but see *wowe*, *lowe*, 2078, *lowe*, *sawe*, 2142, *wawe*, *lowe*, 2470). Observe also *bouth*, *oft* (read *vt* or *ut* = *out*?), 883, *tun*, *barun*, 1001 (cf. *toun*, *brun*, 1750, *champiouns*, *barouns*, 1032); *plattinde*, *gangande*, 2282, &c. *Eir*, *tofer*, 410, *harde*, *crakede*, 567, are probably due to mistakes.²

III. Rimes which shew that the final *-en* was pronounced so slightly as to be nearly equivalent to *-e*. Examples: *holden*, *holde*, 29; *gongen*, *fonge*, 855; *bringe*, *ringen*, 1105; *mouthen*, *douth*, 1183; *riden*, *side*, 1758; *wesseylen*, *to-deyle*, 2098; *slawen*, *drawe*, 2476. In the same way *hon* rimes to *lond*, 1341, owing to the slight pronunciation of the final *d*.³

IV. Rimes which appear imperfect, but may be perfect. *Riche* answers to *like*, 132, but the true spelling is *rike*, answering to *sike*, 290. *Mithe*, 196, should probably be *moucte*, as in l. 257, and it would thus rime with *poucte*. *Blinne*, 2670, should certainly be *blunne*; cf. A.S. *blinnan*, pt. t. s. *ic blan*, pt. t. pl. *we blunnon*; and thus it rimes to *sunne*. *Misdede*, 993, is clearly an error for

¹ "You have omitted the curious *harde*, *krakede*, 567, here; it is only an assonance, not a mistake, I believe."—Ellis. But see note to l. 567.

² "On *i*, *e* rhymes, see p. 271, last line and following, of my Chap. IV. The *ð*, *a* depend on a provincialism, and this applies to *sawe*, *wowe*, *bepe*, *rede*, *knaue*, *plawe*, *sawe*, *have*, &c. *Bouth*, *oft* is a case of assonance, *bouth* being *bought*, where properly the *ugh* is the voiced sound of Scotch *quh*, and easily passes into *f*. The assonance is therefore nearly a rhyme. *Plattinde*, *gangande* is probably a scribal error. *Eir*, *tofer* is certainly a mistake; read

Swanborow, helfed, his sistres fair."—Ellis.

We may then perhaps alter *gangande* to *ganginde*. I do not quite like writing the modern form *fair* instead of the old plural *fayre* in order to gain a rime to *eir*. Cf. ll. 1095, 2300, 2538, 2768.

³ "*Hon*, *lond* may arise from a Danism, or from an English custom at that time of not pronouncing *d* after *n* in *nd* final; Danish *Mand* and German *Mann* are identical."—Ellis. I prefer to call it Danish; we English, now at least, often add a *d*, as in *sound*, *gownd*, from *soun*, *gownd*.

misseyde, as appears from the parallel passage in ll. 49, 50; and it then rimes with *leyde*. So in l. 1736, for *deled* read *deyled*, as in l. 2098. *Bope*, 430, has no line answering to it, and a line may have been lost. *Nicth, licth*, 575, is a perfect rime. *Halde, bolde*, 2308, may also be perfect. *For-sworen* answers to *for-lorn* (pronounced *for-loren*), 1423; *bitawte* to *authe* (pronounced *aute*), 1409; *yemede* (pronounced *yem-dè*) is not an improper rime to *fremde*, 2276; *anon* rimes with *iohan* (if pronounced *ion* or *John*, as indicated by the spelling *ion* in l. 177), 2562, 2956. Yet in another instance it seems to be two syllables, *Jo-han*; see *wimman, iohan*, 1720.¹ *Speche* should be *speke*, and thus rimes to *meke*, 1065. *Stareden* should perhaps be *stradden*, or some such form, rightly riming to *ladden*, 1037. Under this head we may notice some rimes which throw, possibly, some light on the pronunciation. Thus, for the sound of *ey, ei*, observe *hayse, preyse*, 60; *leyke, bleike*, 469; *laumprei, wei*, 771; *deye* rimes to *preye*, 168; *day* to *wey*, 663; *seyd* to *brayd*, 1281; but we also find *hey, fri*, 1071; *hey, sley*, 1083, *heye, heie*, 1151; *heye, eie*, 2544; *leye, heye*, 2010; *heye, fleye*, 2750. *Fram* rimes to *sham*, 55; yet the latter word is really *shame*, 83; *gange* is also spelt *gonge*, *halde* rimes with *bolde*, 2308. The pronunciation of *ware, were, or wore*, seems ambiguous; we find *sore, wore*, 236; *wore, more*, 258; *ware, sare*, 400; *wore, sore*, 414; *were, pere*, 741; *more, pore*, 921. For the sound of *e*, observe *suere, gere*, 388; *suereth, dereth*, 648; *eten, geten*, 930; *yet, fet*, 1319; *stem, bem*, 592; *glem, bem*, 2122; also *yeue, liue*, 198; *liue, gyue*, 356; *lyue, yeue*, 1217; *her, ther*, 1924; *fishere, swere*, 2230. For that of *i*,

¹ "Johan is almost Jon in Chaucer, however written, but l. 177 wants a measure; read—

Bi [Jhesu] crist, and bi seint ion.

In l. 1720 also the verse is defective; omit *al*, and read—

In denemark nis wimman [non]

So fayr so sche, bi seint Johan,

where *seint* is a dissyllable; see p. 264 of my Early English Pronunciation. *Hey, fri*, 1071, is an error; read *hy*, and see p. 285 of my book. The other instances of *ei, ai* are all regular, the confusion of *ei, ai* being perfect in the thirteenth century. *Shame*, l. 83, is dative, and would prove nothing, but *shame* in Orrmin is conclusive. Hence in *sham*, 56, we have an *e* omitted; compare p. 323 of my book, and the German *Ruh*." — Ellis. In other places, the spelling *heye* occurs, rather than *hy*; see ll. 719, 987, 1071, 1083, 1289, 1685, 2431, 2471, 2544, 2724, 2750, 2945, &c.

observe *cri, merci*, 270 ; *sire, swire*, 310 ; *swipe, vnblife*, 140 ; *fir, shir*, 587 ; *sire, hire*, 909 ; *rise, bise*, 723 ; *fyr, shir*, 915 ; *lye, strie*, 997 ; *hey, fri*, 1071 ; *for-pi, merci*, 2500. For that of *o*, observe *two, so*, 350 ; *do, so*, 713 ; *shon, on*, 969 ; *hom, grom*, 789 ; *lode, brode*, 895 ; *anon, ston*, 927 ; *ston, won*, 1023 ; *do, sho* (shoe), 1137 ; *do, sho* (she), 1231 ; *stod, mod*, 1702 ; *ilkon, ston*, 1842 ; *shon* (shoon), *ston*, 2144 ; *croud, god*, 2338 ; *don, bon*, 2354 ; *sone* (soon), *bone*, 2504 ; *bole, hole*, 2438.¹ Only in a few of these instances would the words rime in modern standard English. For the *ou* and *u* sounds, observe *coupe, moupe*, 112 ; *yow, now*, 160 ; *wolde, fulde*, 354 ; *yw, nou*, 453 ; *bounden, wnden*, 545 ; *sowel, couel*, 767 ; *low, ynow*, 903 ; *sowen, lowe*, 957 ; *strout, but*, 1039 ; *pou, nou*, 1283 ; *doun, tun*, 1630 ; *crus, hous*, 1966 ; *wounde, grunde*, 1978 ; *bowr, tour*, 2072 ; *spuse, huse*, 2912. *Lowe*, 1291, 2431, 2471, should rather be *lawe*, as in l. 2767. These hints will probably suffice for the guidance of those who wish to follow up the subject. It is evident that full dependence cannot be placed upon the *exactness* of the rimes.

§ 29. ON THE FINAL -E, &c.

There can be little doubt that the final *-e* is, in general, fully pronounced in this poem wherever it is written, with but a very few exceptions ; but at the same time it is liable to be elided when followed by a vowel or (sometimes) by the letter *h*, as is usual in old English poetry. In the following remarks, I shall use an apostrophe to signify that *e* is *written, but not pronounced* ; thus "wil'" signifies that "wile" is the MS. form, but "wil" the apparent pronunciation. I shall use an italic *e* to signify that the *e* is elided because followed by a vowel or *h*, as "cuppe" (l. 14) ; and in the same way, "riden," "litel," &c., signify that the syllables *-en, -el* are slurred over in a like manner. It will be seen that such syllables are, in general, slurred over when they occur before a vowel or *h* ; under the same circumstances, that is, as the final *-e*. When I simply write the word in the form "gode" as in the MS., I mean that the *-e* is *fully pronounced* ; so that "gode" stands for "godë."

¹ "The instances of *o* are all regular, except *croud, god*, 2338, which is a false rhyme altogether ; *ou* = modern *oo*,"—Ellis.

The following, then, are instances. I follow the order in Mr Morris's Introduction to Chaucer's Prologue, &c. (Clarendon Press Series).

(A) In nouns and adjectives (of A.S. origin) the final *-e* represents one of the final vowels *a, u, e*, and hence is fully sounded even in the nominative case in such instances. Examples; gome (A.S. *goma*), 7, blome (A.S. *bloma*), 63, trewe (A.S. *treowe*), 179, knaue (A.S. *cnafa*), 308, 450, sone (A.S. *sunu*), 394.

(B) In words of French origin it is sounded as in French verse. Such words are scarce in Havelok. Examples: hayse, 59, beste, 279, miracle, 500, rose, 2919, curtesye (*miswritten* curteyse), 2876, cf. 194, drurye, 195, male, 48, large, 97, noble, 1263.

(C) It is a remnant of various grammatical inflexions:—(1) it is a sign of the *dative* case in nouns; as, nede, 9, stede, 10, trome, 8, wronge, 72, stede, 142, dede (not elided, because of the *cæsura*), 167, arke, 222, erpe, 248, lite prawe, 276. It also sometimes marks the accusative, or the genitive of feminine nouns: *accusatives*, cuppe, 14, wede, 94, brede, 98, shrede, 99, mede, 102, quiste, 219, sorwe, 238 (cf. sorw' in l. 240), sone, 308, knaue, 308, sone, 350, wille, 441: *genitives*, messe, 186, 188, helle, 405.

(2) In adjectives it marks—

(a) the *definite form* of the adjective; as, þe meste, 233, þe riche (not elided¹), 239, te beste, 87, þe hexte [man], 1080, þat wicke, 1158, þat foule, 1158, þe firste, 1333, þe rede, 1397. This rule is most often violated in the case of *dissyllabic* superlatives; as, þe wictest', 8, þe fairest, þe strangest, 1081, 1110; cf. 199, 200.

(b) the *plural* number. Examples abound, as, gode, 1, alle, 2, are, 27, yung = yunge, 30, holde, 30, gode, 34, 55, harde, 143, grene, 470, bleike, 470, halte, 543, doumbe, 543, &c.

The same use is often extended to possessive pronouns; we find the plurals mine, 385, 514 (but min', 392), þine, 620, hise, 34, 67, hure, 1231; and even the singulars hire, 84, 85, hure, 338, yure, 171. But the personal pronoun feminine is often hir', 172, 209; yet see l. 316.

(c) the *vocative* case, as, dere, 839, 2170; leue, 909.

¹ *Riche* being both A.S. and French, has the *e* even when indefinite; a riche king, 341; a riche man, 373.

(3) In verbs it marks—

(a) the infinitive mood ; as, *telle*, 3, *duelle*, 4, *falle*, 39, *beye*, 53, *swere*, 254, *be-bedde*, 421, *bere*, 549, &c. On this point there cannot be a moment's doubt, for the form *-en* is found quite as often, and they rime together, as in 254, 255, cf. 29, 30. But it is well worth remarking that *-en* is slurred over exactly where *-e* would be, with much regularity. Examples are : *riden*, 10, *biginnen*, 21, *maken*, 29, *hengen*, 43, *lurken*, 68, *crepen*, 68, *riden*, 88, *hauen*, 270. Other examples are very numerous. But we sometimes find *-en* not slurred over, as, *drinken*, 15 ; and the same is true even of *-e*, but such cases are exceptional and rare.

(b) the gerund ; as, to *preyse*, 60.

(c) the past participle of a strong verb ; as, *drawe*, 1802, *slawe*, 1803. But these are rare, as they are commonly written *drawen*, *slawen*, 2224.

(d) the past tense of weak verbs, where the *-e* follows *-ed*, *-t*, or *-d*. Examples are very numerous ; as, *louede* = *lov'de*, 30, 35 (not elided), 37, *hauede* = *hav'de*, 343 ; cf. *haued* = *havd'*, 336 ; *purte*, 10, *durste*, 65, *refte*, 94 ; *dede*, 29, *sende*, 136, *seyde*, 228, *herde*, 286. Observe *hated* = *hatede*, 40. The plurals of these tenses are rarely in *-e*, generally in *-en*, as, *haueden*, 241, *deden*, 242, *sprauleden* = *spraul'den*, 475.

(e) the subjunctive or optative mood, or the 3rd person of the imperative mood, which is really the 3rd person of the subjunctive. This rule seems to be carefully observed. Examples are *yeue*, 22, *thaue*, 296, *yerne*, 299, *leue*, 406, *were*, 513, *wite*, 517, &c. So for the *first* person, as, *late*, 509, *lepe* (not elided), 2009, *speke*, 2079 ; and for the *second* person, as, *understonde*, 1159, *fare*, 2705, *cone*, 622, 623.

(f) other parts of a *few* verbs ; thus, the 1st person singular present, as, *liue*, 301, etc, 793, *rede*, 1660, *wille*, 388, where *wille* is equivalent to *wish*.

(g) present participles : thus, *plattinde*, 2282, is a half-rime to *gangānde*. In other places, the author is careful to place them before a vowel, as *gretinde*, 1390, *lauhwinde*, 946, *starinde*, 508, *driuende*, 2702, *fastinde*, 865.

(4) In adverbs the final *-e* denotes—

(a) an older vowel-ending ; as, *sone* (A.S. *sóna*), 136, *sone*, 218,

251, yete (A.S. *géta*, as well as *gét*), 495, ofte (Swed. *ofta*, Dan. *ofte*), 227.

(b) an adverb as distinguished from its corresponding adjective, as, yerne, 153, loude, 96, longe, 241, more, 301, softe, 305, heye, 335, swiþe, 455, harde, 639. Hence, in l. 640, we should read *neye*.

(c) an older termination in *-en* or *-an*; as, þer-hinne, 322, 709, 712, henne, 843, inne, 855. Cf. A.S. *heonan*, *innan*.

(d) It is also sounded in the termination *-like*, as, sikerlike, 422. Hence, in baldelike, 53, *both* the *ees* are sounded; cf. feblelike, 418. When the final *-e* is slurred over before an *h* in *Chaucer*, *h* is found commonly to begin the pronoun *he*, or its cases, the possessive pronouns *his*, *hire*, or their cases, a part of the verb to *have*, or else the adverbs *how* or *heer*. The same rule seems to hold in *Havelok*. Observe, that *e* often forms a syllable in the *middle* of a word, as, bondeman, 32, engelondes, 63, pourelike, 322.

With regard to the final *-en*, it is most commonly slurred over before a vowel or the *h* in *he* or *haue*, not only when it is the termination of the infinitive mood, but in *many other cases*. One striking example may suffice:

He greten and gouleden and gouen hem ille, 164.

A still more striking peculiarity is that *the same rule often holds* for the ending *-es*. We find it, of course, forming a distinct syllable in plurals; as, limes, 86; and in adverbs, as, liues, 509. But observe such instances as *maydnes*, 2, *prestes*, 33, *vtlawes*, 41, *sipes*, 213, &c.

In the same way, when rapid final syllables such as *-el*, *-er*, *-ere*, &c., are slurred over, it will *generally* be found that a vowel or *h* follows them. Examples: *litel*, 6, *woneth*, 105, *bedels*, 266, *bodi*, 345, *deuel*, 446, *hunger*, 449. Compare *oueral*, 38, 54. There are many other peculiarities which it would take long to enumerate, such as, that *sworn* is pronounced *sworen*, 204; that the final *-e* is sometimes preserved before a vowel, as in *dedē am*, 167; that the word *ne* is very frequently not counted, as it were, in the scansion, as in 57, 113, 220, 419, the second *ne* in l. 547, and in several other places. But it must suffice to state merely, that when the above rules (with allowance of a few exceptions)

are carefully observed, it will be found that the metre of Havelok is *very regular*, and *valuable on account of its regularity*.

It would therefore be easy to correct the text in many places by help of an exact analysis of the rhythm. But this, except in a very few places, has not been attempted, because the imperfect, but unique, MS. copy is more instructive as it stands. In l. 19, e. g. *wit* should be *wite*; in l. 47, *red* should be *rede*; in l. 74, *his soule* should be *of his soule*, &c. The importance of attending to the final *-e* may be exemplified by the lines—

Allë greten swipë sore, 236 ;
But sonë dedë hirë fetë, 317 ;
pinë cherlës, pinë hinë, 620.
Grimës sonës allë þre, 1399 ;
Hisë sistres herë lif, 2395.

Mr Ellis writes—"These final examples suggested to me to compose the following German epitaph, which contains just as many final *e*'s, and which I think no German would find to have anything peculiar in the versification :

GRABSCHRIFT.

Diese alte reiche Frau
Hasste jede eitle Schau,
Preiste Gottes gute Gabe,
Mehrte stets die eig'ne Habe,
Liegt hier unbeweint im Grabe.

I think Havelok may be well compared with Goethe's ballad,

Es war ein König *in Thule*,
Gar treu bis an das Grab,
Dem, sterbend, seine Buhle
Einen goldenen Becher gab.

Es ging ihm nichts darüber,
Er leert' ihn jeden Schmaus,
Die Augen gingen ihm über
So oft er trank daraus.

Und als er kam zu sterben,
Zählt' er *seine Städt'* im Reich,
Gönnt' alles seinem Erben,
Den Becher nicht zugleich :—

and the end :—

Die Augen thäten *ihm* sinken,
Trank nie *einen Tropfen* mehr.

The *italicised* trisyllabic measures are fine. Observe also the elisions of final *-e* before a following vowel (*Städt'* being very unusual), and the omission of the dative *-e* in *im Reich*, to rhyme with *zugleich*."

I have only to add that my special thanks are due to Sir F. Madden for his permission to make use of his valuable notes, glossary, and preface, and for his assistance ; as also to Mr Ellis for his notes, which, however, reached me only at the last moment. when much alteration of the proofs was troublesome. There are many things probably which Mr Ellis does not much approve of in this short popular sketch of the metre, in which attention is drawn only to some of the *principal* points. In particular, he disapproves of the term *slurring over*, though I believe that I mean precisely the same thing as he does, viz. that these light syllables are really *fully pronounced*, and not in any way forcibly suppressed ; but that, owing to their being light syllables, and occurring before vowel sounds, the full pronunciation of them does not cause the verse to halt, but merely imparts to it an agreeable vivacity. As I have already said elsewhere¹—"A poet's business is, in fact, to take care that the syllables which *are* to be rapidly pronounced are such as easily *can* be so ; and that the syllables which are to be heavily accented are naturally those that *ought* to be. If he gives attention to this, it does not much matter whether each foot has *two* or *three* syllables in it."

¹ Preface to Mr Morris's *Genesis and Exodus*, p. xxxviii.

EMENDATIONS, ETC.

SOME emendations have been made in the text by inserting letters and words within square brackets. A few more may be noticed here.

p. 2, l. 47. The MS. has *red* ; but it should be *rede*.

p. 3, l. 66. For the MS. reading *here* Mr Garnett proposed to read *othere*, which is clearly right.

p. 3, l. 74. For *his soule* (as in the MS.) we should probably read *of his soule*.

p. 3, l. 79. For *wo diden* (as in the MS.) we should read *wo so dide*.

p. 6, l. 177. Read—"Bi [ihesu] crist," &c., to fill up ; but this is doubtful ; see l. 1112.

p. 18, l. 560. For *with*, Mr Garnett proposed to read *wilt*.

p. 20, l. 60. For *ney* (as in MS.) read *neye*, the adverbial form.

p. 21, l. 660. Perhaps there should be a comma after *Slep*, making the sense to be *sleep, son*, not *sleep soon*.

p. 23, l. 746. For *alle*, Mr Garnett proposed to read *shalle*.

p. 24, l. 784. Perhaps there should be no stop in the line, and the note on the line (p. 93) may be wrong. See *Weren* in the Glossary:

p. 32, l. 1037. For *stareden* we should perhaps read *stradden* ; see the Glossary.

p. 33, l. 1080. For *hexte* we should rather read *hexte [man]* ; cf. l. 199.

p. 38, l. 1233. Mr Garnett suggested that *clopen* may mean *clothes*. If so, dele the comma after it.

p. 43, l. 1420. For *wolde* we should rather read [*he*] *wolde*.

p. 46, l. 1687. *þarned* is an error of the scribe for *þoled*; see the Glossary.

p. 47, l. 1720. Perhaps we should rather read—*is womman* [*non*].

p. 47, l. 1733. *Bidde* must mean *offer*, rather than *bid* (as in the Glossary); unless it be miswritten for *bide* = tarry.

p. 47, l. 1736. The MS. reading *deled* should be *deyled*; cf. l. 2099.

p. 76, l. 2670. The MS. reading *blinne* should clearly be *blunne*. A few other suggestions of emendations will be found in the Glossarial Index. See the words *Arwe*, *Birþe*, *Felde*, *Sor*, *Tauhte*, *þenne*, *Thit*, *Werewed*, *Wreken*, &c. See also the suggestions in the preface, pp. xxxix, xli, xlvi, xlvii.

p. 132, s. v. *Loken*. The reference to the Ancren Riwe is to MS. Titus D 18, fol. 17; cf. the edition by Morton (Camd. Soc. 1853), p. 56.

In the Glossary, *Dunten* is wrongly placed after *Dint*.

Incipit bita Hauelok, quondam Rex Anglie et Denemarchie.

Herknet to me, gode men, Wiues, maydnes, and alle men, Of a tale þat ich you wile telle, Wo so it wile here, and þer-to duelle. þe tale is of hauelok i-maked ; Wil he was litel he yede ful naked : Hauelok was a ful god gome, He was ful god in eueri trome, He was þe wicteste man at nede, þat þurte riden on ani stede. þat ye mowen nou y-here, And þe tale ye mowen y-lere. At the beginning ¹ of vre tale, Fil me a cuppe of ful god ale ; And [y] wile drinken her y spelle, þat crist vs shilde alle fro helle ! Krist late vs heuere so for to do, þat we moten comen him to, And wit[e] ² þat it mote ben so ! <i>Benedicamus domino !</i> Here y schal biginnen a rym, Krist us yeue wel god fyn !		[Fol. 204, col. 1.] Hearken !	
	4	I will tell you the tale of Havelok,	
	8	a wight man at need.	
	12	First, fill me a cup of ale.	
	16	Christ grant we may do right !	
	20		

¹ MS. Beginnig.

² See ll. 517, 1316.

The rime is about Havelok.	The rym is maked of hauelok, A stalworþi man in a flok ; He was þe stalworþeste man at nede, þat may riden on ani stede.	24
There was once a king who made good laws.	I T was a king bi are dawes, That in his time were gode lawes He dede maken, an ful wel holden ; Hym louede yung, him louede holde, Erl and barun, dreng and kayn, Knict, bondeman, and swain,	28
All loved him.	Wydnes, maydnes, prestes and clerkes, And al for hise gode werkes. He louede god with al his mieth, And holi kirke, and soth, ant rieth ; Rieth-wise ¹ men he louede alle, And oueral made hem forto calle ;	32
He hated traitors and robbers.	Wreieres and wrobberes made he falle, And hated hēm so man doth galle ; Vtlawes and theues made he bynde, Alle that he micthe fynde, And heye hengen on galwe-tre ; For hem ne yede gold ne fe.	40
At that time, men could carry gold about safely, [Fol. 204, col. 2.]	In that time a man þat bore [Wel fyfty pund, y woth, or more,] ² Of red gold up-on hijs bac, In a male with or blac, Ne funde he non that him misseyde, N[e] with iuele on [him] hond leyde. þanne micthe chapmen fare þuruth englond wit here ware,	44
and boldly buy and sell.	And baldelike beye and sellen, Oueral þer he wilen dwellen,	48

¹ MS. "Rirth wise."

² Supplied from conjecture. Cf. v. 653, 787. A few more instances will be found where a similar liberty has been taken, for the purpose of completing the sense.

- In gode burwes, and þer-fram
 Ne funden he non þat dede hem sham, 56
 þat he ne weren sone to sorwe brouth,
 An pouere maked, and browt to nouth.
 þanne was engelond at hayse ; ¹
 Michel was svich a king to preyse, 60
 þat held so eng[e]lond in grith !
 Krist of heuene was him with.
 He was engelondes blome ;
 Was non so bold lond to rome, 64
 þat durste upon his [menie] bringhe
 Hunger, ne here wicke þinghe.
 Hwan he felede hise foos,
 He made hem lurken, and crepen in wros : 68
 þe hidden hem alle, and helden hem stille,
 And diden al his herte wille.
 Rieth he louede of alle þinge,
 To wronge nicht him no man bringe, 72
 Ne for siluer, ne for gold :—
 So was he his soule hold.
 To þe faderles was he rath,
 Wo so dede hem wrong or lath, 76
 Were it clerc, or were it knieth,
 He dede hem sone to hauen rieth ;
 And wo [so] diden widuen wrong,
 Were he neure knieth so strong, 80
 þat he ne made him sone kesten,
 And in feteres ful faste festen ;
 And wo so dide maydne shame
 Of hire bodi, or brouth in blame, 84
 Bute it were bi hire wille,
 He ² made him sone of limes spille.
 He was te ³ beste knieth at nede,
 þat heuere mieþe riden on stede, 88
 Or wepne wagge, or folc vt lede ;

Then was
England at ease.

The king made
his foes hide
themselves.

He befriended
the fatherless.

Them who
wrought shame
he punished.

¹ MS. athayse.

² MS. Ke.

³ MS. Ke waste.

	Of knith ne hauede he neuere drede, þat he ne sprong forth so sparke of glede,	
[Fol. 204 b, col. 1.]	And lete him [knaue] of hise hand-dede, Hw he couþe with wepne spede ;	92
He made his foes cry for mercy.	And oþer he reſte him hors or wede, Or made him sone handes sprede, And “louerd, merci !” loude grede.	96
	He was large, and no wicth gnede ; Hauede he non so god brede, Ne on his bord non so god shrede,	
He fed the poor.	þat he ne wolde þorwit fede, Poure þat on fote yede ; Forto hauen of him þe mede þat for vs wolde on rode blede, Crist, that al kan wiſſe and rede,	100 104
	þat euere woneth in ani þede.	
His name was Athelwold.	¶ þe king was hoten apewold, Of word, of wepne he was bold ; In engeland was neuere knieth, þat betere hel þe lond to rieth.	108
He had but a young daughter to ſucceed him.	Of his bodi ne hauede he eyr Bute a mayden ſwiþe fayr, þat was so yung þat ſho ne couþe Gon on fote, ne ſpeke wit mouþe. þan him tok an iuel ſtrong, þat he we[l] wiſte, and under-fong,	112
He feels he is dying, and ſays,	þat his deth was comen him on : And ſeyde, “crist, wat ſhal y don ! Louerd, wat ſhal me to rede ! I woth ful wel ich haue mi mede. W ſhal nou mi douhter fare ?	116 120
“I am in trouble about her.	Of hire haue ich michel kare ; Sho is mikel in mi þouth, Of me ſelf is me rith nowt. No ſelcouth is, þou me be wo ;	124

Sho ne kan speke, ne sho kan go.

Yif scho coupe on horse ride,

And a thousande men bi hire syde ;

And sho were comen intil helde,

128

And engelond sho coupe welde ;

And don hem of þar hire were queme,

An hire bodi coupe yeme ;

No wolde me neuere iuele like

132 I would not care
for myself."

Me þou ich were in heuene-riche !"

Quanne he hauede þis pleinte maked,
þer-after stronglike [he] quaked.

He sende writes sone on-on

136

After his erles euere-ich on ;

[Fol. 204 b, col. 2.]

And after hise baruns, riche and poure,

Fro rokesburw al into douere,

That he shulden comen swiþe

140

Til him, that was ful vnblife ;

To þat stede þe[r] he lay,

In harde bondes, niȝth and day.

He was so faste wit yuel fest,

144

þat he ne mouthe hauen no rest ;

He ne mouthe no mete hete,

He can no longer
eat.

Ne he ne mouchte no lyþe gete ;

Ne non of his iuel þat coupe red ;

148

Of him ne was nouth buten ded.

Alle þat the writes herden,

All sadly obey
his summons.

Sorful an sori til him ferden ;

He wrungen hondes, and wepen sore,

152

And yerne preyden cristes hore,

þat he [wolde] turnen him

Vt of þat yuel þat was so grim !

þanne he weren comen alle

156

Bifor þe king into the halle,

They come to
Winchester.

At winchestre þer he lay :

- “Welcome,” he seyde, “be ye ay !
 Ful michel þank[e] kan [y] yow 160
 That ye aren comen to me now !”
- They all mourn
 and lament.
Quanne he weren alle set,
 And þe king aueden i-gret,
 He greten, and gouleden, and gouen hem ille, 164
 And he bad hem alle ben stille ;
 And seyde, “ þat greting helpeth nouth,
 For al to dede am ich brouth.
 Bute nov ye sen þat i shal deye, 168
 Nou ich wille you alle preye
 Of mi douthter þat shal be
 Yure leuedi after me,
 Wo may yemen hire so longe, 172
 Boþen hire and engelonde,
 Til þat she [mowe] winan of helde,
 And þa she mowe yemen and welde ?”
 He ansuereden, and seyden an-on, 176
 Bi crist and bi seint ion,
 That þerl Godrigh of cornwayle
 Was trewe man, wit-uten faile ;
 Wis man of red, wis man of dede, 180
 And men haueden of him mikel drede.
- [Fol. 205, col. 1.] “He may hire alþer-best[e] yeme,
 Til þat she mowe wel ben quene.”
- The king sends
 for chalice and
 paten,
þe king was payed of that Rede ; 184
 A wol fair cloth bringen he dede,
 And þer-on leyde þe messebok,
 þe caliz, and þe pateyn ok,
 þe corporaus, þe messe-gere ; 188
 þer-on he garte þe erl suere,
 þat he sholde yemen hire wel,
 With-uten lac, wit-uten tel,
 Til þat she were tuelf¹ winter hold, 192

¹ Qu. tuenti. Cf. v. 259.

And of speche were bold ;
 And þat she covþe of curteysye
 Gon, and speken of luue-drurye ;
 And til þat she louen þoucte,¹
 Wom so hire to gode thoucte ;
 And þat he shulde hire yeue
 þe beste man that micthe liue,
 þe beste, fayreste, the strangest ok :—
 þat dede he him sweren on þe bok.
 And þanne shulde he engelond
 Al bitechen in-to hire hond.

196 His daughter is
 to marry the best
 and fairest man
 that can be found.

Quanne² þat was sworn on his wise,
 þe king dede þe mayden arise,
 And þe erl hire bitaucte,
 And al the lond he euere awete ;
 Engelonde eueri del ;
 And preide, he shulde yeme hire wel.

200

204

He gives up all
 England to the
 earl, to keep
 for her.

208

þe king ne mowete don no more,
 But yerne preyede godes ore ;
 And dede him hoslen wel and shriue,
 I woth, fif hundred sipes and fíue ;
 An ofte dede him sore swinge,
 And wit hondes smerte dinge ;
 So þat þe blod ran of his fleys,
 þat tendre was, and swiþe neys.
³ And sone gaf it euere-il del ;
 He made his quiste swiþe wel.
 Wan it was gouden, ne micte men finde
 So mikel men micte him in winde,
 Of his in arke, ne in chiste,

212

The king does
 penance.

216

220 He makes his
 will.

¹ MS. mithe. But see l. 257.

² MS. Ouanne. And perhaps "his" should have been "þis."

³ Some lines appear to be wanting here, such as—

"He þoucte his quiste þan to make,
 His catel muste he wel bitake," &c.

In engelond þat noman wiste :
 For al was youen, faire and wel, 224
 þat him was leued no catel.

[Fol. 205, col. 2.] **Þ**anne he hauede ben ofte swngen,
 Ofte shriuen, and ofte dungen,
 “*In manus tuas, lou[er]de,*” he seyde, 228
 Her þat he þe speche leyde.

The king dies. To ihesu crist bigan to calle,
 And deyede biforn his heymen alle.
 þan he was ded, þere miete men se 232
 þe meste sorwe that miete be ;
 þer was sobbing, siking, and sor,
 Handes wringing, and drawing bi hor.
 Alle greten swiþe sore, 236
 Riche and poure þat þere wore ;
 An mikel sorwe haueden alle,
 Leuedyes in boure, knictes in halle.

Quan þat sorwe was somdel laten, 240
 And he haueden longe graten,
 Belles deden he sone ringen,
 Monkes and prestes messe singen ;
 And sauterres deden he manie reden, 244
 þat god self shulde his soule leden
 Into heuene, biforn his sone,
 And þer wit-uten hende wone.

He is buried and the earl takes possession, þan he was to þe erþe brouth, 248
 þe riche erl ne foryat nouth,
 þat he ne dede al engelond
 Sone sayse intil his hond ;
 And in þe castels leth he ¹ do 252
 þe knictes he miete tristen to ;
 And alle þe englis dede he swere[n],

¹ Sir F. Madden printed “lechhe” ; but the MS. may be read
 “leth he.”

þat he shulden him ghod fey beren ;
 He yaf alle men, þat god þoucte,
 Liuen and deyen til þat him moucte,¹
 Til þat þe kinges dowter wore
 Tuenti winter hold, and more.

256 till the maiden is
twenty years old.

Þanne he hauede taken þis oth
 Of erles, baruns, lef and loth,
 Of knictes, cherles, fre and þewe,
 Justises dede he maken newe,
 Al engelond to faren þorw,
 Fro douere into rokesborw.
 Schireues he sette, bedels, and greyues,
 Grith-sergeans, wit longe gleyues,
 To yemen wilde wodes and papes
 Fro wicke men, that wolde don scapes ;
 And forto hauen alle at his cri,
 At his wille, at his merci ;
 þat non durste ben him ageyn,
 Erl ne barun, kniet ne sweyn.
 Wislike for soth, was him wel
 Of folc, of wepne, of catel.
 Soþlike, in a lite þrawe
 Al engelond of him stod [in] awe ;
 Al engelond was of him adrad,²
 So his þe beste fro þe gad.

260

264 Earl Godrich
appoints justices,
sheriffs, &c.

268

272 [Fol. 205 b, col. 1.]

He grows very
rich,

276

and all England
fears him.

ÞE kinges douter bigan þriue,
 And wex þe fayrest wman on liue.
 Of alle þewes w[as] she wis,
 þat gode weren, and of pris.
 þe mayden Goldeboru was hoten ;
 For hire was mani a ter igroten.

280 The maiden
grows up very
fair.

284 Her name is
Goldborough.

¹ So in MS. But the sense requires
 "He gaf alle men, þat god *him* þouchte,
 Liuen and deyen til þat *he* moucte," &c.

² MS. "adred," altered to "adrad."

- Q**uanne the Erl godrich him herde
 Of þat mayden, hw we[l s]he ferde ;
 Hw wis sho was, w chaste, hw fayr, 288
 And þat sho was þe rithe eyr
 Of engelond, of al þe rike :—
- Godrich is vexed. þo bigan godrich to sike,
 And seyde, “ weþer she sholde be 292
 Quen and leuedi ouer me ?
 Hweþer sho sholde al engelond,
 And me, and mine, hauen in hire hond ?
 Dapeit hwo it hire thaue ! 296
 Shal sho it neuere more haue.
- “ Shall I give
 England to a
 fool, a girl ?
 Sholde ic yeue a fol, a þerne,
 Engelond, þou sho it yerne ?
 Dapeit hwo it hire yeue, 300
 Euere more hwil i liue !
 Sho is waxen al to prud,
 For gode metes, and noble shrud,
 þat hic haue youen hire to offte ; 304
 Hic haue yemed hire to softe.
 Shal it nouth ben als sho þenkes,
 ‘ Hope maketh fol man ofte blenkes.’
- My son shall have
 England.
 Ich haue a sone, a ful fayr knaue, 308
 He shal engelond al haue.
 He shal [ben] king, he shal ben sire,
 So brouke i euere mi blake swire !”
- He lets his oath
 go for nothing.
Hwan þis trayson was al þouth, 312
 Of his oth ne was him nouth.
 He let his oth al ouer-ga,
 þerof ne yaf he nouth a stra ;
 But sone dede hire fete, 316
- [Fol. 205 b, col. 2.] Er he wolde heten ani mete,
 Fro winchestre þer sho was,
 Also a wicke traytur iudas ;
 And dede leden hire to doure, 320
- He sends the
 maiden to Dover.

þat standeth on þe seis oure ;
 And þerhinne dede hire fede
 Poureluke in feble wede. .
 þe castel dede he yemen so,
 þat non ne miete comen hire to
 Of hire frend, with [hire] to speken,
 þat heuere miete hire bale wreken.

324 He shuts her up
 in the castle.

Of Goldeboru shul we nou laten,
 þat nouth ne blinneth forto *graten*,
 þet sho liggeth in prisoun :
 Ihesu *crist*, that lazarun
 To liue broucte fro dede bondes,
 He lese hire wit hise hondes ;
 And leue sho mo him y-se
 Heye hangen on galwe tre,
 þat hire haued in sorwe brouth,
 So as sho ne misdede nouth !

328

332 May Christ
 release Gold-
 borough from
 prison !

336

Sawe nou forth in hure spelle ;
 In þat time, so it bifelle,
 Was in þe lon of denemark
 A riche king, and swyþe stark.
 þ[e] name of him was birkabeyn,
 He hauede mani knict and sueyn ;
 He was fayr man, and wicth,
 Of bodi he was þe beste knieth
 þat euere miete leden uth here,
 Or stede onne ride, or handlen spere,
 þre children he hauede bi his wif,
 He hem louede so his lif.
 He hauede a sone [and] douhtres two,
 Swiþe fayre, as fel it so.
 He þat wile non forbere,
 Riche ne poure, king ne kaysere,
 Deth him tok þan he bes[t] wolde

340 At that time
 there was a king
 of Denmark,
 called Birkabeyn.

344

348 He had three
 children.

352

Death came
 upon him.

Liuen, but hyse dayes were fulde ;
 þat he ne moucte no more liue, 356
 For gol ne siluer, ne for no gyue.

He sends for
 the priests.

Hwan he þat wiste, raþe he sende
 After prestes fer an hende,
 Chanounes gode, and monkes beþe,¹ 360

[Fol. 206, col. 1.]

Him for to ² wisse, and to Rede ;
 Him for to hoslon, an forto shriue,
 Hwil his bodi were on liue.

Hwan he was hosled and shriuen, 364

His quiste maked, and for him gyuen,
 His knictes dede he alle site,
 For þorw hem he wolde wite,

He asks who will
 guard his
 children?

Hwo miete yeme hise children yunge, 368
 Til þat he kouþen speken wit tunge ;
 Speken and gangen, on horse riden,
 Knictes an sweynes bi here siden.

He spoken þer-offe, and chosen sone 372
 A riche man was under mone,

He chooses
 Godard.

Was þe trewest þat he wende,
 Godard, þe kinges oune frende ;
 And seyden, he Moucthe hem best loke. 376

Yif þat he hem vndertoke,
 Til hise sone Mouthe bere
 Helm on heued, and leden vt here,
 In his hand a spere stark, 380

And king ben maked of denemark.

He wel trowede þat he seyde,
 And on Godard handes leyde ;

He commends
 the children to
 Godard.

And seyde, " Here bi-teche i þe 384

Mine children alle þre,
 Al denemark, and al mi fe,
 Til þat mi sone of helde be ;

¹ MS. "boþe." But "beþe" rimes to "Rede"; see l. 694.

² MS. forth^m to, the ^m being expuncted.

But þat ich wille, þat þo[u] suere
 On auter, and on messe-gere,
 On þe belles þat men ringes,
 On messe-bok þe prest on singes,
 þat þou mine children shalt we[l] yeme, 388 He makes him
 þat hire kin be ful wel queme, 392 swear to take care
 Til mi sone mowe ben knieth, of them,
 þanne biteche him þo his Rieth, and to give up
 Denemark, and þat þertil longes, 396 the kingdom to
 Casteles and tunes, wodes and wonges.” the boy.

Godard stirt up, an swor al þat
 þe king him bad, and sipen sat
 Bi the knietes, þat þer ware, 400
 þat wepen alle swiþe sare
 For þe king þat deide sone :
 Ihesu crist, that makede mone
 On þe mirke nith to shine, 404 Christ save the
 Wite his soule fro helle pine ; king's soul !
 And leue þat it mote wone
 In heuene-riche with godes sone ! [Fol. 206, col. 2.]

Hwan birkabeyn was leyd in graue,
 þe erl dede sone take þe knaue, 408 Godard shuts up
 Haelok, þat was þe eir, the children,
 Swanborow, his sister, helfled, þe toþer,¹ Havelok, Swan-
 And in þe castel dede he hem do, 412 borough, and
 þer non ne miete hem comen to Helfled, in a
 Of here kyn, þer þei sperd wore ;² castle.
 þer he greten ofte sore, 416
 Boþe for hunger and for kold,
 Or he weren þre winter hold.
 Feblelike he gaf hem clopes,
 He ne yaf a note of hise opes ; He cares not for
 his oaths.

¹ Corrupt? Lines 410, 411 do not rime well together.

² MS. were. But see l. 237.

- He hem [ne] clopede rith, ne fedde, 420
 Ne hem ne dede richelike be-bedde.
þanne godard was sikerlike
- He is a traitor. Vnder god *þe* moste swike,
þat eure in erpe shaped was, 424
 With-uten on, *þe* wike Iudas.
- May he be
 accursed! Hauē he *þe* malisun to-day
 Of alle *þat* eure speken may!
 Of *patriark*, and of pope! 428
 And of prest with loken kope!
 Of monekes, and *hermites* bope!¹
 And of *þe* leue holi rode,
þat god him-selue ran on blode! 432
- Cursed be he by
 north and south! Crist warie him with his mouth!
 Waried wrthe he of norþ and suth!
 Offe alle man, *þat* speken kunne!
 Of crist, *þat* made² mone and sunne! 436
þanne he hauede of al *þe* lond
 Al *þe* folk tilled in-til his hond,
 And alle haueden sworn him oth,
 Riche and poure, lef and loth, 440
þat he sholden hise wille freme,
 And *þat* he shulde[n] him nouth greme,
 He pouthe a ful strong trechery,
 A trayson, and a felony, 444
 Of *þe* children forto make:
þe deuel of helle him sone take!
- He goes to the
 tower where
 they are. **H**wan *þat* was pouth, onon he ferde
 To *þe* tour *þer* he worn sperde, 448
þer he greten for hunger and cold:
þe knaue *þat* was sumdel bold,
 Kam him ageyn, on knes him sette,
- [Fol. 206b, col 1.] And godard ful feyre he *þer* grette;
 And Godard seyde, "Wat is yw?" 452

¹ Lines 430, 431, 432 rime together. NB. The words *holi rode*
 are written over an erasure.

² MS. maude.

Hwi grete ye and goulæn nou ? ”

“ For us hungreth swiþe sore : ”—

Seyden he wolden [haue] more,

456 Havelok says
they are hungry.

“ We ne haue to hete, ne we ne haue

Herinne neyther knith ne knaue

þat yeueth us drinken, ne no mete,

Haluendel þat we moun ete.

460

Wo is us þat we weren born !

Weilawei ! nis it no korn,

þat men miete maken of bred ?

Vs ¹ hungreth, we aren ney ded.”

“ Alas, that we
were born ! ”

464

Godard herde here wa,

Ther-offe yaf he nouth a stra,

But tok þe maydnes bothe samen,

Al-so it were up-on hiis gamen ;

Al-so he wolde with hem leyke,

þat weren for hunger grene and bleike.

Of boþen he karf on two here þrotes,

And siþen [karf] hem alto grotes.

þer was sorwe, wo so it sawe !

Hwan þe children bi þ[e] ² wawe

Leyen and sprauleden in þe blod :

Hauelok it saw, and þe[r] bi stod.

Ful sori was þat seli knaue,

Mikel dred he mouthe haue,

For at hise herte he saw a knif,

For to reuen him hise lyf.

But þe knaue, ³ þat litel was,

He knelede bifor þat iudas,

And seyde, “ louerd, merci nov !

Manrede, louerd, biddi you !

Al denemark i wile you yeue,

To þat forward þu late me liue ;

Here hi wile on boke swere,

þat neure more ne shal i bere

Godard cares not.

468

472 He cuts the
throats of the
two girls.

476 Havelok sees it,
and is afraid.

480

He begs Godard
to spare him,

484

488

¹ MS. þs ; cf. l. 455. ² MS. biþ ; cf. l. 2470. ³ MS. kaue.

offering never to oppose him,	Ayen þe, louerd, shel ne spere, Ne oþer wepne ¹ that may you dere. Louerd, haue merci of me ! To-day i wile fro denemark fle,	492
and to flee from Denmark,	Ne neuere more comen ageyn : Sweren y wole, þat bircabein Neuere yete me ne gat : "— Hwan þe deuel he[r]de ² that,	496
[Fol. 206 b, col. 2.]	Sum-del bigan him forto rewe ; With-drow þe knif, þat was lewe	
Godard has pity on him.	Of þe seli children blod ; þer was miracle fair and god ! þat he þe knaue nouth ne slou, But fo[r] rewnesse him wit-drow. ³ Of auelok rewede him ful sore, And þoucte, he wolde þat he ded wore,	500 504
	But on þat he nouth wit his hend Ne drepe him nouth, ⁴ þat fule fend ! þoucte he, als he him bi stod, Starinde als he were wod :	508
But he reflects	" Yif y late him liues go, He miete me wirchen michel wo. Grith ne get y neuere mo, He may [me] waiten for to slo ;	512
that, were Havelok dead, his children would be the heirs.	And yf he were brouct of liue, And mine children wolden thiue, Louerdinges after me Of al denemark mieten he be. God it wite, he shal ben ded, Wile i taken non oþer red ;	516

¹ MS. "wepne bere," where "bere" is redundant.

² MS. hede.

³ Printed thus in the former edition :—" But to rewnesse him thit drow." But the MS. has *fo*, not *to*, where *fo* is corruptly written for *for*, as in l. 1318 ; and the initial letter of the last syllable but one may be read as a Saxon *w* (*p*), not a thorn-letter (*þ*). It merely repeats the idea in ll. 497, 498.

⁴ Qu. mouth.

- I shal do casten him in þe se,¹
 þer i wile þat he drench[ed] be ; 520
 Abouten his hals an anker god,
 þat he ne flete in the flod.”
 þer anon he dede sende
 After a fishere þat he wende, 524
 þat wolde al his wille do,
 And sone anon he seyde him to :
 “ Grim, þou wost þu art mi þral,
 Wilte don mi wille al, 528
 þat i wile bidden þe,
 To-morwen [i] shal maken þe fre,
 And aucte þe yeuen, and riche make,
 With-þan þu wilt þis child[e] take, 532
 And leden him with þe to-nicht,
 þan þou sest se² Mone lith,
 In-to þe se, and don him þer-inne,
 Al wile [i] taken on me þe sinne.” 536
 Grim tok þe child, and bond him faste,
 Hwil þe bondes miete laste ;
 þat weren of ful strong line :—
 þo was haelok in ful strong pine. 540
 Wiste he neuere her wat was wo :
 Ihesu crist, þat makede to go
 þe halte, and þe dounbe speken,
 Haelok, þe of Godard wreken ! 544
- He determines to
drown him.
- He sends for a
fisherman,
and says to him,
- “ Grim, I will
make you free.
- Throw this child
into the sea.”
- Grim binds the
child.
- [Fol. 207, col. 1.]
Christ wreak thee
of Godard,
Havelok !

Hwan grim him hauede faste bounden,
 And sipen in an eld cloth wnden
 A keuel of clutes, ful, un-wraste,
 þat he [ne] mouthe speke, ne fæste,
 Hwere he wolde him bere or lede.
 Hwan he hauede don þat dede,
 Hwan³ þe swike him hauede hethede,⁴

Grim gags the
child.

¹ MS. she.

² So in MS. *Qu.* þe.

³ We should rather read “þan.”

⁴ MS. he þede.

- þat he schulde him forth [lede] 552
 And him drinchen in þe se ;
 þat forwarde makeden he.
 He puts him in In a poke, ful and blac,
 a bag, and takes him on his back, Sone he caste him on his bac, 556
 Ant bar him hom to hise cleue,
 And bi-taucte him dame leue,
 He puts him in And seyde, " wite þou þis knaue,
 a charge of his wife, Al-so thou with mi lif haue ; 560
 I shal dreinchen him in þe se,
 For him shole we ben maked fre,
 Gold hauen ynou, and oþer fe ;
 þat hauet mi louerd bihoten me." 564
- She throws Hwan dame [leue] herde þat,
 down Hayelok Vp she stirte, and nouth ne sat,
 violently. And caste þe knaue adoun so harde,
 þat hise croune he þer crakede 568
 Ageyn a gret ston, þer it lay :
 þo hanelok miete sei, " weilawei !
 þat euere was i kinges bern !"
 þat him ne hauede grip or ern, 572
 Leoun or wlf, wluine or bere,
 Or oþer best, þat wolde him dere,
 So lay þat child to middel nieth,
 The child lies there till midnight. þat grim bad leue bringen lic, 576
 For to don on [him] his clopes :
 " Ne thenkeste nowt of mine oþes
 þat ich haue mi louerd sworn ?
 Ne wile i nouth be forloren. 580
 I shal beren him to þe se,
 þou wost þat [bi-]houes me ;
 And i shal drenchen him þer-inne ;
 Grim tells his Ris up swiþe, an go þu binne, 584
 wife to light the fire and a candle. And blou þe fir, and lith a kandel : "
 Als she schulde hise clopes handel

On forto don, and blawe þe ¹ fir,		[Fol. 207, col. 2.]
She saw þer-inne a lith ful shir,	588	She sees a light shining round the lad.
Also brith so it were day,		
Aboute þe knaue þer he lay.		
Of hise mouth it stod a stem,		
Als it were a sunnebem ;	592	
Also lith was it þer-inne,		
So þer brenden cerges inne : ²		
"Ihesu crist !" wat dame leue,		
"Hwat is þat lith in vre cleue !	596	
Sir ³ up grim, and loke wat it menes,		She bids Grim come and see,
Hwat is þe lith as þou wenes ? "		
He stirten boþe up to the knaue,		
For man shal god wille haue,	600	
Vnkeueleden him, and swiþe unbounden,		
And sone anon [upon] him funden,		They find a mark on his shoulder,
Als he tirmeden of his serk,		
On his rith shuldre a kyne merk ;	604	
A swiþe brith, a swiþe fair :		
"Goddot !" quath grim, " þis [is] ure eir		
þat shal [ben] louerd of denemark,		
He shal ben king strong and stark ;	608	Grim says the lad is to be king,
He shal hauen in his hand		
A[l] denemark and engeland ;		
He shal do godard ful wo,		
He shal him hangen, or quik flo ;	612	
Or he shal him al quic graue,		
Of him shal he no merci haue."		
þus seide grim, and sore gret,		
And sone fel him to þe fet,	616	
And seide, "louerd, haue merci		He prays Havelok to forgive him.
Of me, and leue, that is me bi !		
Louerd, we aren boþe þine,		
þine cherles, þine hine.	620	

¹ MS. þer.² Qu. þrinne. See ll. 716, 761, 2125.³ Qu. stir, or stirt.

- Lowerd, we sholen þe wel fede,
 Til þat þu cone riden on stede,
 Til þat þu cone ful wel bere
 Helm on heued, sheld and spere. 624
- Godard shall
 never know
 about this. He ne shal neuere wite, sikerlike,
 Godard, þat fule swike.
 þoru oper man, louerd, than þoru þe,
 Sal i neuere freman be. 628
 þou shalt me, louerd, fre maken,
 For i shal yemen þe, and waken ;
 þoru þe wile i fredom haue : ”
- [Fol. 207 b, col. 1.] þo was haveloc a blipe knaue. 632
 He sat him up, and crauede bred.
 And seide, “ ich am [wel] ney ded,
 Hwat for hunger, wat for bondes
 þat þu leigest on min hondes ; 636
 And for [þe] keuel at þe laste,
 þat in mi mouth was þrist faste.
 y was þe[r]-with so harde prangled,
 þat i was þe[r]-with ney strangled.” 640
 “ Wel is me þat þu mayth hete :
 Goddoth ! ” quath leue, “ y shal þe fete
 Bred an chese, butere and milk,
 Pastees and flaunes, al with suilk 644
 Shole we sone þe wel fede,
 Louerd, in þis mikel nede,
 Soth it is, þat men seyt and suereth :
 ‘ þer god wile helpen, nouth no dereth.’ ” 648
- Dame Leve
 brings him bread
 and cheese,
 butter, &c. þanne sho hauede brouth þe mete,
 Haveloc anon bigan to ete
 Grundlike, and was ful blipe ;
 Coupe he nouth his hunger Miþe. 652
 A lof he het, y woth, and more,
 For him hungrede swiþe sore.
 þre dayes þer-biforn, i wene,
- Havelok eats all
 up greedily.

- Et he no mete, þat was wel sene. 656
 Hwan he hauede eten, and was fed,
 Grim dede maken a ful fayr bed ; Grim puts him
 Vncloþede him, and dede him þer-inne, to bed.
 And seyde, "Slep sone, with michel winne ; 660
 Slep wel faste, and dred þe nouth,
 Fro sorwe to ioie art þu brouth."
 Sone so it was lith of day,
 Grim it under-tok þe wey 664 Grim tells
 To þe wicke traitour godard, Godard he has
 þat was denemak a ¹ stiward, killed Havelok,
 And seyde, "louerd, don ich haue
 þat þou me bede of þe knaue ; 668
 He is drenched in þe flod,
 Abouten his hals an anker god ;
 He is witer-like ded,
 Eteth he neure more bred ; 672
 He liþ drenched in þe se :—
 Yif me gold [and] oþer fe,² and asks for his
 þat y mowe riche be ; reward.
 And with pi chartre make [me] fre, 676
 For þu ful wel bi-hetet me, [Fol. 207 b, col. 2.]
 þanne i last[e] spak with þe."
 Godard stod, and lokede on him
 þoruth-like, with eyne grim ; 680 Godard bids him
 And seyde, "Wiltu [nou] ben erl ? go home, and
 Go hom swiþe, fule drit, cherl ; remain a thrall ;
 Go heþen, and be euere-more
 þral and cherl, als þou er wore. 684
 Shal [þou] haue non oþer mede ;
 For litel i [shal] ³ do þe lede
 To þe galues, so god me rede !

¹ *Qm.* Denemarkes.² Cf. l. 1225.³ The MS. has "ig," but the *g* is expuncted; and it omits "shal."

for he has done
wickedly.

For þou haues don a wicke dede.
þou Mait stonden her to longe,
Bute þou swiþe eþen gonge."

688

Grim fears that
both himself and
Havelok will be
hung.

Grim thoucte to late þat he ran
Fro þat traytour, þa wicke man ;
And poucte, "wat shal me to rede ?
Wite he him onliue, he wile beþe
Heye hangen on galwe-tre :
Betere us is of londe to fle,
And berwen bopen ure liues,
And mine children, and mine wiues."

692

Grim sells his
live stock.

Grim solde sone al his corn,
Shep wit wolfe, neth wit horn,
Hors, and swin, [and gate] wit berd,
þe gees, þe heennes of þe yerd ;
Al he solde, þat outh douth,
That he eue selle moucte,

696

700

He sits up his
ship carefully.

And al he to þe peni drou :
Hise ship he greyþede wel inow,
He dede it tere, an ful wel pike,
þat it ne doutede sond ne krike ;
þer-inne dide a ful god mast,
Stronge kables, and ful fast,
Ores god, an ful god seyl,
þer-inne wantede nouth a nayl,
þat euere he sholde þer-inne do :

704

708

He takes with
him his wife, his
three sons, his
two daughters,
and Havelok.

Hwan he hauedet greyþed so,
Hauelok þe yunge he dide þer-inne,*
Him and his wif, hise sones þrinne,
And hise two doutres, þat faire wore,
And sone dede he leyn in an ore,
And drou him to þe heye se,
þere he mith alþer-best[e] fle.
Fro londe woren he bote a mile,

712

716

720

Ne were neuere but ane hwile,
 þat it ne bigan a wind to Rise
 Out of þe north, men calleth 'bise'

[Fol. 208, col. 1.]

A north wind
 arises, called the
bise, and drives
 them to England.

724

And drof hem intil engelond,
 þat al was siþen in his hond,
 His, þat hauelok was þe name ;
 But or he hauede michel shame,
 Michel sorwe, and michel tene,
 And þrie he gat it al bidene ;
 Als ye shulen nou forthwar lere,¹
 Yf that ye wilen þer-to here.

728

732

IN humber grim bigan to lende,
 In lindeseye, Rith at þe north ende.

Grim went up the
 Humber to
 Lindesey.

þer sat is ship up-on þe sond,
 But grim it drou up to þe lond ;
 And þere he made a litel cote,
 To him and to hise flote.

736

Bigan he þere for to erþe,
 A litel hus to maken of erþe,
 So þat he wel þore were
 Of here herboru herborwed þere ;
 And for þat grim þat place aute,
 þe stede of grim þe name laute ;
 So þat [hit] grimesbi calleth alle
 þat þer-offe speken alle,
 And so shulen men callen it ay,
 Bituene þis and domesday.

740 There he built
 a house.

744

That place was
 called Grimsby,
 after Grim.

748

Grim was fishere swiþe god,
 And mikel coupe on the flod ;
 Mani god fish þer-inne he tok,
 Boþe with neth, and with hok.
 He tok þe sturgion, and þe qual,
 And þe turbut, and lax with-al,

Grim was a good
 fisherman.

752

He caught
 sturgeons,
 turbot, &c.

¹ MS. here ; read lere. Cf. ll. 12, 1640.

	He tok þe sele, and þe hwel ;	
	He spedde ofte swiþe wel :	756
	Keling he tok, and tumberel,	
	Hering, and þe makerel,	
	þe Butte, þe schulle, þe þornebake :	
He had four panniers made for himself and his sons.	Gode paniers dede he make	760
	Ontil him, and oþer þrinne,	
	Til hise sones to beren fish inne,	
	• Vp o-londe to selle and fonge ;	
	Forbar he neyþe[r] tun, ne gronge,	764
	þat he ne to-yede with his ware ;	
	Kam he neuere hom hand-bare,	
[Fol. 206, col. 2.]	þat he ne broucte bred and sowel,	
	In his shirte, or in his couel ;	768
	In his poke benes and korn :—	
	Hise swink ne hauede he nowt forlorn.	
He used to sell lampreys at Lincoln,	And hwan he tok þe grete laumprei,	
	Ful we[l] he coupe þe rithe wei	772
	To lincolne, þe gode boru ;	
	Ofte he yede it þoru and þoru,	
	Til he hauede wol ¹ wel sold,	
	And þer-fore þe penies told.	776
	þanne he com, þenne he were bliþe,	
	For hom he brouthe fele siþe	
and bring home simnels, meal, meat, and hemp.	Wastels, simenels with þe horn,	
	Hise pokes fulle of mele an korn,	780
	Netes flesh, shepes, and swines,	
	And hemp to maken of gode lines ;	
	And stronge ropes to hise netes,	
	In þe se weren he ofte setes. ²	784
Thus they lived for 12 years.	Þ us-gate grim him fayre ledde.	
	Him and his genge wel he fedde	
	Wel twelf winter, oþer more :	
	Hauelok was war þat grim swank sore	788

¹ *Qu.* ful or al.² *Sic* in MS.

For his mete, and he lay at hom :

Thouth, " ich am nou no grom ;

Ich am wel waxen, and wel may eten

More þan euere Grim may geten.

792

Ich ete more, bi god on liue,

þan grim an hise children fiue !

It ne may nouth ben þus longe,

Goddot ! y wile with þe gange,

796

For to leren sum god to gete ;

Swinken ich wolde for mi mete.

It is no shame forto swinken ;

þe man þat may wel eten and drinken,

800

þat nouth ne haue but on swink long,

To liggen at hom it is ful strong.

God yelde him þer i ne ¹ may,

þat haueth me fed to þis day !

804

Gladlike i wile þe paniers bere ;

Ich woth, ne shal it me nouth dere,

þey þer be inne a birþene gret,

Al so heui als a neth.

808

Shal ich neuere lengere dwelle,

To morwen shal ich forth pelle."

On þe morwen, hwan it was day,

He stirt up sone, and nouth ne lay ;

812 [Fol. 208 b, col. 1.]

And cast a panier on his bac,

With fish gieueld als a stac ;

Also michel he bar him one,

So he foure, bi mine mone !²

816

Wel he it bar, and solde it wel,

þe siluer he brouthe hom il del ;

Al þat he þer-fore tok

With-held he nouth a ferþinges nok.

820

So yede he forth ilke day,

þat he neuere at home lay.

Havelok thinks
he eats too much
to be idle.

It is no shame
for a man
to work.

He determines to
carry about
panniers like
the rest.

He carries a
pannier full
of fish,

and sells them.

¹ MS. ine.

² Cf. ll. 1711, 1972.

	So wolde he his mester lere ;	
A great dearth arises.	Bifel it so a strong dere	824
	Bigan to rise of korn of bred,	
	That grim ne couþe no god red,	
	Hw he sholde his meine fede ;	
	Of havelok hauede he michel drede :	828
	For he was strong, and wel mouthe ete	
	More þanne heuere mouthe he gete ;	
They have not enough to eat.	Ne he ne mouthe on þe se take	
	Neyþer lenge, ne þorn[e]bake, ¹	832
	Ne non oþer fish þat douthe	
	His meyne feden with he[r] ² mouthe.	
Grim is sorry for Havelok.	Of havelok he hauede kare,	
	Hwilgat þat he micthe fare ;	836
	Of his children was him nouth,	
	On havelok was al hise þouth,	
	And seyde, “ havelok, dere sone,	
	I wene that we deye mone	840
	For hunger, þis dere is so strong,	
	And hure mete is uten long.	
He advises him to go to Lincoln,	Betere is þat þu henne gonge,	
	þan þu here dwelle longe ;	844
	Heþen þow mayt gangen to late ;	
	Thou canst ful wel þe ricthe gate	
	To lincolne, þe gode borw,	
	þou hauest it gon ful ofte þoru ;	848
	Of me ne is me nouth a slo,	
	Betere is þat þu þider go,	
	For þer is mani god man inne,	
and work there.	þer þou mayt þi mete winne.	852
	But wo is me ! þou art so naked,	
He makes him a coat of an old sail.	Of mi seyl y wolde þe were maked	
	A cloth, þou mithest izne gongen,	
	Sone, no cold þat þu ne fonge.”	856

¹ See l. 759.² *Qu.* her, *i.e.* their. MS. he.

- H**e tok þe sh[e]res¹ of þe nayl, [Fol. 208b, col. 2.]
 And made him a couel of þe sayl,
 And haelok dide it sone on ;
 Hauede neyþer hosen ne shon, 860
 Ne none kines oþe[r] wede ;
 To lincolne barfot he yede. Havelok goes to
 Hwan he kam þe[r], he was ful wil, Lincoln barefoot.
 Ne hauede he no frend to gangen til ; 864
 Two dayes þer fastinde he yede, He fasts for
 þat non for his werk wolde him fede ; two days.
 þe þridde day herde he calle :
 " Bermen, bermen, hider forth alle ! " 868
 [Poure þat on fote yede]²
 Sprongen forth so sparke on glede.
 Haelok shof dun nyne or ten,
 Rith amidewarde þe fen, 872 Havelok becomes
 And stirte forth to þe kok, the earl's cook's
 [þer the herles mete he tok,] porter.
 þat he bouthe at þe brigge : ,
 þe bermen let he alle ligge, 876
 And bar þe mete to þe castel,
 And gat him þere a ferþing wastel. He gets a
 farthing cake.
þet oþer day kepte he ok
 Swiþe yerne þe erles kok, 880 Another day,
 Til þat he say him on þe b[r]igge, he watches the
 And bi him mani fishes ligge. earl's cook,
 þe herles mete hauede he bouth
 Of cornwalie, and kalde oft : 884
 " Bermen, bermen, hider swiþe ! " who calls for a
 Haelok it herde, and was ful bliþe, porter.
 þat he herde " bermen " calle ;
 Alle made he hem dun falle 888

¹ Qu. sheres. MS. shres.

² Cf. ll. 91, 101. Here and below an additional line seems requisite.

Havelok upsets 16 lads.	<p>þat in his gate yeden and stode, Wel sixtene laddes gode. Als he lep þe kok [vn-]til, He shof hem alle upon an hyl ; Astirte til him with his rippe, And bigan þe fish to kippe. He bar up wel a carte lode Of segges, laxes, of playces brode, Of grete laumprees, and of eles ; Sparede he neyþer tos ne heles, Til þat he to þe castel cam, þat men fro him his birþene nam. þan men haueden holpen him doun With þe birþene of his croun, þe kok [bi] stod, and on him low, And þoute him stalworþe man ynow, And seyde, " wiltu ben wit me ? Gladlike wile ich feden þe ; Wel is set þe mete þu etes, And þe hire þat þu getes."</p>	892
He catches up the cook's fish,		896
and carries them to the castle.		900
[Fol. 209, col. 1.]		904
The cook takes him into his service.		908
	<p>"Goddot !" ¹ quoth he, " leue sire, Bidde ich you non oþer hire ; But yeueþ me inow to ete, Fir and water y wile yow fete, þe fir blowe, an ful wele maken ; Stickes kan ich breken and kraken, And kindlen ful wel a fyr, And maken it to brennen shir ; Ful wel kan ich cleuen shides, Eles to-turnen ² of here hides ; Ful wel kan ich dishes swilen, And don al þat ye euere wilen."</p>	912
Havelok tells the cook what he can do.		916
		920
The cook is	Quoth þe kok, " wile i no more ;	

¹ Soddot, MS.² MS. to turuen ; but the u and n are almost indistinguishable.
Cf. l. 603 ; and *William of Palerne*, 2590.

Go þu yunder, and sit þore,
 And y shal yeue þe ful fair bred,
 And make þe broys in þe led. 924
 Sit now down and et ful yerne :
 Daþeit hwo þe mete werne ! "

content to hire
 him.

Hauelok sette him dun anon,
 Also stille als a ston, 928
 Til he hauede ful wel eten ;
 þo hauede hauelok fayre geten.

Havelok eats
 a good dinner.

Hwan he hauede eten inow,
 He kam to þe welle, water up-drow, 932

And filde þe[r] a michel so ;
 Bad he non ageyn him go,
 But bi-twen his hondes he bar it in,
 A[l] him one to þe kichin. 936

He fills a
 large tub with
 water for the
 kitchen.

Bad he non him water to fete,
 Ne fro b[r]igge to bere þe mete,
 He bar þe turues, he bar þe star,
 þe wode fro the brigge he bar ; 940

He draws water,
 and cuts wood.

Al that euere shulden he nytte,
 Al he drow, and al he citte ;
 Wolde he neuere hauen rest,
 More þan he were a best. 944

Of alle men was he mest meke,
 Lauhwinde ay, and bliþe of speke ;
 Euere he was glad and bliþe,
 His sorwe he couþe ful wel miþe. 948

He is always
 laughing and
 blithe.

It ne was non so litel knaue,
 For to leyken, ne forto lawe,
 þat he ne wo[l]de with him pleye :

[Fol. 209, col.]

þe children that y[e]den in þe weie 952
 Of him he deden al he[r] wille,
 And with him leykeden here fille.

Children play
 with him.

Him loueden alle, stille and bolde.
 Knictes, children, yunge and holde ; 956

All like him,	Alle him loueden þat him sowen, Boþen heyemen and lowe, Of him ful wide þe word sprong, Hw he was mike, hw he was strong,	960
He has nothing to wear but the old sail,	Hw fayr man god him hauede maked, But on þat he was almeſt naked : For he ne hauede nouth to ſhride, But a kouel ful unride,	964
The cook buys him new clothes,	þat [was] ful, and ſwiþe wicke, Was it nouth worth a fir ſticke. þe cok bigan of him to rewe, And bouthe him cloþes, al ſpaznewe ; He bouthe him boþe hosen and ſhon, And ſone dide him dones on.	968
He looks very well in his new suit,	Hwan he was cloþed, oſed, and ſhod, Was non ſo fayr under god, þat euere yete in erþe were, Non þat euere moder bere ; It was neuere man þat yemede In kinneriche, þat ſo wel ſemede King or cayſer forto be,	972
Havelok is the tallest man in Lincoln,	þan he was ſhrid, ſo ſemede he ; For þanne he weren alle ſamen At lincolne, at þe gamen, And þe erles men woren al þore, þan was hauelok bi þe ſhuldren more þan þe meſte þat þer kam :	976
	In armes him noman [ne] nam, þat he doune ſone ne caſte ; Hauelok ſtod ouer hem als a maſt. Als he was heie, al ¹ he was long, He was boþe ſtark and ſtrong ;	984
and the ſtrongest in England,	He was boþe ſtark and ſtrong ; In engelond [was] non hiſe per Of ſtrengþe þat euere kam him ner. Als he was ſtrong, ſo was he ſofte ;	988

¹ Qu. ſo ; ſee l. 991.

- þey a man him misdede ofte, 992
 Neuere more he him misdede,
 Ne hond on him with yuele leyde, [Fol. 209 b, col. 1.]
 Of bodi was he mayden clene, He is good-
 Neuere yete in game, ne in grene, 996 natured and pure.
 þit ¹ hire ne wolde leyke ne lye,
 No more þan it were a strie.
 In þat time al hengelond
 þerl Godrich hauede in his hond, 1000 Godrich summons
 And he gart komen into þe tun a parliament at
 Mani erl, and mani barun ; Lincoln.
 And alle [men] þat liues were
 In eng[e]lond, þanne wer þere, 1004
 þat þey haueden after sent,
 To ben þer at þe parlement.
 With hem com mani chanbioun,
 Mani with ladde, blac and brown ; 1008 Some champions
 An fel it so, þat yunge men, begin to contend
 Wel abouten nine or ten, in games.
 Biguznen þe[r] for to layke :
 þider komen bothe stronge and wayke ; 1012
 þider komen lesse and more,
 þat in þe borw þanne weren þore ;
 Chaunpiouns, and starke laddes,
 Bondemen with here gaddes, 1016 Strong lads and
 Als he comen fro þe plow ; bondmen are
 þere was sembling i-now ! there.
 For it ne was non horse-knaue,
 þo þei sholden in honde haue, 1020
 þat he ne kam þider, þe leyk to se :
 Biforn here fet þanne lay a tre,
 And putten ² with a mikel ston
 þe starke laddes, ful god won, 1024 They begin to
 "put the stone."

¹ *Qu.* wit = with : miswritten owing to confusion of þ with p
(w) ?

² MS. pulten. But see ll. 1031, 1033, 1044, 1051, &c.

	þe ston was mikel, and ek greth, And al so heui so a neth ; Grund stalwrthe man he sholde be, þat mouthe liften it to his kne ;	1028
Few can lift it.	Was þer neyþer clerc, ne prest, þat mithe liften it to his brest : þerwit putten the chaunpiouns, þat þider comen with þe barouns.	1032
	Hwo so mithe putten þore Biforn a-noþer, an inch or more, Wore ye yung, [or] wore he hold, He was for a kempe told.	1036
Whilst this is going on,	Al-so þe[i] stoden, an ofte stareden, þe chaunpiouns, and ek the ladden,	
[Fol. 209 b, col. 2.]	And he maden mikel strout Abouten þe alþerbeste but,	1040
Havelok looks on at them.	Hauelok stod, and lokede þer-til ; And of puttingge he was ful wil, For neuere yete ne saw he or Putten the stone, or þanne þor.	1044
His master tells him to try.	Hise mayster bad him gon þer-to, Als he coupe þer-with do. þo hise mayster it him bad, He was of him sore adrad ;	1048
	þerto he stirte sone anon, And kipte up þat heui ston, þat he sholde puten wiþe ;	
He puts the stone 12 feet beyond the rest.	He putte at þe firste siþe, Ouer alle þat þer wore, Twel fote, and sumdel more. þe chaunpiouns þat [þat] put sowen, Shuldreden he ilc oper, and lowen ;	1052
	Wolden he no more to putting gange, But seyde, " we ¹ dwellen her to longe ! "	1056

¹ In the former edition—"ye". But the *y* is not dotted, and it may be "pe."

- þis selkouth mithe nouth ben hyd,
 Ful sone it was ful loude kid 1060 This feat is
everywhere
talked about.
 Of havelok, hw he warp þe ston
 Ouer þe laddes euerilkon ;
 Hw he was fayr, hw he was long,
 Hw he was with, hw he was strong ; 1064
 þoruth england yede þe speke,¹
 Hw he was strong, and ek meke ;
 In the castel, up in þe halle,
 þe knithes speken þer-of alle, 1068
 So that Godrich it herde wel
 þe[r] speken of havelok, eueri del,
 Hw he was strong man and hey,
 Hw he was strong and ek fri, 1072
 And þouthte godrich, " þoru þis knaue
 Shal ich engelsond al haue,
 And mi sone after me ;
 For so i wile þat it be. 1076
 The king apelwald me dide swere
 Vpon al þe messe-gere,
 þat y shu[l]de his douth[e]r yeue
 þe hexte þat mithe liue, 1080
 þe beste, þe fairest, þe strangest ok ;
 þat gart he me sweren on þe bok.
 Hwere mithe i finden ani so hey
 So havelok is, or so sley ? 1084 [Fol. 210, col. 1.]
 þou y southe heþen in-to ynde,
 So fayr, so strong, ne mithe y finde.
 Havelok is þat ilke knaue,
 þat shal goldeborw haue." 1088 That is Havelok."
 þis þouthe [he] with trechery,
 With traysoun, and wit felony ;
 For he wende, þat havelok wore
 Sum cherles sone, and no more ; 1092
 Ne shulde he hauen of engelsond

¹ MS. speche. Read "speke," as in l. 946.

- Onlepi forw in his hond,
 With hire, þat was þerof eyr,
 þat bope was god and swiþe fair. 1096
- He thought
 Havelok was
 only a thrall.
 He wende, þat haue lok wer a þral,
 þer-þoru he wende hauen al
 In engelond, þat hire rith was ;
 He was werse þan sathanas, 1100
 þat ihesu crist in erþe shop : ¹
 Hanged worþe he on an hok !
- He sends for
 Goldborough to
 Lincoln.
 A fter goldebo[r]w sone he sende,
 þat was bope fayr and hende, 1104
 And dide hire to lincolne bringe,
 Belles dede he ageyn hire ringen,
 And ioie he made hire swiþe mikel,
 But neþeles he was ful swikel. 1108
 He seyde, þat he sholde hire yeue
 þe fayrest man that mithe liue.
- She says she will
 marry none but a
 king.
 She answered, and seyde anon,
 Bi crist, and bi seint iohan, 1112
 þat hire sholde noman wedde,
 Ne noman bringen to hire ² bedde,
 But he were king, or kinges eyr,
 Were he neuere man so fayr. 1116
- Godrich is wrath
 at this.
 Godrich þe erl was swiþe wroth,
 þat she swore swilk an oth,
 And seyde, " hwor þou wilt be
 Quen and leuedi ouer me ? 1120
 þou shalt hauen a gadeling,
 Ne shalt þou hauen non oper king ;
- He says she shall
 marry his cook's
 servant.
 þe shal spusen mi cokes knaue,
 Ne shalt þou non oper louerd haue. 1124
 Daþeit þat þe oper yeue
 Euere more hwil i liue !

¹ Qu. shok or strok.² Qu. hise.

- To-mo[r]we ye sholen ben weddeth,
 And, maugre þin, to-gidere beddeth." 1128
 Goldeborw gret, and was¹ hire ille, [Fol. 210, col. 2.]
 She wolde ben ded bi hire wille.
 On the morwen, hwan day was sprungen,
 And day-belle at kirke rungen, 1132
 After haelok sente þat iudas, He sends next
 þat werse was þanne sathanas : day for Havelok,
 And seyde, "mayster, wilte wif?" and says,
 "Nay," quoth haelok, "bi my lif!" 1136 "Master, wilt
 Hwat sholde ich with wif do? wive?"
 I ne may hire fede, ne cloþe, ne sho.
 Wider sholde ich wimman bringe?
 I ne haue none kines þinge. 1140 Havelok refuses.
 I ne haue hws, y ne haue cote,
 Ne i ne² haue stikke, y ne haue sprote,
 I ne haue neyþer bred ne sowel,
 Ne cloth, but of an hold with couel. 1144
 þis cloþes, þat ich onne haue,
 Aren þe kokes, and ich his knaue."
 Godrich stirt up, and on him dong
 [With dintes swiþe hard and strong.] 1148 Godrich beats
 And seyde, "But þou hire take, him, and
 þat y wole yeuen þe to make, threatens to hang
 I shal hangen þe ful heye, him.
 Or y shal pristen vth þin heie." 1152
 Haelok was one, and was odrat,
 And grauntede him al þat he bad. Havelok consents.
 þo sende he after hire sone,
 þe fayrest wymman under mone ; 1156
 And seyde til hire, [false]³ and slike,
 þat wicke þral, þat foule swike :
 "But þu þis man under-stonde, Godrich next
 threatens
 Goldborough.

¹ The first letter of this word is either þ or a Saxon *w* (p). I read it as the latter.

² MS. ine.

³ Both sense and metre require this word.

	I shal flemen þe of londe ;	1160
	Or þou shal to þe galwes renne,	
	And þer þou shalt in a fir brenne."	
	Sho was adrad, for he so þrette,	
	And durste nouth þe spusing lette,	1164
	But þey hire likede swiþe ille,	
	þouth it was godes wille :	
She consents, thinking it is God's will.	God, þat makes to growen þe korn,	
	Formede hire winnman to be born.	1168
	Hwan he hauede don him for drede,	
	þat he sholde hire spusen, and fede,	
	And þat she sholde til him holde,	
A dowry is given her.	þer weren penies picke tolde,	1172
	Mikel plente upon þe bok :	
	He ys hire yaf, and she as tok.	
[Fol. 210 b, col. 1.]	He weren spused fayre and wel,	
	þe messe he deden eueridel,	1176
	þat fel to spusing, and god cle[r]k,	
	þe erchebishop uth of yerk,	
The archbishop of York marries them.	þat kam to þe parlement,	
	Als god him hauede þider sent.	1180
	H wan he weren togydere in godes lawe,	
	þat þe folc ful wel it sawe,	
	He ne wisten hwat he mouthen,	
	Ne he ne wisten wat hem douthe ;	1184
Havelok knows not what to do.	þer to dwellen, or þenne to gonge,-	
	þer ne wolden he dwellen longe,	
	For he wisten, and ful wel sawe,	
	þat godrich hem hatede, þe deucl him hawe !	1188
	And yf he dwelleden þer outh—	
	þat fel haue lok ful wel on þouth—	
	Men sholde don his leman shame,	
	Or elles bringen in wicke blame.	1192
	þat were him leuere to ben ded,	
He determines	For-þi he token anoþer red,	

- þat þei sholden þenne fle to go to Grimsby.
 Til grim, and til hise sones þre ; 1196
 þer wenden he alþer-best to spede,
 Hem forto cloþe, and for to fede.
 þe lond he token under fote,
 Ne wisten he non oþer bote, 1200
 And helden ay the riþe [sti] ¹
 Til he komen to grimesby.
 þanne he komen þere, þanne was grim ded, He finds that Grim is dead, but his five children are alive.
 Of him ne haueden he no red ; 1204
 But hise children alle fyue
 Alle weren yet on liue ;
 þat ful fayre ayen hem neme,
 Hwan he wisten þat he keme, 1208
 And maden ioie swiþe mikel,
 Ne weren he neuere ayen hem fikel.
 On knes ful fayre he hem setten,
 And havelok swiþe fayre gretten, 1212
 And seyden, " welcome, louerd dere !
 And welcome be þi fayre fere !
 Blessed be þat ilke prawe,
 þat þou hire toke in godes lawe ! 1216
 Wel is hus we sen þe on lyue,
 þou mithe us boþe selle and yeue ;
 þou mayt us boþe yeue and selle,
 With þat þou wilt here dwelle. 1220 [Fol. 210 b, col. 2.]
 We hauen, louerd, alle gode,
 Hors, and neth, and ship on flode,
 Gold, and siluer, and michel auchte,
 þat grim ure fader us bitawchte. 1224
 Gold, and siluer, and oþer fe
 Bad he us bi-taken þe.
 We hauen shep, we hauen swin,
 Bi-leue her, louerd, and al be þin ; 1228
 þo shalt ben louerd, þou shalt ben syre, They will serve

¹ A word is here erased ; but see l. 2618.

- him and his wife. And we sholen *seruen* þe and hire ;
 And hure sistres sholen do
 Al that euere biddes sho ; 1232
 He sholen hire cloþen, washen, and wringen,
 And to hondes water bringen ;
 He sholen bedden hire and þe,
 For leuedi wile we þat she be." 1236
 Hwan he þis ioie haueden maked,
 Sithen stikes broken and kraked,
 And þe fir brouth on brenne,
 Ne was þer spared gos ne henne, 1240
 Ne þe hende, ne þe drake,
 Mete he deden plente make ;
 Ne wantede þere no god mete,
 Wyn and ale deden he fete, 1244
 And made[n] hem [ful] glade and bliþe,
 Wesseyl ledden he fele siþe.
- At night
 Goldborough lies
 down sorrowful.
 On þe nith, als goldeborw lay,
 Sory and sorwful was she ay, 1248
 For she wende she were bi-swike,
 þat sh[e w]ere¹ yeuen un-kyndelike.
 She sees a great
 light.
 O nith saw she þer-inne a lith,
 A swiþe fayr, a swiþe bryth, 1252
 Al so brith, al so shir,
 So it were a blase of fir.
 She lokede no[r]þ,² and ek south,
 And saw it comen ut of his mouth, 1256
 þat lay bi hire in þe bed :
 No ferlike þou she were adred.
 þouthe she, "wat may this bi-mene !
 He beth heyman yet, als y wene, 1260
 He beth heyman er he be ded :"—
 She sees a red
 cross on his
 shoulder, and
 On hise shuldre, of gold red
 She saw a swiþe noble croiz,

¹ MS. shere, *evidently miswritten for she were.*² MS. nop.

Of an angel she herde a uoyz :

1264 hears an angel,
saying,

“Goldeborw, lat þi sorwe be,
For havelok, þat haueþ spuset þe,

[Fol. 211, col. 1.]
“Goldborough,
be not sad.

He ¹ kinges sone, and kinges eyr,

þat bikenneth þat croiz so fayr.

1268

It ² bikenneth more, þat he shal

Denemark hauen, and englond al ;

He shal ben king strong and stark

Havelok shall be
a king,

Of engelond and denemark ;

1272

þat shal þu wit þin eyne sen,

And þo shalt quen and leuedi beu !”

and thou, queen.”

þanne she hauede herd the steuene
Of þe angel uth of heuene,

1276

She was so fele siþes blithe,

She rejoices,
and kisses
Havelok.

þat she ne mithe hire ioie mythe ;

But havelok sone anon she kiste,

And he slep, and nouth ne wiste.

1280

Hwan þat aungel hauede seyð,

Of his slep a-non he brayd,

And seide, “lemman, slepes þou ?

He awakes, and
says he has had
a dream.

A selkuth drem dremede me nou.

1284

Herkne nou wat me haueth met :

Me þouthe y was in denemark set,

But on on þe moste hil

He dreamt he
was on a high
hill in Denmark,

þat euere yete kam i til.

1288

It was so hey, þat y wel mouthe

Al þe werd se, als me þouthe.

Als i sat up-on þat lowe,

I bigan denemark for to awe,

1292 and began to
possess all that
country.

þe borwes, and þe castles stronge ;

And mine armes weren so longe,

That i fadmede, al at ones,

¹ *Qz.* Is.

² *MS.* Iit.

	denemark, with mine longe bones ;	1296
	And þanne y wolde mine armes drawe	
	Til me, and hom for to haue,	
All things in Denmark cleaved to his arms.	Al that euere in denemark liueden	
	On mine armes faste clyueden ;	1300
	And þe stronge castles alle	
	On knes bigunnen for to falle,	
	þe keyes fellen at mine fet :—	
He also dreamt that he went to England,	Anoþer drem dremede me ek,	1304
	þat ich fley ouer þe salte se	
	Til engeland, and al with me	
	þat euere was in denemark lyues,	
	But bondemen, and here wiues,	1308
	And þat ich kom til engelond,	
[Fol. 211, col. 2.] and that became his too..	Al closede it intil min hond,	
	And, goldeborw, y gaf [it] þe :—	
	Deus ! lemman, hwat may þis be ?	1312
	Sho answerede, and seyde sone :	
	“ Thesu crist, þat made mone,	
	þine dremes turne to ioie ;	
	þat wite þw that sittes in trone !	1316
She says, he will be king of England and Denmark.	Ne non strong king, ne caysere,	
	So þou shalt be, fo[r] þou shalt bere	
	In engelond corune yet ;	
	Denemark shal knele to þi fet ;	1320
	Alle þe castles þat aren þer-inne,	
	Shal-tow, lemman, ful wel winne.	
	I woth, so wel so ich it sowe,	
	To þe shole comen heye and lowe,	1324
“ All men in Denmark shall come to thee.	And alle þat in denemark wone,	
	Em and broþer, fader and sone,	
	Erl and baroun, dreng an kayn,	
	Knithes, and burgeys, and sweyn ;	1328
	And mad king heyelike and wel,	
	Denemark shal be þin euere-ile del.	

- Haue þou nouth þer-offe douthe
 Nouth þe worth of one nouthe ; 1332
 þer-offe with-inne þe firste yer
 Shalt þou ben king, of euere-il del. Thou shalt be
 But do nou als y wile rathe, king within the
 Nim in with þe to denema[r]k baþe, 1336 year.
 And do þou nouth onfrest þis fare,
 Lith and selthe felawes are.
 For shal ich neuere bliþe be
 Til i with eyen denemark se ; 1340
 For ich woth, þat al þe lond
 Shalt þou hauen in þin hon[d].
 Prey grimes sones alle þre,
 That he wenden forþ with þe ; 1344 Pray Grim's sons
 I wot, he wilen þe nouth werne, to go with you to
 With þe wende shulen he yerne, Denmark.
 For he louen þe herte-like,
 þou maght til he aren quike, 1348
 Hwore so he o worde aren ;
 þere ship þou do hem swithe yaren,
 And loke þat þou dwellen nouth :
 Dwelling haueth ofte scape wrouth." 1352 Go at once.
 Delays are
 dangerous."

- H**wan Hauelok herde þat she radde,
 Sone it was day, sone he him cladde,
 And sone to þe kirke yede, [Fol. 211 b, col. 1.]
 Or he dide ani oþer dede, 1356
 And bifor þe rode bigan falle,
 Croiz and crist bi[gan] to kalle,
 And seyde, "louerd, þat al weldes,
 Wind and water, wodes and feldes,
 For the holi milce of you,
 Haue merci of me, louerd, nou !
 And wreke me yet on mi fo,
 þat ich saw biforn min eyne slo 1364
 Mine sistres, with a knif, Havelok prays for
 success,
 and for vengeance
 on his foe,

- And siþen wolde me mi lyf
 Hauē reft, for in the [depe] se
 Bad he grim hauē drenched me. 1368
 He [hath] mi lond with mikel vn-Rith,
 With michel wrong, with mikel plith,
 For i ne ¹ misdede him neuere nouth,
 And haued me to sorwe brouth. 1372
- who had caused
 him to be a
 beggar.
 He haueth me do mi mete to þigge,
 And ofte in sorwe and pine ligge.
 Louerd, hauē merci of me,
 And late [me] wel passe þe se, 1376
 þat ihe hauē ther-offe douthē and kare,
 With-uten stormes ouer-fare,
 þat y ne drenched [be] þer-ine,
 Ne forfaren for no sinne. 1380
 And bringge me wel to þe lond,
 þat godard haldes in his hond ;
 þat is mi Rith, eueri del :
 Ihesu crist, þou wost it wel !” 1384
- He leaves his
 offering on the
 altar.
 þanne he hauēde his bedē seyd,
 His offrende on þe auter leyde,
 His leue at ihesu crist he tok,
 And at his suete moder ok, 1388
 And at þe croiz, þat he biforn lay,
 Siþen yede sore grotinde away.
- He finds Grim's
 sons ready to
 fish.
² Hwan he com hom, he wore yare,
 Grimes sones, forto fare 1392
 In-to þe se, fishes to gete,
 þat havelok mithe wel of ete.
 But auelok þouthē al anoþer,
 First he ka[l]de þe heldeste broþer, 1396
 Roberd þe rede, bi his name,
- Havelok calls
 Grim's three
 sons.

¹ MS. ine.² In the MS. the Capital letter is prefixed to the next line.

- Wiliam wenduth, and h[uwe r]auen,¹
 Grimes sones alle pre,
 And sey[d]e, "lipen nou alle to me, 1400 [Fol. 211 b, col. 2.]
 Louerdinges, ich wile you sheue,
 A þing of me þat ye wel knewe.
 Mi fader was king of denshe lond,
 Denemark was al in his hond 1404
 þe day þat he was quik and ded ;
 But þanne hauede he wicke red,
 þat he me, and denemark al,
 And mine sistres bi-tawte a þral : 1408
 A deueles lime [he] hus bitawte,
 And al his lond, and al hise authe.
 For y saw that fule fend
 Mine sistres slo with hise hend ; 1412
 First he shar a-two here þrotes,
 And sipen [karf] hem al to-grotes,
 And sipen bad [he] in þe se
 Grim, youre fader, drenchen me. 1416
 Deplike dede he him swere
 On bok, þat he sholde me bere
 Vnto þe se, an drenchen ine,
 And wolde taken on him þe sinne. 1420
 But grim was wis, and swiþe hende,
 Wolde he nouth his soule shende ;
 Leuere was him to be for-sworen,
 þan drenchen me, and ben for-lorn ; 1424
 But sone bigan he forto fle
 Fro denemark, forto berwen² me,
 For yif³ ich hauede þer ben funden,
 Hauede ben slayn, or harde bunden, 1428
 And heye ben hinged on a tre,

He says, "My
father was king
of Denmark."

He left me and
my sisters in
charge of a foul
fiend,

who slew my
sisters,

and bade Grim
drown me.

But Grim was
wise.

He fled from
Denmark with
me,

¹ MS. hauen. Cf. ll. 1868, 2528. Only an assonance, not a rime, seems intended.

² MS. berpen, *the A.S. w being used here.* Cf. l. 697.

³ MS. yif.

- Havede go for him gold ne fe.
 For-þi fro denemark hider he fledde,
 and took care of me. And me ful fayre and ful wel fedde, 1432
 So þat vn-to þis [ilke] day,
 Haue ich ben fed and fostred ay.
 But nou ich am up to þat helde
 Cumen, that ich may wepne welde, 1436
 And y may grete dintes yeue,
 And now, I must go to Denmark. Shal i neuere hwil ich lyue
 Ben glad, til that ich denemark se ;
 Go with me, and I will make you rich men." I preie you þat ye wende with me, 1440
 And ich may mak you riche men,
 Ilk of you shal haue castles ten,
 And þe lond þat þor-til longes,
 Borwes, tunes, wodes and wonges." ¹ 1444
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 [Fol. 212, col. 1.] "With swilk als ich byen shal :
 þer-of bi-seche you nou leue ;
 Havelok asks Ubbe to give him leave to buy and sell there. Wile ich speke with non oþer reue,
 But with þe, þat iustise are, 1628
 þat y mithe seken ² mi ware
 In gode borwes up and doun,
 And faren ich wile fro tun to tun."
 A gold ring drow he forth anon, 1632
 An hundred pund was worth þe ston,
 He gives Ubbe a gold ring. And yaf it ubbe for to spede :—
 He was ful wis þat first yaf mede,
 And so was havelok ful wis here, 1636

¹ A folio has here been cut out of the MS., containing 180 lines. The missing portion must have been to this effect. "To this they gladly assented ; and Havelok, accompanied by his wife Goldeborw and the sons of Grim, set sail for Denmark. Disembarking, they travel till they reach the castle of a great Danish earl, named Ubbe, who had formerly been a close friend to king Birkabeyn. Havelok begs that he will allow him to live in that part of the country, and to gain a livelihood by trading."

² *Qu. sellen.*

He solde his gold ring ful dere,
 Was neuere non so dere sold,
 For chapmen, neyþer yung ne old :
 þat sholen ¹ ye forthward ful wel heren,
 Yif þat ye wile þe storie heren.

Dearly he sells it,
 all the same.

1640

Hwan ubbe hauede þe gold ring,
 Hauede he youenet for no þing,
 Nouth for þe borw euere-il del :—
 Hauelok bi-hel he swiþe wel,
 Hw he was wel of bones maked,
 Brod in þe sholdres, ful wel schaped,
 þicke in þe brest, of bodi long ;
 He semede wel to ben wel strong.

Ubbe takes the
 ring,

1644

“Deus !” hwat ubbe, “qui ne were he knith ?
 I woth, þat he is swiþe with !

Betere semede him to bere
 Helm on heued, sheld and spere,
 þanne to beye and selle ware.
 Allas ! þat he shal þer-with fare.
 Goddot ! wile he trowe me,
 Chaffare shal he late be.”

1652

and thinks he
 ought to be a
 knight, not a
 pedlar.

Neþeles he seyde sone :
 “Hauelok, haue [þou] þi bone,
 And y ful wel rede þ[e]

1660

“Havelok, bring
 your wife, and
 come and eat
 with me.”

þat þou come, and ete with me
 To-day, þou, and þi fayre wif,
 þat þou louest also þi lif.

And haue þou of hire no drede,
 Shal hire no man shame bede.
 Bi þe fey that y owe to þe,
 þerof shal i me serf-borw be.”

1664

Hauelok herde þat he bad,
 And thow was he ful sore drad,
 With him to ete, for hise wif ;

1668

[Fol. 212, col. 2.]

¹ MS. shoren.

- Havelok fears
ill may come
of it. For him wore leuere þat his lif
Him wore reft, þan she in blame 1672
Felle, or lauthe ani shame.
Hwanne he hauede his wille *wat*,¹
þe stede, þat he onne sat,
- But Ubbe rides
away, saying, Smot ubbe with spures faste, 1676
And forth away, but at þe laste,
Or he fro him ferde,
Seyde he, þat his folk herde :
- "Mind that you
come." "Loke þat ye comen bepe, 1680
For ich it wile, and ich it rede."
- Havelok dares
not refuse. **H**auelok ne durste, þe he were adrad,
Nouth with-sitten þat ubbe bad ; 1684
His wif he dide with him lede,
Vn-to þe heye curt he y[e]de.²
- Robert the Red
leads Gold-
borough. Roberd hire ledde, þat was red,
þat hau[ed]e þarned for hire þe ded 1688
Or ani hauede hire misseyd,
Or hand with iuele onne leyd.
- William Wendut
is on the other
side of her. Willam wendut was þat oþer
þat hire ledde, roberdes broþer, 1692
þat was with at alle nedes :
Wel is him þat god man fedes !
þan he weren comen to þe halle,
Biforen ubbe, and hise men alle,
- Ubbe starts up to
welcome them. Vbbe stirte hem ageyn, 1696
And mani a knith, and mani a sweyn,
Hem for to se, and forto shewe ;
þo stod hauelok als a lowe
- Havelok is a head
taller than any of
them. Aboven [þo] þat þer-inne wore, 1700
Rith al bi þe heued more
þanne ani þat þer-inne stod :
þo was ubbe bliþe of mod,
þat he saw him so fayr and hende, 1704

¹ MS. *either* þat or pat.² MS. yde.

Fro him ne mithe his herte wende,
 Ne fro him, ne fro his wif;
 He louede hem sone so his lif.
 Weren non in denemark, þat him pouthe,
 þat he so mikel loue mouthe;
 More he louede havelok one,
 þan al denemark, bi mine wone!
 Loke nou, hw god helpen kan
 O mani wise wif and man.

1708 Ubbe loves
 Havelok better
 than any one
 else.

1712

Hwan it was comen time to ete,
 Hise wif dede ubbe sone in fete,
 And til hire seyde, al on gamen:
 "Dame, þou and havelok shulen ete samen,
 And goldeboru shal ete wit me,
 þat is so fayr so flour on tre;
 In al denemark nis¹ wimman
 So fayr so sche, bi seint iohan!"
 þanne [he] were set, and bord leyd,
 And þe beneysun was seyde,
 Biforn hem com þe beste mete
 þat king or cayser wolde ete;
 Kranes, swannes, ueneysun,
 Lax, lampreys, and god sturgun,
 Pyment to drinke, and god clare,
 Win hwit and red, ful god plente.
 Was þe per-inne no page so lite,
 þat euere wolde ale bite.
 Of þe mete forto tel,
 Ne of þe metes² bidde i nout dwelle;
 þat is þe storie for to lenge,
 It wolde anuye þis fayre genge.
 But hwan he haueden þe kiwing³ deled,
 And fele sipes haueden wosseyled,
 And with gode drinkes seten longe,

[Fol. 212 b, col. 1.]

1716

Ubbe's wife is to
 eat with Havelok,
 and Goldborough
 with Ubbe.

1720

1724 There were
 cranes, swans,
 venison, fish,
 and wines.

1728

1732

No need to tell
 it all.

1736 When the feast is
 over,

¹ MS. is. ² Qu. win. ³ Uncertain in MS. See note.

- And it was time for to gonge,
 Il man to þer he cam fro, 1740
 Ubbe thinks he must let them have an escort. þouthe ubbe, "yf I late hem go,
 þus one foure, with-uten mo,
 So mote ich brouke finger or to,
 For þis wimman bes mike wo ! 1744
 For hire shal men hire louerd slo."
 He tok sone knithes ten,
 And wel sixti oþer men,
 Wit gode bowes, and with gleiues, 1748
 And sende him unto þe greyues,
 He sends them to Bernard Brown, and bids him take care of them till next day. þe beste man of al þe toun,
 þat was named bernard brun ;
 And bad him, als he louede his lif, 1752
 Hauelok wel y[e]men,¹ and his wif,
 And wel do wayten al þe nith,
 Til þe oþer day, þat it were lith.
 Bernard was trewe, and swiþe with, 1756
 In al þe borw ne was no knith
 þat betere couþe on stede riden,
 Helm on heued, ne swerd bi side.
 [Fol. 212 b, col. 2.] Bernard provides a rich supper for Havelok. Hauelok he gladlike under-stod, 1760
 With mike loue, and herte god,
 And dide greyþe a super riche,
 Also he was no with chinche,
 To his bihoue euer-il del, 1764
 þat he mithe suþe swiþe wel.
 At suppartime sixty-one thieves come to the house, Also he seten, and sholde soupe,
 So comes a ladde in a ioupe, 1768
 And with him sixti oþer stronge,
 With swerdes drawen, and kniues longe,
 Ilkan in hande a ful god gleiue,
 And seyde, "undo, bernard þe greyue !
 Vndo swiþe, and latus² in, 1772

¹ MS. ymen.² Sic in MS.

- Or þu art ded, bi seint austin ! ”
- Bernard stirt up, þat was ful big,
 And caste a brinie up-on his rig,
 And grop an ax,¹ þat was ful god, 1776
 Lep to þe dore, so he wore wod,
 And seyde, “ hwat are ye, þat are þer-oute,
 þat þus biginnen forto stroute ?
 Goth henne swiþe, fule þeues, 1780 and tells them to
 For, bi þe louerd, þat man on leues, go away.
 Shol ich casten þe dore open,
 Summe of you shal ich drepen !
 And þe opre shal ich kesten 1784
 In feteres, and ful faste festen ! ”
 “ Hwat haue ye seid,” quoth a ladde, They defy him.
 “ Wenestu þat we ben adradde ?
 We shole at þis dore gonge 1788
 Maugre þin, carl, or outh longe.”
 He gripen sone a bulder ston,
 And let it fleye, ful god won,
 Agen þe dore, þat it to-rof : 1792
 Auelok it saw, and þider drof,
 And þe barre sone vt-drow,
 þat was unride, and gret ynow,
 And caste þe dore open wide, 1796
 And seide, “ her shal y now abide :
 Comes swiþe vn-to me !² “ Come here to
 Dathey t hwo you henne fle ! ” me.”
 “ No,” quodh on, “ þat shaltou coupe,” 1800
 And bigan til him to loupe,
 In his hond is swerd ut-drawe,
 Hauelok he wende þore haue slawe ; Three men attack
 And with [him] comen oþer two, 1804 Havelok.
 þat him wolde of liue haue do. [Fol. 213, col. 1.]

¹ MS. ar ; but see l. 1894.

² MS. vnto me datheit,—evidently the repetition of the first word in the succeeding line.

	Hauelok lifte up þe dore-tre,	
He kills them all.	And at a dint he slow hem þre ;	
	Was non of hem þat his hernes	1808
	Ne lay þer-ute ageyn þe sternes.	
A fourth he knocks down with a blow on the head.	þe ferþe þat he siþen mette, Wit þe barre so he him grette, Bifor þe heued, þat þe rith eye	1812
	Vt of þe hole made he fleye, And siþe clapte him on þe crune, So þat he stan-ded fel þor dune.	
A fifth he hits between the shoulders.	þe fifte þat he ouer-tok, Gaf he a ful sor dint[e] ok, Bitwen þe sholdres, þer he stod,	1816
	þat he spen his herte blod.	
A sixth he smites on the neck.	þe sixte wende for to fle, And he clapte him with þe tre Rith in þe fule necke so, þat he smot hise necke on to.	1820
	þanne þe sixe weren doun feld,	1824
A seventh aims at Hauelok's eye.	þe seueneþe brayd ut his swerd, And wolde hauelok Riht in the eye ; And hauelok le[t þe] ¹ barre fleye,	
Hauelok kills him.	And smot him sone ageyn þe brest, þat hauede he neuere sch[r]ifte of prest ; For he was ded on lesse hwile, þan men mouthe renne a mile.	1828
The rest divide into two parties,	Alle þe opere weren ful kene, A red þei taken hem bi-twene, þat he sholde him bi-halue, And brisen so, þat wit no salue Ne sholde him helen leche non :	1832
	þey drowen ut swerdes, ful god won,	1836
and shoot at him from a distance.	And shoten on him, so don on bere Dogges, þat wolden him to-tere,	

¹ *Qu.* Hauelok let the. MS. "haue le."

- þanne men doth þe bere beyte : 1840
 þe laddes were kaske and teyte,
 And vn-bi-yeden him ilkon,
 Sum smot with tre, and sum wit ston ;
 Summe putten with gleyue, in bac and side, 1844
 And yeuen wundes longe and wide ;
 In twenti stedes, and wel mo,
 Fro þe croune til the to.
 Hwan he saw þat, he was wod, 1848
 And was it ferlik hw he stod,
 For the blod ran of his sides [Fol. 213, col. 2.]
 So water þat fro þe welle glides ;
 But þanne bigan he for to mowe 1852
 With the barre, and let hem shewe,
 Hw he cowþe sore smite,
 For was þer non, long ne lite,
 þat he Mouthe ouer-take, 1856
 þat he ne garte his croune krake ;
 So þat on a litel stund,
 Felde he twenti to þe grund.
 He at last
 succeeds in
 killing twenty of
 them.
- þo bigan gret dine to rise, 1860
 For þe laddes on ilke wise
 Him asayleden wit grete dintes,
 Fro fer he stoden, him with flintes
 And gleyues schoten him fro ferne, 1864
 For drepen him he wolden yerne ;
 But dursten he newhen him no more,
 þanne he bor or leun wore.
 They throw
 stones at him.
- Huwe rauen þat dine herde, 1868
 And þowthe wel, þat men mis-ferde
 With his louerd, for his wif,
 And grop an ore, and a long knif,
 And pider drof al so an hert, 1872
 And cham þer on a litel stert,
 and comes to
 help.

	And saw how þe laddes wode Hauelok his louerd umbistode, And beten on him so doth þe smith With þe hamer on þe stith.	1876
	“ A llas !” hwat hwe, “ þat y was boren ! þat euere et ich bred of koren ! þat ich here þis sorwe se !	1880
Hugh calls out to Robert and William.	Roberd ! willam ! hware ar ye ? Gripeth eþer unker a god tre, And late we nouth þise doges fle, Til ure louerd wreke [we] ; Cometh swiþe, and folwes me ! Ich haue in honde a ful god ore : Datheit wo ne smite sore !”	1884
Robert comes to the rescue,	“ Ya ! leue, ya !” quod roberd sone, “ We hauen ful god lith of þe mone.” Roberd grop a staf, strong and gret, þat mouthe ful wel bere a net,	1888
and William too, and Bernard.	And willam wendut grop a tre Mikel grettere þan his þe, ¹ And bernard held his ax ful faste ;	1892
[Fol. 213 b, col. 1.]	I seye, was he nouth þe laste ; And lopen forth so he weren wode To þe laddes, þer he stode, And yaf hem wundes swiþe grete ;	1896
They fight with the thieves,	þer mithe men wel se boyes bete, And ribbes in here sides breke, And hauelok on hem wel wreke. He broken armes, he broken knes, He broken shankes, he broken thes. He dide þe blode þere renne dune To þe fet rith fro the crune,	1900
No head was spared.	For was þer spared heued non : He leyden on heuedes, ful god won,	1904

¹ MS. pre, the r being caught from the word above. Cf. l. 1903.

And made croune[s] breke and crake, 1908

Of þe broune, and of þe blake ;

He maden here backes al so bloute

Als h[er]e¹ wombes, and made hem rowte

He made their
backs as soft
as their bellies.

Als he weren kradelbarnes : 1912

So dos þe child þat moder þarnes.

Daþeit *wo*² recke ! for he it *seruede*,
Hwat dide he þore weren he werewed ;

So longe haueden he but and bet 1916

With neues under hernes set,

þat of þo sixti men and on

All sixty
assailants are
slain.

Ne wente þer away liues non.

ON þe morwen, hwan³ it was day,
Ilc on other wirwed lay,

1920 At morn, there
they lay like
dogs.

Als it were dogges þat weren henged,

And summe leye in dikes slenget,

And summe in gripes bi þe her 1924

Drawen ware, and laten ther.

Sket cam tiding intil ubbe,

þat hanelok hauede with a clubbe

Of hise slawen sixti and on 1928

Sergaunz, þe beste þat mithen gon.

"Deus !" quoth ubbe, "hwat may þis be !

Ubbe comes to
see what is the
matter.

Betere his i nime⁴ miself and se,

þat þis baret on hwat is wold, 1932

þanne i sende yunge or old.

For yif i sende him un-to,

I wene men sholde him shame do,

And þat ne wolde ich for no þing : 1936

¹ *Qu.* here. MS. *he*.

² MS. "pe," clearly miswritten for "po" or "wo." See ll. 2047, 296, 300, &c.

³ MS. "hhan," miswritten for "hpan," from which it differs very slightly.

⁴ MS. *inime*.

- I loue him wel, bi heuene king!
 Me wore leuere i wore lame,
 þanne men dide him ani shame,
 [Fol. 213 b, col. 2.] Or tok, or onne handes leyde, 1940
 Vn-ornelike,¹ or same seyde.”
 He lep up on a stede lith,
 And with him mani a noble knith,
 And ferde forth un-to þe tun, 1944
 And dide calle bernard brun
 He calls for Bernard Brown.
 Vt of his hus, wan he þer cam ;
 And bernard sone ageyn [him] nam,
 Al to-tused and al to-torn, 1948
 Ner also naked so he was born,
 And al to-brised, bac and þe :
 Ubbe asks who has beaten him about so ?
 Quoth ubbe, “bernard, hwat is þe ?
 Hwo haues þe þus ille maked, 1952
 þus to-riuen, and al mad naked ?”
- “**L**ouerd,² merci,” quot he sone,
 “To-nicht also ros þe mone
 “Sixty thieves attacked me last night.
 Comen her mo þan sixti þeues, 1956
 With lokene copes, and wide sleues,
 Me forto robben, and to pine,
 And for to drepe me and mine.
 Mi dore he broken up ful sketþ,
 And wolde me binden hond and fet. 1960
 Wan þe godemen þat sawe,
 Havelok, and he þat bi þe wowe
 Havelok and his friends drove them off.
 Leye, he stirten up sone on-on, 1964
 And summe grop tre, and sum grop ston,
 And driue hem ut, þei he weren crus,
 So dogges ut of milne-hous.
 Havelok grop þe dore-tre, 1968
 And [at] a dint he slow hem thre.

¹ MS. Vn ornelke ; but I should certainly be i.

² MS. Iouerd.

- He is þe beste man at nede,
 þat euere mar shal ride stede !
 Als helpe god, bi mine wone, 1972
 A þ housend of men his he worth one !
 Yif he ne were, ich were nou ded,
 So haue ich don Mi soule red ;
 But it is hof him mikel sinne ; 1976
 He maden him swilke woundes þinne,
 þat of þe alþer-leste wounde
 Were a stede brouht to grunde.
 He haues a wunde in the side, 1980
 With a gleyue, ful un-ride,
 And he haues on þoru his arum,
 þer-of is ful mikel harum,
 And he haues on þoru his þhe, 1984 [Fol. 214, col. 1.]
 þe vn-rideste þat men may se,
 And oþe[r] wundes haues he stronge,
 Mo than twenti swiþe longe.
 But siþen he hauede lauth þe sor 1988
 Of þe wundes, was neuere bor
 þat so fauth so he fauth þazne ;
 Was non þat hauede þe hern-panne
 So hard, þat he ne dede alto-cruhsse, 1992
 And alto-shiuere, and alto-frusshe.
 He folwede hem so hund dos hare,
 Daþeyt on he wolde spare,
 þat [he] ne made hem euerilk on 1996
 Ligge stille so doth þe ston :
 And þer nis he nouth to frie,
 For oþer sholde he make hem lye
 Ded, or þei him hauede slawen, 2000
 Or alto-hewen, or al-to-drawn.

He is worth a
thousand men.

He has some bad
wounds, more
than twenty.

He followed them
like a dog does a
hare.

Louerd, haui no more plith
 Of þat ich was þus greped to-nith.
 þus wolde þe theues me haue reft,

2004

But I fear
Havelok is all
but dead."

But god-þank, he hauenet sure kept.

But it is of him mikel scape :

I woth þat he bes ded ful rape."

Quoth ubbe, "bernard, seyst þou soth?" 2008

Q "Ya, sire, that i ne ' lepe oth.

Yif y, louerd, a word leye,

To-morwen do me hengen heye."

The rest confirm
Bernard's story.

þe burgeys þat þer-bi stode þore, 2012

Grundlike and grete opes swore,

Litle and mikle, yunge and holde,

þat was soth, þat bernard tolde.

Soth was, þat he wolden him bynde, 2016

And trusse al þat he mithen fynde

Of hise, in arke or in kiste,

þat he mouthe in seekes þriste.

"The thieves
wanted to steal
all he had.

"Louerd, he haueden al away born 2020

His þing, and him-self alto-torn,

But als god self barw him wel,

þat he ne tinte no catel.

Hwo mithe so mani stonde ageyn, 2024

Bi nither-tale, knith or swein ?

He weren bi tale sixti and ten,

Starke laddes, stalworpi men,

They were led on
by one G[riffin]
Gall."

And on, þe mayster of hem alle, 2028

þat was þe name giffin ² galle.

[Fol. 214, col. 2.]

Hwo mouthe ageyn[n] ³ so mani stonde,

But als þis man of ferne londe

Haueth hem slawen with a tre ? 2032

Mikel ioie haue he !

God yeue him mikel god to welde,

Boþe in tun, and ek in felde !

We[l] ⁴ is set he etes mete." 2036

Ubbe sends for
Havelok,

Quoth ubbe, "doth him swiþe fete,

¹ MS. ine.

² Qu. griffin.

³ MS. ageyn.

⁴ Cf. ll. 772, 907.

þat y mouthe his woundes se,
Yf that he mouthen heled ¹ be.

For yf he mouthe couere yet,
And gangen wel up-on hise fet,
Mi-self shal dubbe him to knith,
For-þi þat he is so with.

2040

to dub him
knight.

And yif he liuede, þo foule theues,
þat weren of kaym kin and eues,
He sholden hange bi þe necke ;

2044

Of here ded dapeit wo recke,
Hwan he yeden þus on nithes
To binde boþe burgmen and knithes.
For bynderes loue ich neuere mo,
Of hem ne yeue ich nouht a slo."

2048

Hauelok was biforn ubbe browth,
þat hauede for him ful mikel þouth,
And mikel sorwe in his herte
For hise wundes, þat we[r] so smerte.

2052 Havelok is
brought before
Ubbe.

But hwan his wundes weren shewed,
And a leche hauede knawed,
þat he hem mouthe ful wel hele,
Wel make him gange, and ful wel mele,
And wel a palefrey bistride,
And wel up-on a stede ride,
þo let ubbe al his care
And al his sorwe ouer-fare ;

2056

A leech says he
can be healed.

And seyde, "cum now forth with me,
And goldeboru, þi wif, with þe,
And þine seriaunz al þre,
For nou wile y youre warant be ;

2064 Ubbe invites him
and Goldborough
to his own castle.

Wile y non of here frend
þat þu slowe with þin hend
Moucte wayte þe [to] slo,

2068

¹ MS. holed. See l. 2058.

- Also þou gange to and fro.
 I shal lene þe a bowr, 2072
 þat is up in þe heye tour,
 Til þou mowe ful wel go,
 [Fol. 214 b, col. 1.] And wel ben hol of al þi wo.
 It ne shal no þing ben bitwene 2076
 þi bour and min, also y wene,
 But a fayr firrene wowe ;—
 Speke y loude, or spek y lowe,
 þou shalt ¹ ful wel heren me, 2080
 And þan þu wilt, þou shalt me se.
 He promises to A rof shal hile us boþe o-nith,
 protect þat none of mine, clerk ne knith,
 Goldborough. Ne sholen þi wif no shame bede, 2084
 No more þan min, so god me rede !”
- HE dide un-to þe borw bringe
 Sone anon, al with ioynge,
 His wif, and his serganz þre, 2088
 þe beste men þat mouthe be.
 The first night, þe firste nith he lay þer-inne,
 about midnight, Hise wif, and his serganz þrinne,
 Aboute þe middel of þe nith 2092
 Wok ubbe, and saw a mikel lith
 Ubbe wakes and In þe bour þat haue lok lay,
 sees a great light. Also brith so it were day.
- Ubbe says he “Deus !” quoth ubbe, “hwat may þis be ? 2096
 must go and see Betere is i go miself, and se :
 what it means. Hweþer he sitten nou, and wesseylen,
 Or of ani shotshipe to-deyle,
 þis tid nithes, also foles ; 2100
 þan birþe men casten hem in poles,
 Or in a grip, or in þe fen :

¹ MS. sahalt; and the second a is expuncted by mistake, instead of the first.

Nou ne sitten none but wicke men,
 Glotuns, reu[e]res, or wicke þeues,
 Bi crist, þat alle folk onne leues !”

2104

He stod, and totede in at a bord,
 Her he spak anilepi word,
 And saw hem slepen faste ilkon,
 And lye stille so þe ston ;
 And saw al þat mikel lith
 Fro havelok cam, þat was so brith.

He peeps in, and
 sees them all
 asleep.

2108

Of his mouth it com il del,
 þat was he war ful swiþe wel.
 “Deus !” quoth he, “hwat may þis mene !”

2112 The light issues
 from Havelok's
 mouth.

He calde boþe arwe men and kene,
 Knithes, and serganz swiþe sleie,
 Mo þan an hundred, with-uten leye,
 And bad hem alle comen and se,
 Hwat þat selcuth mithe be.

2116

Als þe knithes were comen alle,
 þer havelok lay, ut of þe halle,
 So stod ut of his mouth a glem,
 Rith al swilk so þe sunne-bem ;
 þat al so lith wa[s] þare, bi heuene !
 So þer brenden serges seuene,
 And an hundred serges ok :
 þat durste hi sweren on a bok.

2120 [Fol. 214 b, col. 2.]

He slepen faste alle fíue,
 So he weren brouth of líue ;
 And hauclok lay on his líft side,
 In his armes his brithre bríde.
 Bi þe pappes he leyen naked :
 So faire two weren neuere maked
 In a bed to lyen samen :—
 þe knithes þouth of hem god gamen,
 Hem forto shewe, and loken to.

2124 The light is like
 that of 107
 candles.

2128

Havelok and
 Goldborough are
 fast asleep.

2132

2136

- Rith also he stoden alle so,
 And his bac was toward hem wend,
 They see a bright cross on his back,
 denoting king-ship. So weren he war of a croiz ful gent,
 On his rith shuldre sw[ip]e¹ brith, 2140
 Brithter þan gold ageyn þe lith.
 So þat he wiste heye and lowe,
 þat it was kunrik þat he sawe.
 It sparkede, and ful brith shon, 2144
 So doth þe gode charbucle ston,
 þat men Mouthe se by þe lith,
 A peni chesen, so was it brith.
 þanne bihelden he him faste, 2148
 So þat he knewen at þe laste,
 þat he was birkabeynes sone,
 þat was here king, þat was hem wone
 They know he is Birkabeyn's son and heir.
 Wel to yeme, and wel were 2152
 Ageynes uten-laddes here.
 "For it was neuere yet a broþer
 In al denemark so lich anoþer,
 So þis man þat is so fayr 2156
 Als birkabeyn, he is hise eyr."
 He fellen sone at hise fet,
 They weep for joy. Was non of hem þat he ne gret,
 Of ioie he weren alle so fawen, 2160
 So he him haueden of erþe drawen.
 Hise fet he kisten an hundred syþes,
 þe tos, þe nayles, and þe lithes,
 So þat he bigan to wakne,² 2164
 [Fol. 215, col. 1.] And wit hem ful sore to blakne,
 For he wende he wolden him slo,
 Havelok wakes. Or elles binde him, and do wo.

Quoth ubbe, "louerd, ne dred þe nowth, 2168
 Me pinkes that I se pi pouth.

¹ MS. swe, for swipe. Cf. l. 1252.

² Here follows the catchword—"And wit hem."

- Dere sone, wel is me,
 þat y þe with eyn[e]¹ se.
 Ubbe offers
homage to him,
- Man-red, louerd, bede y þe,
 2172
- þi man auht i ful wel to be,
 For þu art comen of birkabeyn,
 þat hauede mani knith and sweyn ;
 And so shalt þou, louerd, haue,
 2176
- þou þu be yet a ful yung knaue.
 þou shalt be king of al denemark,
 Was þer-inne neuere non so stark.
 and says he shall
be king of
Denmark.
- To-morwen shaltu manfede take
 2180
- Of þe brune and of þe blake ;
 Of alle þat aren in þis tun,
 Boþe of erl, and of barun,
 And of dreng, and of thayn,
 2184
- And of knith, and of sweyn.
 And so shaltu ben mad knith
 Wit blisse, for þou art so with."
- Þo was havelok swiþe bliþe,
 2188
Havelok is blithe,
and thanks God.
- And þankede God ful fele siþe.
 On þe morwen, wan it was lith,
 And gon was þisternesse of þe nith,
 Vbbe dide up-on a stede
 2192
- A ladde lepe, and þider bede
 Erles, barouns, drenges, theynes,
 Klerkes, knithes, bu[r]geys,² sweynes,
 þat he sholden comen a-non,
 2196
- Biforen him sone euerilkon,
 Also he louen here liues,
 And here children, and here wiues.
- Hiþe bode ne durste he non at-sitte,
 2200
All come to
receive his
orders.
- þat he ne neme³ for to wite

¹ We find *eyne* in ll. 680, 1273, &c. ² MS. *bugeyf*.

³ MS. *meme*; *miswritten* for *neme*; see ll. 1207, 1931.

- Sone, hwat wolde þe iustise :
 And [he] bigan anon to rise,
 And seyde sone, " liþes me, 2204
 Alle samen, þeu and fre.
 A þing ich wile you here shauwe,
 þat ye ¹ alle ful wel knawe.
 Ubbe tells them Ye witen wel, þat al þis lond 2208
 about Birkabeyn, Was in birkabeynes hond,
 [Fol. 215, col. 2.] þe day þat he was quic and ded ;
 And how þat he, bi youre red,
 who commended Bitauhte hise children þre 2212
 his children to Godard; Godard to yeme, and al his fe.
 Hauelok his sone he him tauhte,
 And hise two douhtres, and al his auhte,
 Alle herden ye him swere 2216
 On bok, and on messe-gere,
 þat he shulde yeme hem wel,
 With-uten lac, with-uten tel.
 and how Godard He let his oth al ouer-go, 2220
 slew the two Euere wurþe him yuel and wo !
 girls, For ² þe maydnes here lif
 Refte he bopen, with a knif,
 And him shulde ok haue slawen, 2224
 þe knif was at his herte drawen,
 but had pity on But god him wolde wel haue saue,
 the boy; He hauede reunesse of þe knaue,
 So þat he with his hend 2228
 Ne drop him nouth, þat sor[i] fend,
 but afterwards But sone dide he a fishere
 ordered Grim to Swipe grete opes swere,
 drown him. þat he sholde drenchen him 2232
 In þe se, þat was ful brim.
 But Grim fled Hwan grim saw þat he was so fayr,
 with him to And wiste he was þe Rith eir,
 England.

¹ MS. he.² Qu. Fro.

- Fro denemark ful sone he fledde 2236
 In-til englond, and þer him fedde
 Mani winter, þat til þis day
 Haues he ben fed and fostred ay.
 Lokes, hware he stondes her : 2240 Then Ubbe shows
 In al þis werd ne haues he per ; Havelok to them
 Non so fayr, ne non so long, all,
 Ne non so mikel, ne non so strong.
 In þis middelernd nis no knith 2244
 Half so strong, ne half so with.
 Bes of him ful glad and bliþe,
 And cometh alle hider swiþe,
 Manrede youre louerd forto make, 2248 and bids them
 Boþe brune and þe blake. swear fealty
 I shal mi-self do first þe gamen, to him.
 And ye siþen alle samen."
- O knes ful fayre he him sette, 2252 Ubbe swears
 Mouthe noþing him þer-fro lette, fealty first.
 And bi-cam is man Riþh þare,
 þat alle sawen þat þere ware. [Fol. 215 b, col. 1.]
- After him stirt up laddes ten, 2256 All the rest do
 And bi-comen hise men ;¹ the same.
 And siþen euerilk a baroun,
 þat euere weren in al that toun ;
 And siþen drenges, and siþen thaynes, 2260
 And siþen knithes, and siþen sweynes ;
 So þat, or þat day was gon,
 In al þe tun ne was nouth on
 þat it ne was his man bicomen : 2264
 Manrede of alle hauede he nomen.
- Hwan he hauede of hem alle
 Manrede taken, in the halle, Havelok makes
 them swear to be

¹ A word is added in the MS. after *men*, apparently *beye*. Perhaps we should read : *hise beye men*.

faithful to him always.	Grundlike dide he hem swere, þat he sholden him god feyth bere Ageynes alle þat worn on liue ; þer-yen ne wolde neuer on striue,	2268
	þat he ne maden sone þat oth, Riche and poure, lef and loth.	2272
Ubbe sends for all the sheriffs and constables.	Hwan þat was maked, sone he sende, Vbbe, writes fer and hende, After alle þat castel yemede,	2276
	Burwes, tunes, sibbe an fremde, þat þider sholden comen swiþe Til him, and heren tipandes bliþe, þat he hem alle shulde telle :	2280
	Of hem ne wolde neuere on dwelle, þat he ne come sone plattinde, Hwo hors ne hauede, com gangande.	
	So þat with-inne a fourteenith,	2284
	In al denemark ne was no knith, Ne conestable, ne shireue, þat com of adam and of eue,	
They all come.	þat he ne com biforn sire ubbe :	2288
	He dredde him so þhes ¹ doth clubbe.	
Ubbe shows Havelok to them all.	H wan he haueden alle þe king gret, And he weren alle dun set,	
	þe seyde ubbe, "lokes here, Vre louerd swiþe dere,	2292
	þat shal ben king of al þe lond, And haue us alle under hond.	
	For he is birkabeynes sone, þe king þat was vmbe stonde wone	2296
	For to yeme, and wel were, Wit sharp[e] ² swerd, and longe spere.	

¹ *Qu.* þes, *i. e.* thighs; or the spelling *þhes* may be intentional; see l. 1984. But Sir F. Madden suggests *þeues*.

² See l. 2645 for the final *e*.

Lokes nou, hw he is fayr ; 2300 [Fol. 215 b, col. 2.]
 Sikerlike he is hise eyr.
 Falles alle to hise fet,
 Bicomēs hise men ful sket."
 He weren for ubbe swiþe adrad, 2304 All swear to obey
 And dide sone al þat he bad, Havelok.
 And yet deden he sumdel more,
 O bok ful grundlike he swore,
 þat he sholde with him halde 2308
 Boþe ageynes stille and bolde,
 þat euere wo[l]de his bodi dere :
 þat dide [he] hem o boke swere,

Hwan he hauede manrede and oth 2312
 Taken of lef and of loth,
 Vbbe dubbede him to knith,
 With a swerd ful swiþe brith, 2316
 And þe folk of al þe lond
 Bitauhte him al in his hond,
 þe cunnriche eueril del,
 And made him king heylike and wel. 2320 and makes him
 Hwan he was king, þer mouthe men se king.
 þe moste ioie þat mouhte beþ:
 Buttinge with sharpe speres,
 Skirming with taleuaces, þat meñ beres, 2324
 Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston,
 Harping and piping, ful god won,
 Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
 Romanz reding on þe bok ;
 þer mouthe men here þe gestes singe, 2328
 þe gley-men on þe tabour dinge ;
 þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,
 And þe bores, with hundes teyte ;
 þo mouthe men se eueril gleu, 2332
 þer mouthe men se hw grim greu ;
 Was neuere yete ioie more

There is baiting
 of bulls and
 boars,

- In al þis werd, þan þo was þore.
 þer was so mike¹ yeft of cloþes, 2336
 þat þou i swore you grete othes,
 I ne wore nouth þer-offe croud :
 þat may i ful wel swere, bi god !
 and plenty of þere was swiþe gode metes, 2340
 meat and wine. And of wyn, þat men fer fetes,
 Rith al so mik and gret plente,
 So it were water of þe se.
 þe feste fourti dawes sat, 2344
- [Fol. 216, col. 1.] So riche was neuere non so þat.
 The king makes þe king made Roberd pere knith,
 Robert, William, þat was ful strong, and ful with,
 and Hugh all barons. And willam, wendut het, his broþer, 2348
 And huwe rauē, þat was þat oper,
 And made hem barouns alle þre,
 And yaf hem lond, and oper fe,
 So mikel, þat ilker twent[i] knihtes 2352
 Hauede of genge, dayes and nithes.
- A thousand knights accompany the king, Hwan þat feste was al don,
 A thusand knihtes ful wel o bon
 With-held þe king, with him to lede ; 2356
 þat ilkan hauede ful god stede,
 Helm, and sheld, and brinie brith,
 And al þe wepne þat fel to knith.
- and five thousand sergeants. With hem fīue thusand gode 2360
 Sergaunz, þat weren to fyht wode,
 With-held he al of his genge :
 Wile I na more þe storie lenge.
 Yet hwan he hauede of al þe lond 2364
 þe casteles alle in his hond,
 And conestables don þer-inne,
 He swears to be He swor, he ne sholde neuer bliþne,

¹ See l. 2342.

Til þat he were of godard wreken, 2368 avenged of
 þat ich haue of ofte spoken. Godard,
 Hal hundred knithes dede he calle,
 And hise fif thusand sergaunz alle,
 And dide sweren on the bok 2372
 Sone, and on þe auter ok,
 þat he ne sholde neuere blinne,
 Ne for loue, ne for sinne,
 Til þat he haueden godard funde, 2376 and to find and
 And brouth biforn him faste bunde. bind him.

þanne he haueden swor þis oth,
 Ne leten he nouth for lef ne loth,
 þat he ne foren swiþe rathe, 2380
 þer he was unto þe pape, He goes to meet
 þer he yet on hunting for, Godard.
 With mikel genge, and swiþe stor.
 Robert, þat was of al þe ferd 2384
 Mayster, was girt wit a sword,
 And sat up-on a ful god stede,
 þat vnder him Rith wolde wede ;
 He was þe firste þat with godard 2388 Robert accosta
 Spak, and seyde, "hede ¹ cauenaard ! Godard,
 Wat dos þu here at þis pape ? [Fol. 216, col. 2.]
 Cum to þe king, swiþe and raþe. and tells him to
 þat sendes he þe word, and bedes, 2392 come to the king,
 þat þu þenke hwat þu him dedes,
 Hwan þu reftes with a knif
 Hise sistres here lif,
 An siþen bede þu in þe se 2396
 Drenchen him, þat herde he.
 He is to þe swiþe grim :
 Cum nu swiþe un-to him,
 þat king is of þis kuneriche. 2400
 þu fule man ! þu wicke swike !

¹ *Qu.* helde, *i. e.* old. Unless it means "heed!"

who will repay
him.

And he shal yelde þe þi mede,
Bi crist þat wolde on rode blede !”

Godard and
Robert strike
each other.

Hwan godard herde þat þer þrette, 2404
With þe neue he robert sette
Biforn þe teth a dint ful strong.
And robert kipt ut a knif long,
And smot him þoru þe rith arum ; 2408
þer-of was ful litel harum,

Godard's men
flee,

Hwan his folk þat sau and herde,
Hwou robert with here louerd ferde,
He haueden him wel ner browt of liue, 2412
Ne weren his two breþren and oþre fiue
Slown of here laddes ten,
Of godardes alþer-beste men.

but Godard
rallies them.

Hwan þe oþre sawen þat, he fledden, 2416
And godard swiþe loude gredde :
“ Mine knithes, hwat do ye ?
Sule ye þus-gate fro me fle ?
Ich haue you fed, and yet shal fede, 2420
Helpe me nu in þis nede,
And late ye nouth mi bodi spille,
Ne hauelok don of me hise wille.
Yif ye id ¹ do, ye do you shame, 2424
And bringeth you-self in mikel blame.”
Hwan he þat herden, he wenten ageyn,
And slown a knit and ² a sweyn
Of þe kinges ounen men, 2428
And woundeden abuten ten.

The king's men
kill all Godard's
men.

The kinges men hwan he þat sawe,
T Scuten on hem, heye and lowe,
And euerilk fot of hem slowe, 2432
But godard one, þat he flowe,

¹ *Qu. it.*

² *MS. and and.*

- So þe þef men dos henge,
 Or hund men shole in dike slenge. [Fol. 216 b, col. 1.]
 He bunden him ful swiþe faste, 2436
 Hwil þe bondes wolden laste,
 þat he rorede als a bole,
 þat he wore parred in an hole,
 With dogges forto bite and beite : 2440
 Were þe bondes nouth to leite.
 He bounden him so ¹ fele sore, They bind
 þat he gan crien godes ore, Godard,
 þat he sholde of his hend plette, 2444
 Wolden he nouht þer-fore lette,
 þat he ne bounden hond and fet :
 Dapeit þat on þat þer-fore let !
 But dunten him so man doth bere, 2448
 And keste him on a scabbed mere,
 Hise nese went un-to þe crice : and cast him on
 So ledden he þat fule swike, an old mare, to
 Til he was biforn havelok brouth, 2452 take him to
 þat he haue[de] ful wo wrowht, Havelok.
 Boþe with hungre ² and with cold,
 Or he were twel winter old,
 And with mani heui swink, 2456
 With poure mete, and feble drink,
 And [with] swiþe wikke cloþes,
 For al hise manie grete othes.
 Nu beyes he his holde blame : 2460
 ‘Old sinne makes newe shame :’
 Wan he was [brouht] so shamelike
 Biforn ³ þe king, þe fule swike,
 þe king dede ubbe swiþe calle 2464
 Hise erles, and hise barouns alle, The king
 Dreng and thein, burgeis and knith, summons Ubbe
 and the rest.

¹ MS. fo.² MS. hungred.³ MS. Brouht biforn ; but the word brouht clearly belongs to the preceding line, in which, however, it is omitted.

	And bad he sholden demen him rith :	
	For he kneu, þe swike dam,	2468
	Eueridel god was him gram.	
	He setten hem dun bi þe wawe,	
	Riche and pouere, heye and lowe,	
They sit in judgment.	þe helde men, and ek þe grom,	2472
	And made þer þe rithe dom,	
	And seyden unto þe king anon,	
	þat stille sat [al] so þe ston :	
"He is to be flayed, drawn, and hung."	" We deme, þat he be al quic slawen, ¹	2476
	And siþen to þe galwes drawe[n],	
	At þis foule mere tayl ;	
	þoru is fet a ful strong nayl ;	
[Fol. 216 b, col. 2.]	And þore ben henge wit two feteres,	2480
	And þare be writen þise leteres :	
	' þis is þe swike þat wende wel,	
	þe king haue reft þe lond il del,	
	And hise sistres with a knif	2484
	Boþe reft here lif.'	
	þis writ shal henge bi him þare ;	
	þe dom is demd, seye we na more."	
Godard is shriven.	H wan þe dom was demd and giue,	2488
	And he was wit þe prestes shriue,	
	And it ne mouhte ben non oper,	
	Ne for fader, ne for broþer,	
	þat he sholde þarne lif ;	2492
A lad flays him.	Sket cam a ladde with a knif,	
	And bigan Rith at þe to	
	For to ritte, and for to flo,	
	And he bigan for to rore,	2496
	So it were grim or gore,	
	þat men mithe þepen a mile	
He roars.	Here him rore, þat fule file.	
	þe ladde ne let no with for-þi,	2500

¹ We should perhaps read *flawen*, as required by the sense. See ll. 2495, 2502.

þey he criede 'merci ! merci !'

þat [he] ne flow [him] eueril del

With knif mad of grunden stel.

þei garte bringe þe mere sone,

Skabbed ¹ and ful iuele o bone,

And bunden him rith at hire tayl

With a rop of an old seyl,

And drowen him un-to þe galwes,

Nouth bi þe gate, But ouer þe falwes ;

And henge [him] þore Bi þe hals :

Dapeit hwo recke ! he was fals.

2504 He is bound on
an old mare,

2508 drawn over
rough ground,

and hung.

þazne hē was ded, þat sathanas,

Sket was seysed al þat his was

In þe kinges hand il del,

Lond and lith, and oþer catel,

And þe king ful sone it yaf

Vbbe in þe hond, wit a fayr staf,

And seyde, "her ich sayse þe

In al þe lond, in al þe fe."

þo swor havelok he sholde make,

Al for grim, of monekes blake

A priorie to seruen inne ay

Thesu crist, til domesday,

For þe god he haueden him dou,

Hwil he was pouere and iuel ² o bon.

And þer-of held he wel his oth,

For he it made, god it woth !

In þe tun þer grim was grauen,

þat of grim yet haues þe name.

Of grim bidde ich na more spelle.³—

But wan godrich herde telle,

2512

2516 Havelok makes
Ubbe his steward.

2520 He founds a
prieory of black
monks for Grim's
soul,

2524
[Fol. 217, col. 1.]

2528 in the town of
Grimsby.

Godrich, earl
of Cornwall,

¹ MS. Skabbeb.

² The MS. has "we," which the scribe several times writes instead of "wel." But "wel" is a manifest blunder, since "iuel" is meant. Cf. l. 2505.

³ The author has here omitted to tell us that Havelok, at the desire of his wife, invades England. See the note.

- Of cornwayle þat was erl, 2532
 (þat fule traytour, that mixed cherl !)
 þat havelok was king of denemark,
 And ferde with him strong and stark,
 Comen engelond with-inne, 2536
 Engelond al for to winne,
 And þat she, þat was so fayr,
 þat was of engelond rith eir,
 þat was comen up at grimesbi, 2540
 He was ful sorful and sori,
 And seyde, "Hwat shal me to rape ?
 Goddoth ! i shal do slou hem baþe.
 I shal don hengen hem ful heyne, 2544
 So mote ich brouke mi Rith eie !
 But yif he of mi lond[e] ¹ fle ;
 Hwat ? wenden he to desherite me ?"
 He dide sone ferd ut bidde, 2548
 þat al þat euere mouhte o stede
 Ride, or helm on heued bere,
 Brini on bac, and sheld, and spere,
 Or ani oþer wepne bere, 2552
 Hand-ax, syþe, gisarm, or spere,
 Or aunlaz,² and god long knif,
 þat als he louede leme or lif,
 þat þey sholden comen him to, 2556
 With ful god wepne ye ber so,
 To lincolne, þer he lay,
 Of marz þe seuentenþe day,
 So þat he coupe hem god þank ; 2560
 And yif þat ani were so rang,
 That he þanne ne come anon,
 He swor bi crist, and [bi]³ seint Iohan,

hears that
Havelok has
invaded England.

He says he will
slay Havelok and
his wife.

He raises a great
army.

The army is to
meet at Lincoln
on the 17th of
March.

¹ Cf. l. 2599.

² Printed "alinlaz" in the former edition. The first stroke of the *u* is longer than the second, and the tail of the *x* in the line above converts the second downstroke of the *u* into an apparent *i*.

³ Cf. l. 1112.

That he sholde maken him þral,
And al his of-spring forth with-al. 2564

þe englishe þat herde þat,
Was non þat euere his bode sat,
For he him dredde swiþe sore,
So Runci spore, and mikle more.

At þe day he come sone

[Fol. 217, col. 2.]

þat he hem sette, ful wel o bone,
To lincolne, with gode stedes,
And al þe wepne þat knith ledes.

2572 All come to
Lincoln on
that day.

Hwan he wore come, sket was þe erl yare,¹

Ageynes denshe men to fare,

And seyde, "lyþes me ² alle samen,

2576

Haue ich gadred you for no gamen,

But ich wile seyen you forþi ;

Lokes hware here at grimesbi,

Hise uten-laddes here comen,

2580 Godrich tells
them what
Havelok is doing
at Grimsby.

And haues nu þe priorie numen ;

Al þat euere mithen he finde,

He brenne kirkes, and prestes binde ;

He strangleth monkes, and nunnes boþe : 2584

Wat wile ye, frend, her-offe Rede ?

Yif he regne þus-gate longe,

He Moun us alle ouer-gange,

He moun vs alle quic henge or slo, 2588

Or þral maken, and do ful wo,

Or elles reue us ure liues,

And ure children, and ure wiues.

But dos nu als ich wile you lere,

2592 He excites them
to attack
Havelok.

Als ye wile be with me dere ;

Nimes nu swiþe forth and raþe,

And helpes me and yu-self baþe,

And slos up-o[n] þe dogges swiþe : 2596

For shal [i] neuere more be bliþe,

¹ Or þare ; but see l. 2954.

² MS. mi. Cf. l. 2204.

- Ne hoseled ben, ne of prest shriuen,
 Til þat he ben of londe driuen.
 Nime we swiþe, and do hem fle, 2600
 And folwes alle faste me,
- He will lead them
 himself. For ich am he, of al þe ferd,
 þat first shal slo with drawen swerd.
 Daþeyt hwo ne stonde faste 2604
 Bi me, hwil hise armes laste !”
- Earl Gunter and
 Earl Reyner of
 Chester support
 him. “Ye ! lef, ye !”¹ couth þe erl gunter ;
 “Ya !” quoth þe erl of cestre, reynr.
 And so dide alle þat þer stode, 2608
 And stirte forth so he were wode.
 þo mouthe men se þe brinies brihte
 On backes keste, and late rithe,
 þe helmes heye on heued sette ; 2612
 To armes al so swiþe plette,
 þat þei wore on a litel stunde
- [Fol. 217b, col. 1.] Grethet, als men mithe telle a pund,
 And lopen on stedes sone anon, 2616
 And toward grimesbi, ful god won,
 He foren softe bi þe sti,
 Til he come ney at grimesbi.
- Havelok meets
 them boldly, **H**avelok, þat hauede spired wel 2620
 Of here fare, eueril del,
 With al his ferd cam hem a-geyn,
 For-bar he noþer knith ne sweyn.
- and kills the
 foremost knight. þe firste knith þat he þer mette, 2624
 With þe swerd so he him grette,
 For his heued of he plette,
 Wolde he nouth for sinne lette.
- Robert kills a
 second. Roberd saw þat dint so hende, 2628
 Wolde he neuere þepe[n] wende,
 Til þat he hauede anoþer slawen,
 With þe swerd he held ut-drawen.

¹ MS. has þe, þe, or ye in both places. But see l. 1888.

Willam wendut his swerd vt-drow,
 And þe þredde so sore he slow,
 þat he made up-on the feld
 His lift arm fleye, with the swerd.¹

2632 William disables
 a third.

Huwe rauen ne forgat nouth
 þe swerd he hauede þider brouth,
 He kipte it up, and smot ful sore
 An erl, þat he saw priken þore,
 Ful noblelike upon a stede,
 þat with him wolde al quic wede.
 He smot him on þe heued so,
 þat he þe heued clef a-two,
 And þat bi þe shu[ldre]-blade
 þe sharpe swerd let [he] wade,
 þorw the brest unto þe herte;
 þe dint bigan ful sore to smerte,
 þat þe erl fel dun a-non,
 Al so ded so ani ston.

2636 Hugh Raven
 seizes his sword,

2640

and cleaves an
 earl's head
 in two.

2644

Quoth ubbe, "nu dwelle ich to longe,"
 And leth his stede sone gonge
 To godrich, with a god spere,
 þat he saw a-noþer bere,
 And smoth godrich, and *Godrich* him,
 Hetelike with herte grim,
 So þat he boþe felle dune,
 To þe erþe first þe croune.
 þanne he worn fallen dun boþen,
 Grundlike here swerdes ut-drowen,
 þat weren swiþe sharp and gode,
 And fouhten so þei worn wode,
 þat þe swot ran fro þe crune
 [To the fet rith þere adune.]²

2648

Ubbe attacks
 Godrich.

2652

2656 Both fall.

2660 [Fol. 217 b, col. 2.]

They fight on
 foot.

¹ Cf. l. 1825. We should otherwise be tempted to read *sheld*; especially as the *shield* is more appropriate to the *left* arm.

² Cf. l. 1904.

	þer mouthe men se to knithes bete	2664
	Ayþer on oper dintes grete,	
	So þat with alþer-lest[e] dint	
	Were al to-shiuered a flint.	
The fight lasts from morn to night,	So was bi-twenen hem a fiht,	2668
	Fro þe morwen ner to þe niht,	
	So þat þei nouth ne blinne,	
	Til þat to sette bigan þe sunne.	
Godrich wounds Ubbe sorely.	þo yaf godrich þorw þe side	2672
	Vbbe a wunde ful un-ride,	
	So þat þorw þat ilke wounde	
	Hauede ben brouth to þe grunde,	
	And his heued al of-slawn,	2676
Hugh Raven rescues him.	Yif god ne were, and huwe rauen,	
	þat drow him fro godrich away,	
	And barw him so þat ilke day.	
	But er he were fro godrich drawen,	2680
A thousand knights slain.	þer were a þousind knihtes slawn	
	Bi þoþe halue, and mo y-nowe,	
	þer þe ferdes to-gidere slowe.	
	þer was swilk dreping of þe folk,	2684
The pools are full of blood,	þat on þe feld was neuere a polk	
	þat it ne stod of blod so ful,	
	þat þe strem ran intil þe hul.	
Godrich attacks the Danes like lightning.	þo tarst ¹ bigan godrich to go	2688
	Vp-on þe danshe, and faste to slo,	
	And forth rith also leuin fares,	
	þat neuere kines best ne spares,	
	þanne his [he] gon, for he garte alle	2692
	þe denshe men biforn him falle.	
	He felde browne, he felde blake,	
	þat he mouthe ouer-take.	
	Was neuere non þat mouhte þaue	2696
	Hise dintes, noyþer knith ne knaue,	
He mows them down like grass.	þat he felden so dos þe gres	

¹ So in MS. *Qu.* faste, as in next line.

- Bi-forn þe syþe þat ful sharp is.
Hwan hanelok saw his folk so brittene, 2700
And his ferd so swiþe littene,
He cam driuende up-on a stede,
And bigan til him to grede,
And seyde, "godrich, wat is þe 2704
þat þou fare þus with me ?
And mine gode knihtes slos, [Fol. 216, col. 1.]
Siker-like þou mis-gos.
þou wost ful wel, yif þu wilt wite, 2708 Havelok reproves
þat apelwold þe dide site Godrich,
On knes, and sweren on messe-bok,
On caliz, and on [pateyn] ¹ hok
þat þou hise douhter sholdest yelde, 2712
þan she were winnan ² of elde,
Engelond eueril del :
Godrich þe erl, þou wost it wel,
Do nu wel with-uten fiht, 2716 and bids him per-
Yeld hire þe lond, for þat is rith, form his oaths.
Wile ich forgiue þe þe lathe,
Al mi dede and al mi wrathe,
For y se þu art so with, 2720
And of þi bodi so god knith."
"þat ne wile ich neuere mo," Godrich refuses.
Quoth erl godrich, "for ich shal slo
þe, and hire for-henge heye. 2724
I shal prist ut þi rith eye
þat þou lokes with on me,
But þu swiþe heþen fle."
He grop þe swerd ut sone anon, 2728
And hew on hanelok, ful god won,
So þat he clef his sheld on two :
Hwan hanelok saw þat shame do He cleaves
Havelok's shield
in two.

¹ MS. *here repeats messe, by mistake. Read pateyn. Cf. l. 187.*

² MS. *wiman, i. e. winman or wimman; but we are sure, from l. 174, that wimman is meant.*

	His bodi þer bi-forn his ferd,	2732
	He drow ut sone his gode swerd,	
Havelok smites him down.	And smot him so up-on þe crune, þat godrich fel to þe erþe adune.	
	But godrich stirt up swiþe sket,	2736
	Lay he nowth longe at hise fet,	
Godrich rises, and wounds Havelok in the shoulder.	And smot him on þe sholdre so, þat he dide þare undo	
	Of his brinie ringes mo,	2740
	þan þat ich kan tellen fro ;	
	And woundede him rith in þe flesh,	
	þat tendre was, and swiþe nesh,	
	So þat þe blod ran til his to :	2744
Havelok is enraged,	þo was havelok swiþe wo,	
	þat he hauede of him drawen	
	Blod, and so sore him slawen.	
	Hertelike til him he wente,	2748
and cuts off his foe's hand.	And godrich þer fulike shente ;	
	For his swerd he hof up heye,	
[Fol. 218, col. 2.]	And þe hand he dide of fleye,	
	þat he smot him with so sore :	2752
	Hw mithe he don him shame more ?	

	H wan he hauede him so shamed,	
	His hand of plat, and yuele lamed,	
	He tok him sone bi þe necke	2756
	Als a traytour, dapeyt wo recke !	
	And dide him binde and fetere wel	
	With gode feteres al of stel,	
He has him bound and fettered,	And to þe quen he sende him,	2760
and sends him to the queen.	þat birde wel to him ben grim ;	
	And Bad she sholde don him gete,	
	And þat non ne sholde him bete,	
	Ne shame do, for he was knith,	2764
	Til knithes hauden demd him Rith.	
When the English find out	þan þe englishe men þat sawe,	

þat þei wisten, heye and lawe,
 þat Goldeboru, þat was so fayr,
 Was of engeland rith eyr,
 And þat þe king hire hauede wedded,
 And haueden ben samen bedded,
 He comen alle to crie merci,
 Vnto þe king, at one cri,
 And beden him sone manrede and oth,
 þat he ne sholden, for lef ne loth,
 Neuere more ageyn him go,
 Ne ride, for wel ne for wo.

2768 that Goldborough
 is the heiress,

2772 they submit to
 Havelok.

2776

Þe king ne wolde nouth for-sake,
 þat he ne shulde of hem take
 Manrede þat he beden, and ok
 Hold opes sweren on þe bok;
 But or bad he, þat þider were brouth
 þe quen, for hem, swilk was his pouth,
 For to se, and forto shawe,
 Yif þat he hire wolde knawe.
 þoruth hem witen wolde he,
 Yif þat she aucte quen to be.

2780

2784 Havelok wishes
 to show Gold-
 borough to the
 English.

Sixe erles weren sone yare,
 After hire for to fare.

2788 Six earls fetch
 her in.

He nomen on-on, and comen sone,
 And brouthen hire, þat under mone
 In al þe werd ne hauede per,
 Of hende-leik, fer ne ner.

2792

Hwan she was come þider, alle
 þe englishe men bi-gunne to falle
 O knes, and greten swiþe sore,
 And seyden, "leuedi, k[r]istles ore,
 And youres! we hauen misdo mikel,
 þat we ayen you haue be fikel,
 For englond auhte forto ben youres,

2796 [Fol. 218 b, col. 1.]

The English ask
 her pardon.

2800

- And we youre men and youre.
 Is non of us, yung ne old,
 þat we ne wot, þat aþelwold
 Was king of þis kunerike, 2804
- They admit she
 is heiress. And ye his eyr, and þat þe swike
 Haues it halden with mikel wronge :
 God leue him sone to honge !”
- Havelok says
 they must pass
 judgment on
 Godrich. Quot¹ havelok, “hwan þat ye it wite. 2808
 Nu wile ich þat ye doun site,
 And after godrich haues wrouht,
 þat haues in sorwe him-self brouth,
 Lokes þat ye demen him rith, 2812
 For dom ne spared² clerk ne knith,
 And sipen shal ich under-stonde
 Of you, after lawe of londe,
 Manrede, and holde oþes boþe, 2816
 Yif ye it wilen, and ek rothe.”
 Anon þer dune he hem sette,
 For non þe dom ne durste lette,
 And demden him to binden faste 2820
 Vp-on an asse swipe un-wraste,
 Andelong, nouht ouer-þwert,
 His nose went unto þe stert ;
 And so to lincolne lede, 2824
 Shamelike in wicke wede,
 And hwan he cam un-to þe borw,
 Shamelike ben led þer-þoru,
 Bisouþe þe borw, un-to a grene, 2828
 þat þare is yet, als[o] y wene,
 And þere be bunden til a stake,
 Abouten him ful gret fir make,
 And al to dust be brend Rith þere ; 2832
 And yet demden he þer more,
 Oþer swikes for to warne,
- They say he is to
 be bound on an
 ass's back, taken to Lincoln,
 bound to a stake,
 and burnt.

¹ MS. Quot. Cf. l. 1954.² Qu. spares.

þat hise children sulde þarne
 Euere more þat eritage, 2836
 þat his was, for hise utrage.

Hwan þe dom was demd and seyð,
 Sket was þe swike on þe asse leyð,
 And [led vn-]til ¹ þat ilke grene, 2840
 And brend til asken al bidene.
 þo was Goldeboru ful bliþe,
 She þanked god fele syþe,
 þat þe fule swike was brend, 2844
 þat wende wel hire bodi haue shend,
 And seyde, "nu is time to take
 Manrede of brune and of blake, *
 þat ich se ride[n] and go : 2848
 Nu ich am wreke[n] ² of mi fo."

So he is laid on
 the ass,
 and burnt.
 [Fol. 218 b, col. 2.]

Goldborough
 rejoices.

Hauelok anon manrede tok
 Of alle englishe, on þe bok,
 And dide hem grete oþes swere, 2852
 þat he sholden him god feyth bere
 Ageyn alle þat woren liues,
 And þat sholde ben born of wiues.

Havelok makes
 the English
 swear fealty.

þanne he hauede ³ sikernesse 2856
 Taken of more and of lesse,
 Al at hise wille, so dide he calle
 þe erl of cestre, and hise men alle,
 þat was yung knith wit-uten wif, 2860
 And seyde, "sire erl, bi mi lif,
 And þou wile mi conseyll tro,
 Ful wel shal ich with þe do,
 For ich shal yeue þe to wiue 2864
 þe fairest þing that is oliue.

He proposes that
 Earl Reyner
 of Chester

¹ MS. "And him til," which is nonsense. See l. 2827.

² See l. 2992.

³ MS. hauden.

shall marry
Gnild, Grim's
daughter ;

þat is guznild of grimesby,
Grimes douthur, bi seint dauy !
þat me forth broute, and wel fedde, 2868

And ut of denemark with me fledde,
Me for to burwe fro mi ded :
Sikerlike, þoru his red
Haue ich liued in-to þis day, 2872

Blissed worþe his soule ay !
I rede þat þu hire take,
And spuse, and curteyse make,
For she is fayr, and she is fre, 2876

and he will ther
always be his
friend.

þertekene she is wel with me,
þat shal ich ful wel shewe þe,
For ich giue þe a giue, 2880

þat euere more hwil ich liue,
For hire shal-tu be with me dere,
þat wile ich þat þis folc al here."
þe erl ne wolde nouth ageyn 2884

[Fol. 219, col. 1.]

þe king[e] be, for knith ne sweyn,
Ne of þe spusing seyen nay,
But spusede [hire] þat ilke day.
þat spusinge was god time maked, 2888

They are
married,

For it ne were neuere clad ne naked,
In a þede samened two
þat cam to-gidere, liuede so,
So þey dide[n] al here liue : 2892

and have five
sons,

He geten samen sones fíue,
þat were þe beste men at nede,
þat mouthe riden on ani stede.
Hwan guznild was to cestre brouth, 2896

Havelok
remembers
Bertram, the
earl's cook

Haue lok þe gode ne for-gat nouth
Bertram, þat was the erles kok,
þat he ne dide callen ok,
And seyde, "frend, so god me rede ! 2900
Nu shaltu haue riche mede,

- For wissing, and þi gode dede,
 þat tu me dides in ful gret nede. -
 For þanne y yede in mi cuuel, 2904
 And ich ne haue[de] bred, ne sowel,
 Ne y ne hauede no catel,
 þou feddes and claddes me ful wel.
 Haue nu for-þi of cornwayle 2908 and makes him
 þe erldom ildel, with-uten fayle, Earl of
 And al þe lond þat godrich held, Cornwall.
 Boþe in towne, and ek in feld ;
 And þerto wile ich, þat þu spuse, 2912
 And fayre bring hire un-til huse,
 Grimes douter, leuiue þe hende, He is to marry
 For þider shal she with þe wende. Leuiue, Grim's
 Hire semes curteys forto be, 2916 daughter,
 For she is fayr so flour on tre ;
 þe heu is swilk in hire ler
 So [is] þe rose in roser, who is as fair
 Hwan it is fayr sprad ut newe 2920 as a rose.
 Ageyn þe sunne, brith and lewe."
 And girde him sone with þe swerd
 Of þe erldom, bi-forn his ferd,
 And with his hond he made him knith, 2924
 And yaf him armes, for þat was rith,
 And dide him þere sone wedde
 Hire þat was ful swete in bedde. They are
 married.
 A fter þat he spused wore, 2928
 Wolde þe erl nouth dwelle þore,
 But sone nam until his lond,
 And seysed it al in his hond,
 And liuede þer-inne, he and his wif, 2932
 An hundred winter in god lif,¹

Havelok and
 Goldborough
 [Fol. 219, col. 2.]
 lived 100 years,
 and had many
 children.

¹ Between this line and the next are inserted in the MS. the words: *For he saw þat he*, which have been subsequently struck out by the same hand, and the word *vacat* affixed.

And gaten mani children samen,
 And liueden ay in blisse and gamen.
 Hwan þe maydens were spused boþe, 2936
 Hauelok anon bigan ful rathe
 His denshe men to feste wel
 Wit riche landes and catel,
 So þat he weren alle riche : 2940
 For he was large and nouth chinche.

Þer-after sone, with his here,
 For he to lundone, forto bere
 Corune, so þat [alle] it sawe, 2944
 Henglishe ant denshe, heye and lowe,
 Hwou he it bar with mikel pride,
 For his barnage þat was un-ride.

Þe feste of his coruni[n]g¹ 2948
 Laste[de] with gret ioying
 Fourti dawes, and sumdel mo ;
 þo bigumnen þe denshe to go
 Vn-to þe king, to aske leue, 2952
 And he ne wolde hem nouth greue,

For he saw þat he wornen yare
 In-to denemark for to fare,
 But gaf hem leue sone anon, 2956
 And bitauhte hem seint Johan ;

And bad ubbe, his iustise,
 þat he sholde on ilke wise
 Denemark yeme and gete so, 2960
 þat no pleynte come him to.

Hwan he wore parted alle samen,
 Hauelok bi-lefte wit ioie and gamen

¹ MS. corunig.

- In engelond, and was þer-izne 2964 England for
Sixti winter king with winne, sixty years.
And Goldeboru quen, þat I wene :
So mikel loue was hem bitwene,
þat al þe werd spak of hem two : 2968
He louede hire, and she him so,
þat neyþer oþe[r] mithe be
For ¹ oþer, ne no ioie se,
But yf he were to-gidere ² boþe ; 2972
Neuere yete ne weren he wroþe,
For here loue was ay newe,
Neuere yete wordes ne grewe
Bitwene hem, hwar-of ne lathe [Fol. 219t, col. 1.] 2976
Mithe rise, ne no wrathe.
- He geten children hem bi-twene
Sones and douthres rith fuetene, They had 15
Hwar-of þe sones were kinges alle, children, all
So wolde god it sholde bifalle ; kings and queens. 2980
And þe douhtres alle quenes :
Him stondes wel þat god child strenes.
Nu haue ye herd þe gest al þoru 2984 Such is the *geste*
Of havelok and of goldeborw. of Havelok and
Hw he weren born, and hw fedde, Goldborough.
And hwou he woren with wronge ledde
In here youþe, with trecherie, 2988
With tresoun, and with felounye,
And hwou þe swikes haueden thit
Reuen hem þat was here rith,
And hwou he weren wreken wel, 2992
Haue ich sey you euerildel ;
And forþi ich wolde biseken you,
þat hauen herd þe rim[e] nu,
þat ilke of you, with gode wille, 2996 Each of
you say a

¹ Qu. Fro.² MS. togidede.

pater-noster
for the author.

Seye a pater-noster stille,
For him þat haueth þe rym[e] makēd,
And þer-fore fele nihtes waked ;
þat ihesu crist his soule bringe
Bi-forn his fader at his endinge.

3000

Amen.

NOTES.

[The following notes are abridged from the notes in Sir F. Madden's excellent edition, the abridgement being effected almost entirely by occasional omissions, and with but very slight unimportant changes of a few words, chiefly in the case of references to later editions of various works than were existing in 1828. I have added one or two short notes upon difficult constructions, but these are distinguished by being enclosed within square brackets.—W. W. S.]

9. *He was the wicteste man at nede*
That thurte riden on ani stede.

This appears to have been a favourite expression of the poet, and to have comprehended, in his idea, the perfection of those qualifications required in a knight and hero. He repeats it, with some slight variation, no less than five times, viz. in ll. 25, 87, 345, 1757, and 1970. The lines, however, are by no means original, but the common property of all our early poetical writers. We find them in *Lazamon* :

þis wes þe feiruste mon
 þe æuere ælhte ær þusne kinedom,
 þa he mihte beren wepnon,
 & his hors wel awilden.

Lazamon, vol. i. p. 174.

So also in the Romance of *Guy of Warwick* :

He was the best knight at neede
 That euer bestrode any stede.

Coll. Garrick, K. 9. sign. Ll. ii.

Again, in the *Continuation of Sir Gy*, in the Auchinleck MS., (ed. for the Abbotsford Club, 1840, 4to ; p. 266),

The best bodi he was at nede
 That ever might bistriden stede,
 And freest founde in fight.

And again, in the *Chronicle of England*, published by Ritson from a copy in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 12. C. xii.

After him his sone Arthur
 Hevede this lond thourh and thourh.
 He was the beste kyng at nede
 That ever mihte ride on stede,
 Other wepne welde, other folk out-lede,
 Of mon ne hede he never drede.—l. 261.

The very close resemblance of these lines to those in *Havelok*, ll. 87—90, would induce a belief that the writer of the *Chronicle* had certainly read, and perhaps copied from, the Romance. The MS. followed by Ritson was undoubtedly written soon after the death of Piers Gaveston, in 1313, with the mention of which event it concludes; but in the Auchinleck copy it is continued, by a later hand, to the minority of Edward III. It only remains to be observed, that the poem in MS. Reg. 12. C. xii. is written by the same identical hand as the MS. Harl. 2253 (containing *Kyng Horn*, &c.), whence some additional light is thrown on the real age of the latter, respecting which our antiquaries so long differed.

[15. "And I will drink ere I tell my tale." *Her* = ere.

19. *And wite*, &c., i.e. And ordain that it may be so; cf. ll. 517, 1316. Both metre and grammar require the final *e*.]

31. *Erl and barun, dreng and kayn*. The appellation of *Dreng*, and, in the plural, *Drenges*, which repeatedly occurs in the course of this poem, is uniformly bestowed on a class of men who hold a situation between the rank of *Baron* and *Thayn*. We meet with the term more than once in *Doomsday Book*, as, for instance, in Tit. Cestresc: "Hujus manerii [Neuton] aliam terram xv. hom. quos *Drenches* vocabant, pro xv. maneriis tenebant." And in a Charter of that period we read: "Alger Prior, et totus Conventus Ecclesiæ S. Cuthberti, Edwino, et omnibus Teignis et *Drengis*, &c." Hence Spelman infers, that the *Drengs* were military vassals, and held land by knight's service, which was called *Drengagium*. This is confirmed by a document from the Chartulary of Welbeck, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* V. ii. p. 598, and in Blount, *Jocular Tenures*, p. 177, where it is stated, "In eadem villa [Cukeney, co. Nottingham.] manebat quidam homo qui vocabatur Gamelbere, et fuit vetus *Dreyinghe* ante Conquestum." It appears from the same document, that this person held two carucates of land of the King *in capite*, and was bound to perform military service for the same, whenever the army went into Wales. In the Epistle also from the Monks of Canterbury to Henry II. printed by Somner, in his Treatise on Gavelkind, p. 123, we find: "Quia vero non erant adhuc tempore Regis Willelmi Milites in Anglia, sed *Threnges*, præcepit Rex, ut de eis Milites fierent, ad terram defendendam." In Lazamon's translation of Wace the term is frequently used in the acceptance of *thayn*, and spelt either *dringches*, *drenches*, *dranches*, or *dringes*. [Cf. Sw. *dräng*, a man, servant; Dan. *dreng*, a boy.] In the Isl. and Su. Goth. *Dreng* originally signified *vir fortis*, *miles strenuus*, and hence Olaf, King of Norway, received the epithet of *Goddreng*. See Wormii Lex. Run. p. 26. Ihre, Vet. Cat. Reg.

p. 109. Langebek, *Script. Rer. Danic.* V. i. p. 156. The term subsequently was applied to persons in a servile condition, and is so instanced by Spelman, as used in Denmark. In this latter sense it may be found in Hickes, *Diction. Isl.*, and in Sir David Lyndsay's *Poems*,

Quhilk is not ordanit for *dringis*
But for Duikis, Empriouris, and Kingis.

V. Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems Reprinted*, ii. 97.

V. Jamieson, *Dict. in voce*.

45. *In that time a man that bore*
(*Wel fifty pund, y woth, or more.*)

This insertion receives additional authority from a similar passage in the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*, where it is mentioned as a proof of the rigorous system of justice pursued by Earl Sigard,

Though a man bore an hundred pound,
Upon him of gold so round,
There n'as man in all this land
That durst him do shame no schonde.

Ellis, *Metr. Rom.* V. ii. p. 9. Ed. 1811.

Many of the traits here attributed to Athelwold appear to be borrowed from the praises so universally bestowed by our ancient historians on the character of King Alfred, in whose time, as Otterbourne writes, p. 52, "armillas aureas in bivio stratas vel suspensas, nemo abripere est ausus." Cf. *Annal. Eccl. Roffens.* MS. Cott. Nero, D. ii. The same anecdote is related of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, by Guillaume de Jumièges, and Dudon de Saint Quentin.

91. *Sprong forth so sparke of glede.* Cf. l. 870. It is a very common metaphor in early English poetry.

He sprong forð an stede,
swa spare ded of fure.

Lazamon, v. ii. p. 565.

He sprange als any sparke one glede.

Sir Isumbras, st. 39 (Camd. Soc. 1844)

He spronge as sparkle doth of glede.

K. of Tars, l. 194.

And lepte out of the arsoun,
As sperk thogh out of glede.

Ly Beaus Desconus, l. 623.

Cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, l. 13833, and Tyrwhitt's note.

110. *Of his bodi*, &c. Compare the French text, l. 208.

Mes entre eus n'eurent enfant
Mes qe vne fille bele;
Argentille out non la pucele.
Rois Ekenbright fut enfermez,
Et de grant mal forment greucz;
Bien siet n'en poet garrir.

[Here *Argentille* is *Goldborough*, and *Ekenbright* answers to *Athelwold*. This quotation, and others below, shewing the passages of the French text which most nearly resemble the English poem, are from a MS. in the Herald's College, marked E. D. N. No. 14. See the Preface.]

[118. *Wat shal me to rede*, lit. what shall be for a counsel to me. See *Rede* in the Glossary to *William of Palerne*.

130. *And don hem of par hire were queme*, lit. and do them off where it should be agreeable to her; i. e. and keep men at a distance as she pleased. Such seems to me the meaning of this hitherto unexplained line.

132. For me we ought probably to read *hit*.]

136. *He sende writes sone onon*. We must here, and in l. 2275, simply understand *letters*, without any reference to the official summonses of parliament, which subsequently were so termed, κατ' ἐξοχήν. The word *briefs* is used in the same sense by the old French writers, and in *Lazamon* we meet with some lines nearly corresponding with the present; see ll. 6669—6678.

[175. *pa*. Frequently written for *pat*. See *William of Palerne*.]

189—203. *Ther-on he garte*, &c. Compare the French Romance, ll. 215—228.

Sa fille li ad comandée,
Et sa terre tote liuerée.
Primerement li fet iurer,
Veiant sa gent & affier,
Qe leaument la nurrireit,
Et sa terre lui gardereit,
Tant q'ele fust de tiel age
Qe suffrir porroit mariage.
Quant la pucele seit granz,
Par le consail de ses tenanz,
Au plus fort home la dorroit
Qe el reaume troueroit;
Qu'il li baillast ses citez,
Ses chasteus & ses fermetez.

263. *Justises dede he maken newe*,

Al Engeland to faren thorw.

The earliest instance produced by Dugdale of the Justices Itinerant, is in 23 Hen. II. 1176, when by the advice of the Council held at Northampton, the realm was divided into six parts, and into each were sent three Justices. *Orig. Judic.* p. 51. This is stated on the authority of Hoveden. Dugdale admits however the custom to have been older, and in Gervasius Dorobernensis, we find, in 1170, certain persons, called *inquisitores*, appointed to perambulate England. Gervase of Tilbury, or whoever was the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, calls them *deambulantes*, vel *perlustrantes judices*. See Spelman, in *voc*. The office continued to the time of Edward III., when it was superseded by that of the Justices of Assize.

280. *The kinges douth, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 283.

Argentille,
La meschine qu'ert sa fille,
Que ia estoit creue & grant,
Et bien poeit auoir enfant.

[338. *Sawe*, put for "Say we." Cf. *biddi* for "bidde i," l. 484; *haudedel* for "hauede it," 714; &c.

365. *His quiste*, &c. "His bequest made, and (things) distributed for him."]

433. *Crist warie him with his mouth!*
Waried wrthe he of north and suth!

So, in the Romance of Merlin, Bishop Brice curses the enemies of Arthur,

Ac, for he is king, and king's son,
Y curse alle, and y dom
His enemies with Christes mouth,
By East, by West, by North, and South!
Ellis, *Metr. Rom.* V. i. p. 260.

[506. For *nouth* we must read *mouth* or *wolde*. The sense is—"He thought that he would he were dead, except that he might not (or would not) slay him with his (own) hand."

550. The sense is—"When he had done that deed (i. e. gagged the child), then the deceiver had commanded him," &c.

560. *with* may mean *knowest*, but this hardly gives sense. Perhaps we should read *wilt*, i. e. "As thou wilt have (preserve) my life."

567. Mr Morris suggests that the riming words are *adoun* and *croune*. We might then read—

"And caste þe knaue so harde adoun,
þat he crakede þer hise croune."]

591. *Of hise mouth*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 71. sq.

Totes les houres q'il dormoit,
Vne flambe de lui issoit.
Par la bouche li venoit fors,
Si grant chalur auoit el cors.
La flambe rendoit tiel odour,
Onc ne sentit nul home meillour.

676. *And with thi chartre make (me) fre.* Instances of the manumission of villains or slaves by charter may be found in Hickes, *Diss. Epistol.* p. 12, Lye's Dict. *ad calc.*, and Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 750. The practice was common in the Saxon times, and existed so late as the reign of Henry VIII.

[694. *Wite he him onliue*, if he knows him (to be) alive.

701. It is evident that the words *and gate* = and goats, must be supplied. For the spelling *gate*, cf. *Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Morris, l. 6134, where *gayte* is used collectively as a plural.]

706. *Hise ship*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 89.

Grim fet niefs appailler,
Et de viande bien charger.

715—720. *Hauelok the yunge*, &c. Comp. the Fr. ll. 97—105.

Quant sa nief fut appaillée,
Dedenz fist entrer sa meisnée,
Ses cheualers & ses serganz,
Sa femme demeine & ses enfanz :
La reyne mist el batel,
Haueloc tint souz son mantel.
Il meismes apres entra,
A Dieu del ciel se comanda,
Del hauene sont desancré,
Car il eurent bon orré.

Instead of the storm, in the French text Grim's ship is attacked by pirates, who kill the whole of the crew, with the exception of himself and family, whom they spare on the score of his being an old acquaintance.

733—749. *In Humber*, &c. So in the Fr. *Ceo fut el north*, &c. Cf. ll. 122—135.

Tant ont nagé & tant siglé,
Q'en vne hauene ont parvenu,
Et de la nief a terre issu.
Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi ;
A icel tens qe ieo vus di,
Ni out onques home habité,
Ne cele hauene n'ert pas haunté.
Il i adresca primes maison,
De lui ad Grimesbi a non.
Quant Grim primes i ariua,
En .ii. moitez sa nief trencha,
Les chiefs en ad amont drescé,
Iloec dedenz s'est herbergé.
Pescher aloit sicome il soloit,
Siel vendoit & achatoit.

753. *He took the sturgiun and the qual,*
And the turbut, and lax withal,
He tok the sele, and the hwel, &c.

The list of fish here enumerated may be increase l from l. 896, and presents us with a sufficiently accurate notion of the different species eaten in the 13th century. Each of the names will be considered separately in the Glossary, and it is only intended here to make a few remarks on those, which in the present day appear rather strangely to have found a place on the tables of our ancestors. The sturgeon is well known to have been esteemed a dainty, both in England and France, and specially appropriated to the King's service, but that the whale, the seal, and the porpoise

should have been rendered palatable, excites our astonishment. Yet that the whale was caught for that purpose, appears not only from the present passage, but also from the Fabliau intitled *Bataille de Charnage et de Caresme*, written probably about the same period, and printed by Barbazan. It is confirmed, as we learn from Le Grand, by the French writers; and even Rabelais, near three centuries later, enumerates the whale among the dishes eaten by the Gastrolatres. In the list of fish also published by Le Grand from a MS. of the 13th century, and which corresponds remarkably with the names in the Romance, we meet with the *Baleigne*. See *Vie Privée des François*, T. II. sect. 8.

Among the articles at Archbishop Nevil's Feast, 6 Edw. IV., we find, *Porposes and Seales* XII. and at that of Archbishop Warham, held in 1504, is an item: *De Seales & Porposs. prec. in gross* XXVI. s. VIII. d. Champier asserts that the Seal was eaten at the Court of Francis I., so that the taste of the two nations seems at this period to have been nearly the same. For the courses of fish in England during the 14th and 15th centuries, see Pegge's *Form of Cury*, and Warner's *Antiquitates Culinarie*, to which we may add MS. Sloane, 1886. [*Cf. Babees Book*, &c., ed. Furnivall, 1868, p. 153.]

[784. For *setes* we should probably read *seten* or *sette*, which would be as good a rime as many others. The scribe has probably made the rime more perfect than the sense. It must mean, "In the sea were they oft set." We cannot here suppose *setes* = *set es* = set them.]

839. *And seyde, Hauelok, dere sone*. In the French, Grim sends Havelok away for quite a different reason, viz. because he does not understand fishing.

903. *The kok stod*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 242.

Et vn keu le roi le retint,
Purceo qe fort le vist & grant,
Et mult le vist de bon semblant.
Merueillous fes poeit leuer,
Busche tailler, ewe porter.

The last line answers to l. 942 of the English version.

939. *He bar the turves, he bar the star*. The meaning of the latter term will be best illustrated by a passage in Moor's *Suffolk Words*, where, under the word *Bent*, he writes, "*Bent* or *Starr*, on the N.W. coast of England, and especially in Lancashire, is a coarse reedy shrub—like ours perhaps—of some importance formerly, if not now, on the sandy blowing lands of those counties. Its fibrous roots give some cohesion to the silicious soil. By the 15 and 16 G. II. c. 33, plucking up and carrying away *Starr* or *Bent*, or having it in possession within five miles of the sand hills, was punishable by fine, imprisonment, and whipping." The use stated in the Act to which the *Starr* was applied, is, "making of Mats, Brushes, and Brooms or Besons," therefore it might very well be adapted to the purposes of a kitchen, and from its being coupled with *turves* in the poem, was perhaps sometimes burnt for fuel. The origin of the word is Danish, and still exists in the Dan. *Stær*, Swed. *Starr*, Isl.

staer, a species of sedge, or broom, called by Lightfoot, p. 560, *carex cespitosa*. Perhaps it is this shrub alluded to in the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*, and this circumstance will induce us to assign its author to the district in which the Starr is found.

The speris craketh swithe thikke,
So doth on hegge *sterre-stike*.—l. 4438.

945. *of alle men*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 254.

Tant estoit franc & deboneire,
Que tuz voloit lur pleisir fere,
Pur la franchise q'il out.

959. *Of him ful wide the word sprong*. A phrase which from the Saxon times occurs repeatedly in all our old writers. A few examples may suffice.

Beowulf was breme,
Blæd wide sprang.

Beowulf, ed. Thorpe, p. 2.

Welle wide sprong þas eorles word.

Lazamon, l. 26242.

Of a knight is that y mene,
His name is sprong wel wide.

Sir Tristrem, st. 2, p. 12.

The word of Horn wide sprong,
How he was bothe michel and long.

Horn Childe, ap. Rits. *Metr. Rom.* V. iii. p. 291.

See also the *Kyng of Tars*, ll. 19, 1007, *Emare*, l. 256, *Roland and Ferragus*, as quoted by Ellis, *Ly beaus Descomus*, l. 172, and *Chronicle of England*, l. 71.

984. *In armes him noman (ne) nam
þat he doune sone ne caste.*

The same praise is bestowed on Havelok in the French text, l. 265,—

Deuant eus liuter le fesoient
As plus forz homes q'il sauoient,
Et il trestouz les abatit—

and it was doubtless in imitation or ridicule of the qualities attributed to similar heroes, that Chaucer writes of Sir Thopas, "Of wrastling was ther non his per." *Cant. Tales*, l. 13670.

1006. *To ben þer at þe parlement*. Cf. l. 1178. If we examine our historical records, we shall find that the only parliament held at Lincoln was in the year 1300, 28 Edw. I., and the writs to the *Archbishop of York*, and other Nobles, both ecclesiastical and secular, are still extant. The proceedings are detailed at some length by Robert of Brunne, Vol. II. p. 312, who might have been in Lincoln at the time, or, at all events, was sufficiently informed of all that took place, from his residence in the

county. If we could suppose that the author of the Romance alluded to this very parliament, it would reduce the period of the poem's composition to a later date, than either the style or the writing of the MS. will possibly admit of. It is therefore far more probable the writer here makes use of a poetical, and very pardonable licence, in transferring the parliament to the chief city of the county in which he was evidently born, or brought up, without any reference whatever to historical data.

1022. *Biform here fet panne lay a tre,
And putten with a mikel ston, &c.*

This game of *putting the stone*, is of the highest antiquity, and seems to have been common at one period to the whole of England, although subsequently confined to the Northern counties, and to Scotland. Fitzstephen enumerates casting of stones among the amusements of the Londoners in the 12th century, and Dr Pegge, in a note on the passage, calls it "a Welch custom." The same sport is mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, among the diversions pursued at King Arthur's feast, as will appear in a subsequent note (l. 2320). By an edict of Edward III. the practice of casting stones, wood, and iron, was forbidden, and the use of the bow substituted, yet this by no means superseded the former amusement, which was still in common use in the 16th century, as appears from Strutt's *Popular Pastimes*, Introd. pp. xvii, xxxix, and p. 56, sq. In the Highlands this sport appears to have been longer kept up than in any other part of Britain, and Pennant, describing their games, writes, "Those retained are, throwing the *putting-stone*, or stone of strength (*Cloch neart*) as they call it, which occasions an emulation who can throw a weighty one the farthest." *Tour in Scoll.* p. 214. 4to. 1769. See also *Statist. Account of Argyleshire*, xi. 287. In the French Romance of Horn, preserved in MS. Harl. 527, is almost a similar incident to the one in Havelok, and would nearly amount to a proof, that Tomas, the writer of the French text of Horn, was an Englishman.

In the Romance of *Octovian Imperator* it is said of Florent,

At *wrestelyng*, and at *ston castyng*
He wan the prys, without lesynge;
Ther n'as nother old ne yynge
So mochell of strength,
That myght the ston to hys *but bryng*,
Bi fedeme lengthe.—l. 895.

It is singular enough, that the circumstance of Havelok's throwing the stone, mentioned in the Romance, should have been founded on, or preserved in, a local tradition, as attested by Robert of Brunne, p. 26.

Men sais in Lyncoln castelle ligges ȝit a stone,
That Hauelok kast wele forbi euerilkone.

1077—1088. *The king Athelwald*, &c. Comp. the Fr. text, ll. 354—370.

Quant Ekenbright le roi fini,
 En ma garde sa fille mist ;
 Vn serement iurer me fist,
 Q'au plus fort home le dorroie,
 Qe el reaume trouer porroie.
 Assez ai quis & demandé,
 Tant q'en ai vn fort troué ;
 Vn valet ai en ma quisine,
 A qui ieo dorrai la meschine ; &c.

1103. *After Goldeboru, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 377.

Sa niece lur fet amener,
 Et a Cuaran esposer ;
 Pur lui auiler & honir,
 La fist la nuit lez lui gesir.

The French Romance differs here very considerably from the English, and in the latter, the dream of Argentille, her visit to the hermit, and the conversation relative to Havelok's parents, is entirely omitted.

[1174. This may mean—"He (Havelok) is given to her, and she has taken (him)"—but this makes *yaf* and *tok* past participles, which they properly are not ; or else we must translate it—"He (Godard) gave them to her, and she took them," i. e. the pence. This alone is the grammatical construction, and it suits the context best ; observe, that the words *ys* and *as* are equivalent to *es* = them. Cf. l. 970. See Morris ; *Gen. & Exod.*, Pref. p. xviii.]

1203. *Thanne he komen there, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 556.

A Grimesby s'en alerent ;
 Mes li prodoms estoit finiz,
 Et la Dame q'is out nurriz.
 Kelloc sa fille i ont trouée,
 Vn marchant l'out esposée.

The marriage of Kelloc, Grim's daughter, with a merchant is skilfully introduced in the French, and naturally leads to the mention of Denmark. The plot of the English story is wholly dissimilar in this respect.

1247. *On the nith, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 381.

Quant couché furent ambedui,
 Cele out grant honte de lui,
 Et il assez greindre de li.
 As deuz se geut, si se dormi.
 Ne voloit pas q'ele veist
 La flambe qe de lui issist.

The voice of the angel is completely an invention of the English author, and the dream (which is transferred from Argentille to Havelok) is altogether different in its detail.

1260. *He beth heyman, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 521.

Il est né de real lignage,
 Oncore auera grant heritage.
 Grant gent fra vers li encline,
 Il serra roi & tu reyne.

[1334. The words *euere-il del* are corruptly repeated from line 1330 above. Perhaps we should read *wit-uten were*, i. e. without doubt.]

1430. *Hauede go for him gold ne fe.* Cf. l. 44. So in Lazamon :

Ne sculde him neoðer gon fore
 Gold ne na gærsume, &c. ; vol. ii. p. 537.

[1444. The French text helps but little to supply the blank. It shows that Havelok and his wife sailed to Denmark, and, on their arrival, sought out the castle belonging to Sigar, who answers to the Ubbe of the English version.]

1632. *A gold ring drow he forth anon*, &c. A similar incident, and in nearly the same words, occurs in *Sir Tristrem*.

A ring he raught him tite,
 The porter seyð nought nay,
 In hand :
 He was ful wis, y say,
 That first yave yift in land.—fytte i. st. 57, p. 39.

So also Wyntoun, who relates the subsidy of 40,000 moutons sent from France to Scotland in 1353, and adds,

Qwha gyvis swilk gyftyis he is wyse.

[See also *Piers Plowman*, Text A. iii. 202.]

1646. *Hw he was wel of bones*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 743.

Gent cors & bele feture,
 Lungs braz & grant furcheure
 Ententiement l'esgarda.

[1678. This line has two syllables too little.]

1722. *Thanne he were set*, &c. This is an amplification of the Fr. l. 677, sq.

Quant fut heure del manger,
 Et qe tuz alerent lauer,
 Li prodoms a manger s'assist,
 Les .iii. valez seeir i fist,
 Argentille lez son seignur ;
 Serui furent a grant honur.

1726. *Kranes, swannes, veneysun*, &c. We have here the principal constituents of what formed the banquets of our ancestors. The old Romances abound with descriptions of this nature, which coincide exactly with the present. See *Richard Cœur de Lion*, l. 4221 ; *Guy of Warwick* ; *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, l. 317 ; and *Morte Arthure*, ed. Perry, p. 7.

"Wine is common," says Dr Pegge, speaking of the entertainments of the 14th century, "both red and white. This article they partly had of their own growth, and partly by importation from France and Greece." A few examples will illustrate this :

He laid the cloth, and set forth bread,
And also wine, both *white and red*.

Sir Degore, ap. Ellis, *Met. Rom.* V. 3, p. 375.

And dronke wyn, and eke pyment,
Whyt and red, al to talent.

Kyng Alisaunder, l. 4178.

[Cf. *Piers Plowman*, Text B, at the end of the *Prologue*.]

In the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* is a long list of these wines, which has received considerable illustration in the curious work of Dr Henderson.

[1736. I print *kiwing*, as in Sir F. Madden's edition; but I quite give up the meaning of it, and doubt if it is put for *kirving*. The word is obscurely written, and looks like *kilping*, and my impression is that it is miswritten for *ilk ping*, the word *þe* being put for *þer*, as frequently elsewhere. We should thus get *hwan he haueden þer ilk ping deled*, when they had there distributed every thing. This is, at any rate, the sense of the passage.]

1749. *And sende him unto the greyues*. In the French, Havelok is simply sent to an *ostel*, and the *greyve* does not appear in the story.

1806. *Hauelok lifte up*, &c. In the French, all the amusing details relative to Robert and Huwe Raven are omitted, and Havelok is made to retire to a monastery, where he defends himself by throwing down the stones on his assailants.

[1826. *wolde*, offered at, intended to hit, *would* have hit.]

1838. *And shoten on him, so don on bere*
Dogges, that wolden him to-tere.]

The same comparison is made use of in the Romance of Horn Childe :

The Yrise folk about him yode,
As hondes do to bare.

Rits. Metr. Rom. V. III. p. 289.

See Note on l. 2320.

[1914. "Cursed be he who cares ! for they deserved it ! What did they ? There were they worried." A mark of interrogation seems required after *dide he*.]

1926—1930. *Sket cam tidung*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 719.

La nouele vint a chastel,
Au seneschal, qui n'est pas bel,
Qe cil qu'il auoit herbergé
Cinc de ses homes out tué.

[1932. Apparently corrupt. Perhaps *is* should be *it*. "That this strife—as to what it meant."]

2045. *That weren of Kaym kin and Eues*. The odium affixed to

the supposed progeny of Cain, and the fables engrafted on it, owe their origin to the theological opinions of the Middle Ages, which it is not worth while to trace to their authors. See *Beowulf*, ed. Thorpe, p. 8; and *Piers Plowman*, A. x. 135—156; answering to p. 177 of Whitaker's edition. See also the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*:

And of Sab the duk Mauryn,
He was of *Kaymes kunrede*.—l. 1932.

In *Ywaine and Gawaine*, l. 559, the Giant is called "the karl of *Kaymes kyn*," and so also in a poem printed by Percy, intitled *Little John Nobody*, written about the year 1550.

Such caitives count to be come of *Cain's kind*.

Anc. Reliq. V. II. p. 130. Ed. 1765.

2076. *It ne shal no thing ben bitvene*
Thi bour and min, also y wene,
But a fayr firrene wowe.

These lines will receive some illustration from a passage in Sir Tristrem, where it is said,

A borde he tok oway
Of her bour.—p. 114.

On which Sir W. Scott remarks, "The bed-chamber of the queen was constructed of wooden boards or shingles, of which one could easily be removed." This will explain the line which occurs below, 2106, "He stod, and totede in at a bord."

2092. *Aboute the middel*, &c. In the French, a person is placed by the Seneschal to watch, who first discovers the light.

2132. *Bi the pappes he leyen naked*. "From the latter end of the 13th to near the 16th century, all ranks, and both sexes, were universally in the habit of sleeping quite naked. This custom is often alluded to by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and all our ancient writers." Ellis, *Spec. Metr. Rom.* V. i. p. 324, 4th Ed. In the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* is a remarkable instance of this fact:

How she rose, that lady dere,
To take her leue of that squyer;
Al so naked as she was borne
She stod her chambre-dore beforne.—l. 671.

The custom subsisted both in England and France to a very recent period, and hence probably was derived the phrase *naked-bed*, illustrated so copiously by Archdeacon Nares in his Glossary.

2192. Cf. the French, l. 843.

Ses chapeleins fet demander,
Ses briefs escriure & enseeler;
Par ses messages les manda,
Et pur ses amis enuoia;
Pur ses homes, pur ses parenz;
Mult i assembla granz genz.

[2201. Read *ne neme* = took not, sc. their way, just as in l. 1207.]
 2240—2255. *Lokes, hware he stondes her*, &c. Comp. the Fr. ll. 913—921.

“Veez ci nostre dreit heir,
 Bien en deuom grant ioie aueir.”
 Tut primerain se desafubla,
 Par deuant lui s’agenuilla;
 Sis homs deuint, si li iura
 Qe leaument le seruira.
 Li autre sont apres alé,
 Chescuns de bone volenté;
 Tuit si home sont deuenu.

2314. *Vbbe dubbde him to knith;*
With a sword ful swithe brith.

So likewise in the Fr. l. 928, *A cheualier lout adubbé*. The ceremony of knighthood is described with greater minuteness in the Romance of *Ly beaus Desconus*, l. 73; and see *Kyng Horn*, ed. Lumby, ll. 495—504.

2320. *Hwan he was king, ther mouthe men se*, &c. Ritson has justly remarked, Notes to *Ywayne and Gawaine*, l. 15, that the elaborate description of Arthur’s feast at Carlisle, given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. ix. c. 12, has served as a model to all his successors. The original passage stands thus in a fine MS. of the 13th century, MS. Harl. 3773. fol. 33 b. “*Refecti autem epulis diversos ludos acturi campos extra civitatem adeunt. Tunc milites simulachra belli scientes equestrem ludum componunt, mulieribus ab edito murorum aspicientibus. Alii cum cestibus, alii cum hastis, alii gravium lapidum jactu, alii cum facis, [saxis, Edd.] alii cum aleis, diversisque alii alteriusmodi jocis contendentes.*” In the translation of this description by Wace we approach still nearer to the imitation of the Romance before us.

A plusurs iuis se departirent,
 Li vns alerent *bukurder*,
 E lur ignels cheuals mustrer,
 Li altre alerent *eskermir*,
 V pere *geter*, v *saillir*;
 Tels i-aueit ki *darz lanconent*,
 E tels i-aueit ki *lutouent*:
 Chescon del gru [geu?] s’entremetait
 Dunt entremettre se saueit.—MS. Reg. 13. A. xxi.

The parallel versions, from the French, of *Lazamon*, *Robert of Gloucester*, and *Robert of Brunne*, may be read in Mr Ellis’s *Specimens of Early English Poets*. At the feast of *Olimpias*, described in the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*, we obtain an additional limitation.

Without the theowoun was mury,
 Was reised ther al maner pley;

There was knyghtis turnyng,
 There was maidenis carolyng,
 There was champions skyrmyng,
 Of heom and of other wrastlyng,
 Of liouns chas, of beore baityng,
 And bay of bor, of bole slatyng.—l. 193. Cf. l. 1045.

Some additional illustrations on each of the amusements named in our text may not be unacceptable :

1. *Buttinge with sharpe speres*. This is tilting, or justing, expressed in Wace by *buhurder*. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 96, sq. 108.

2. *Skirming with taleuaces*. This is described more at large by Wace, in his account of the feast of Cassibelaunus. Cf. *Lazamon*, v. i. p. 347; l. 8144. In Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* is a representation of this game, taken from MS. Bodl. 264, illuminated between 1338 and 1344, in which the form of the *talevas* is accurately defined. It appears to have been pursued to such an excess, as to require the interference of the crown, for in 1286 an edict was issued by Edward I. prohibiting all persons *Eskirmer au bokeler*. This, however, had only a temporary effect in restraining it, and in later times, under the appellation of *sword and buckler play*, it again became universally popular.

3. *Wrastling with laddes, puttinge of ston*. See the notes on ll. 984 and 1022.

4. *Harping and piping*. This requires no illustration.

5. *Leyk of mine, of hasard ok*. Among the games mentioned at the marriage of Gawain, in the Fabliau of *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, we have :

Cil Chevalier jeuent as tables,
 Et as eschés de l'autre part,
 O à la mine, o à hazart.

Le Grand, in his note on this passage, T. i. p. 57, Ed. 1779, writes : " Le Hasard était une sorte de jeu de dez. Je ne connais point la *Mine* ; j'ai trouvé seulement ailleurs un passage qui prouve que ce jeu était très-dangereux, et qu'on pouvait s'y ruiner en peu de tems." It appears however from the Fabliau of *Du Prestre et des deux Ribaus*, to have been certainly a species of *Tables*, or *Backgammon*, and to have been played with dice, on a board called *Minete*. The only passage we recollect in which any further detail of this game is given, is that of Wace, in the account of Arthur's feast, Harl. MS. 6508, and MS. Cott. Vit. A. x., but it must be remarked, that the older copy 13 A. xxi. does not contain it, nor is it found in the translations of *Lazamon*, or Robert of Gloucester.

6. *Romanz reding*. See Sir W. Scott's note on Sir Tristrem, p. 290, [p. 306, ed. 1811] ; and the Dissertations of Percy, Ritson, and Ellis.

7. *Ther mouthe men se the boles beyte,
 And the bores, with hundes teyte.*

Cf. ll. 1838, 2438. Both these diversions are mentioned by Lucianus, in his inedited tract *De laude Cestriæ*, MS. Bodl. 672, who is supposed by

Tanner to have written about A.D. 1100, but who must probably be placed near half a century later. They formed also part of the amusements of the Londoners in the 12th century, as we learn from Fitzstephen, p. 77, and are noticed in the passage above quoted from the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*. In later times, particularly during the 16th century, these cruel practices were in the highest estimation, as we learn from Holinshed, Stowe, Laneham, &c. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 192, and the plate from MS. Reg. 2. B. vii. Also Pegge's Dissertation on Bull-baiting, inserted in Vol. ii. of *Archæologia*.

8. *Ther mouthe men se hw Grim greu.* If this is to be understood of scenic representation (and we can scarcely view it in any other light), it will present one of the earliest instances on record of any attempt to represent an historical event, or to depart from the religious performances, which until a much later period were the chief, and almost only, efforts towards the formation of the drama. Of course, the words of the writer must be understood to refer to the period in which he lived, i. e. according to our supposition, about the end of Hen. III's reign, or beginning of Edw. I. See Le Grand's notes to the *Lai de Courtois*, V. i. p. 329, and Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, B. 3, ch. 2.

2344. *The feste fourti dawes sat.* Cf. l. 2950. This is borrowed also from Geoffrey, and is the usual term of duration fixed in the Romances.

Fourty dayes hy helden feste,
Ryche, ryall, and oneste.—*Octouian Imperator*, l. 73.

Fourty dayes leste the feste.—*Launfal*, l. 631.

And certaynly, as the story sayes,
The revell lasted forty dayes.

Squyr of Lowe Degre, l. 1113.

2384. The French story here differs wholly from the English. Instead of the encounter of Robert and Godard, and the cruel punishment inflicted on the latter, in the French is a regular battle between the forces of Havelok and Hodulf (Godard). A single combat takes place between the two leaders, in which Hodulf is slain.

2450. Cf. ll. 2505 and 2822. This appears to have been a common, but barbarous, method in former times of leading traitors or malefactors to execution. Thus in the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*, the treatment of the murderers of Darius is described :

He dude quyk harnesche hors,
And sette theron heore cors,
Hyndeforth they seten, saun faile ;
In heore hand they hulden theo tailles.—l. 4708.

2461. We find a similar proverb in the *Historie de Melusine, tirée des Chroniques de Poitou*, &c. 12mo. Par. 1698, in which (at p. 72) Thierry, Duke of Bretagne, says to Raimondin ;—" Vous autorisez par votre silence notre Proverbe, qui dit, *Qu'un vieux peché fait nouvelle vergogne.*"

2513. *Sket was seysed*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 971.

Après cest fet, ad receu
Le regne q'a son pierre fu.

2516. *And the king ful sone it yaf*
Vbbe in the hond, wit a fayr staf.

So in *Sir Tristrem* :

Rohant he yaf the wand,
And bad him sitte him bi,
That fre ;
' Rohant lord mak y
To held this lond of me.'—fytte i. st. 83 ; p. 52.

The editor is clearly mistaken in explaining the *wand* to be a *truncheon*, or *symbol of power*. For the custom of giving seisin or investiture *per fustim*, and *per baculum*, see Madox's *Formul. Anglican.* pref. p. ix. and Spelman, Gloss. in v. *Investire*, and *Traditio*. The same usage existed in France, *par rain et par baton*.

2521. ——— of monekes blake
A priorie to seruen inne ay.

The allusion here may be made either to the Abbey of Wellow, in Grimsby, which was a monastery of *Black Canons*, said to have been built about A.D. 1110, or (what is more probable) to the Augustine Friary of Black Monks, which is stated in the *Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby*, by the Rev. G. Oliver, to have been "founded about the year 1280," p. 110. No notice of it occurs in Tanner till the year 1304. Pat. 33 Edw. I. Some old walls of this edifice, which was dissolved in 1543, still remain, and the site is still called "The Friars." If the connection between this foundation and the one recorded in the poem be considered valid, the date of the composition must be referred to *rather* a later period than we wish to admit.

2530. The French supplies what is here omitted, viz. that Havelok sails to England by the persuasion of his wife.

[Indeed, ll. 979—1006 of the French text may serve to fill up the evident gap in the story ; a translation of the passage is added, to shew this more clearly.

Quant Haueloc est rois pussanz,
Le regne tint plus de .iiii. anz ;
Merueillos tresor i auna.
Argentille li commanda
Qu'il passast en Engleterre
Pur son heritage conquerre,
Dont son oncle l'out engettée,
[Et] A grant tort desheritée.
Li rois li dist qu'il fera
Ceo qu'ele li comandera.

When Havelok is a mighty king,
He reigned more than 4 years,
Marvellous treasure he amassed.
Argentille (Goldborough) bade him
Pass into England
To conquer her heritage,
Whence her uncle had cast her out,
And very wrongly disinherited her.
The king told her that he would do
That which she should command
him.

Sa nauie fet a-turner,

He got ready his fleet,

Ses genz & ses ostz mander.
 En mier se met quant orré a,
 Et la reyne od lui mena.
 Quatre vinz & quatre cenx
 Out Haveloc, pleines de genz.
 Tant out nagé & siglé,
 Q'en Carleflure est ariué.
 Sur le hauene se herbergerent,
 Par le pais viande quierent.

Puis enuoia li noble rois,
 Par le consail de ses Danois,
 A Alsi qu'il li rendist

La terre qe tint Ekenbright,

Q'a sa niece fut donée,
 Dont il l'out desheritée ;
 Et, si rendre n'el voleit,
 Mande qu'il le purchaceroit.
 Av roi uindrent li messager—

And sent for his men and his hosts.
 He puts to sea when he has prayed,
 And took the queen with him.
 Four score and four hundred (ships)
 Had Havelok, full of men.
 So far has he steered and sailed
 That he has arrived at Carleflure.
 Hard by the haven they abode,
 And sought food in the country
 round.

Then sent the noble king,
 By the advice of his Danes,
 To Alsi (Godrich)—that he should
 restore to him
 The land that Ekenbright (Athel-
 wold) held,

Which was given to his niece,
 And of which he had deprived her.
 And, if he would not give it up,
 He sends word that he will take it.
 To the king came the messengers.]

The remainder of the French poem altogether differs in its detail from the English.

2927. *Hire that was ful swete in bedde.*] Among Kelly's Scotch Proverbs, p. 290, we find: "*Sweet in the bed*, and sweir up in the morning, was never a good housewife;" and in a ballad of the last century quoted by Laing, the editor of that highly curious collection, the *Select pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, we meet with the same expression:

A Clown is a Clown both at home and abroad,
 When a Rake he is comely, and *sweet in his bed*.

[2990. The last word is written *thit* in the MS., but, as it rhymes to *rith*, we should suppose *tith* to be the word meant. *Thit* cannot be explained, but *tith* (or perhaps *tith*, according to our scribe's spelling) is the pp. of a verb signifying to *purpose*, which is the exact meaning required. Cf.

"And y to turne to pee have *tizt*;"

i. e. "I have resolved to turn to thee."

Political, Religious, and Love Poems; ed. Furnivall, 1866; p. 177.]

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Barb. Barbour's Bruce.—Chauc. Chaucer.—Doug. Gawin Douglas's Transl. of the Æneid.—Ellis, M. R. Ellis's Specimens of Metrical Romances.—Gl. Glossary.—Jam. Jamieson's Dictionary.—Lazam. Lazamon's Transl. of Wace (ed. Madden).—Lynds. Sir D. Lyndsay's Works.—N.E. Northern English.—Percy, A. R. Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.—P. Plowm. Piers Plowman.—R. Br. Robert of Brunne.—R. Gl. Robert of Gloucester, ed. Hearne (2nd ed. 1810).—Rits. A. S. Ritson's Ancient Songs.—Rits. M. R. Ritson's Metrical Romances.—Sc. Scotch, Scotland.—Sir Tr. Sir Tristrem.—Wall. Wallace.—Web. Weber's Metrical Romances.—Wilb. Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary.—Wynt. Wyntoun's Chronicle.—B. Lat. Barbarous Latin.—Belg. Belgic.—Fr. French.—Isl. Islandic.—Lat. Latin.—S. Saxon.—Sibb. Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.—Su. G. Suio-Gothic.—Teut. Teutonic.—*q. v.* Quod vide.—The Romances separately cited are sufficiently indicated by the Titles. The numbers refer to the line of the Poem.

It may be useful to add that the names of the Romances edited by Ritson are—vol. i. Ywaine and Gawin; Launfal.—vol. ii. Lybeaus Disconus; King Horn; King of Tars; Emare; Sir Orpheo; Chronicle of England.—vol. iii. Le bone Florence; Erle of Tolous; Squyr of Lowe Degre; Knight of Curtesy. Those edited by Weber are—vol. i. Kyng Alisaunder; Sir Cleges; Lai-le-freine.—vol. ii. Richard Cœur de Lion; Ipomydon; Amis and Amiloun.—vol. iii. Seunyn Sages; Octouian; Sir Amadas; Hunting of the Hare. Beowulf and the Codex Exoniensis are quoted from Thorpe's editions.

A, 610, 936. Apparently an error of the scribe for *Al*, but perhaps written as pronounced. N.E. and Sc. *aw*. V. Jam.

A before a noun is commonly a corruption of the S. *on*, as proved clearly by the examples in Tyrwhitt's Gl., Jam., and Gl. Lynds. *Adoun*, *q. v.* is an exception. *A-two*, 1413, 2643. See *On*.

Aboven, *prep.* S. above, 1700.

Abouten, *prep.* S. [*on-butan*] about, 521, 670, 1010, &c. *Abuten*, 2429.

Adoun, *adv.* S. down, 567.
Adune, 2735. *Doun*, 901, 925, &c.
Dun, 888, 927. *Dune*, 1815, 2656.
A.S. of-dūne.

Adrad, *part. pa.* S. afraid, 278, 1048, 1163, 1682, 2304. *Adradde*, 1787. *Adred*, 1258. *Odrat*, 1153. Sir Tr. p. 174; K. Horn, 124. See *Dred*.

Agen, *prep.* S. [*on-gean*] against, 1792. *Ageyn*, 493, 569, 2024, &c. *Ageynes*, 2153, 2270, &c. *Ayen*, 489, 1210, 2799. *Yen*, 2271. *Ageyn*, toward, 451, 1696, 1947;

- opposite to, 1809; upon, on, 1828.
Ayen, towards, 1207. *Ageyn him*
go, 934, opposite him, so as to
 bear an equal weight. *Ageyn hire*,
 1106, at her approach. *Ageyn þe*
lith, 2141, opposed to the light,
 on which the light shines. V. R.
 Gl., R. Br., Chauc., &c.
- Ageyn*, *adv.* S. again, 2426.
- Al*, *adv.* S. wholly, entirely, 34,
 70, 139, 203, &c.
- Al*, *adj.* S. all, 203, 264, &c.;
 every one, 104; every part, 224;
plu. alle, 2, 150, &c.
- Albidene*, *adv.* See *Bidene*.
- Als*, *Also*, *Also*, *conj.* S. [*eal-swá*]
 as, like, so, 306, 319, &c. *Als*,
 1912, as if. *Al so foles*, like fools,
 2100. *Als* is merely the abbrevi-
 ation of *Al so*; and the modern *as*
 is again shortened from *als*. In
Lazamon it is often written *alse*,
 as in l. 4953.
- And he hæfde a swithe god wif
 & he heo leouede *alse* his lif.
- Cf. *Havelok*, l. 1663. *Als* and *Also*
 are used indifferently, and univer-
 sally by the old English and Scotch
 poets.
- Alper-beste*, *adj.* S. best of all,
 182, 720, 1040, 1197, 2415. *Al-*
per-lest, *Alper-leste*, 1978, 2666,
 least of all. It is the gen. c. pl. of
Alle, joined to an *adj.* in the su-
 perl. degree, and is extensively em-
 ployed. *Alre-leofust*, *Alre-hendest*,
Alre-kenest, *Lazamon*, *Althe-werste*,
 K. Horn, MS. *Alder-best*, *Alder-*
most, R. Br. *Alther-best*, *Alther-*
formest, &c. Web. *Alther-furste*,
Alther-next, *Alther-last*, Rits. M.
 R. *Alder-first*, *Alder-last*, *Alder-*
lenest, Chauc. *Alder - liefest*,
 Shakesp.
- Amideward*, *prep.* S. in the
 midst, 872. *Amiddecart*, K. Horn,
 556. *Amydward*, K. Alisaund. 690.
A mydward, Ly Beaus Desc. 852.
Amydward, Doug. Virg. 137, 35.
- An*, *conj.* S. and, 29, 359, &c. So
- used by *Lazamon*, and still in
 Somersetsh. V. Jennings. *Ant*,
 36, 557, K. Horn, 9, &c.
- And*, *conj. if*, 2862.
- Andelong*, *adv.* S. lengthways,
 i. e. from the head to the tail,
 2822.
- Ovyrtwart* and *endelang*
 With strenges of wyr the stones
 hang.—R. *Cœur de Lion*, 2649.
- Chauc. *endelong*, C. T. 1993.
- Anilepi*, *adj.* S. [*ánlepig*] one, a
 single, 2107. *Onlepi*, 1094. In the
 very curious collection of poems
 in MS. Digb. 86 (written in the
 Lincolnshire dialect, temp. Edw.
 I.) we meet with this somewhat
 rare word:
- A! quod the vox, ich wille the telle,
On alpi word ich lie nelle.
- Of the vox and of the wolf* (Rel.
 Ant. ii. 275).
- It occurs also in the *Ormulum*.
- Anoþer*, *adj.* S. *Al another*, 1395,
 in a different way, on another pro-
 ject.
- Ah al hit iwrath on *other*
 Sone ther after.
- Lazamon*, l. 21005.
- Ac* *Florice* thought al *another*.
Flor. and Blauncheff. ap. Ellis,
 M. R. V. 3, p. 125, ed. 1803.
 (Cf. *Horn*, ed. Lumby, p. 52,
 l. 32.)
- Anuye*, *v.* Fr. to trouble, weary,
 1735; R. Gl., K. Alisaund. 876;
 Chauc. *Melibeus*. *Noye*, Lynds.
 Gl. q. v.
- Are*, *adj.* S. former, 27. Cf. *are*,
adv., Sir Tr. p. 32; Rits. M. R.,
 Web., R. Gl., R. Br., Minot, p. 31.
Air, *Ayr*, Sc. V. Jam. See *Er*, *Or*.
- Aren*, 1 and 3 *p. pl.* S. are, 619,
 1321, &c. *Arn*, Chauc.
- Arke*, *n.* S. Lat. a chest or coffer,
 2018. R. Br., Jam.
- Armes*, *n. pl.* Lat. arms, armor,
 2605, 2613, 2925.
- Arum* for *Arm*, 1982, 2408.

Arwe, S. [*earg*] timid, 2115.

Alter the punctuation, and read—
He calde boþe arwe men and kene,
Knithes and serganz swiþe sleie.

"Arwe or ferefulle. *Timidus*."

Prompt. Parv. Cf. Stille, q. v.

As for Has, 1174.

Asayleden, *pa. t. pl.* Fr. assailed, 1862.

Asken, *n. pl.* S. ashes, 2841.

Aske, R. Gl. *Askas*, R. Br. *Ashen*,
Chauc. *Assis*, Doug.

Astirte, *pa. t.* leaped, 893. *Astert*,
King's Quair, ap. Jam. See Stirt.

At, *prep.* S. of or to, 1387. Yw.
and Gaw. (Rits.) 963. Still ex-
isting in Scotland.

At-sitte, *v.* S. contradict, oppose,
2200. It corresponds with the term
with-sitten, 1683. In R. Gl. it is
used synonymously with *at-stonde*.

For ther nas so god knygt non no
-wer a-boute France,

That in joustes scholde *at-sitte* the
dynt of ys lance.—p. 137.

See Sat.

Aucte, Auchte, Auhte, Authe, *n.*
S. possessions, 531, 1223, 1410,
2215.

And alle the *æhten* of mine londe.
Lazamon, l. 25173.

Aughtte, K. Alisaund. 6884. *Aucht*,
Doug. Virg. 72, 4; Lynds. Gl.

Aucte, Auht, Auhte, *v. imp.*
(originally *pa. t.* of Aw, or Owe)
S. [*agan, ahte*] ought, 2173, 2787,
2800. *Aught*, Sir Tr. p. 44. *Ohte*,
K. Horn, 418. *Aght*, Yw. and
Gaw. 3229. *Aute*, R. Gl. *Aught*,
Chauc. Troil. 3, 1801. *Aucht*,
Doug. Virg. 110, 33.

Aute, Awcte, (*pa. t.* of the same
verb), possessed, 207, 743. *Aught*,
Sir Tr. p. 182. Ly Beaus Desc.
1027. *Oght*, Le bone Flor. 650.
Auht, R. Br. p. 126; Wynt., Lynds.
Gl.

Aueden. See Haudeden.

Aunlaz, *n.* Anelace, 2554. "A

kind of knife or dagger, usually
worn at the girdle." Tyrw. note
on Chauc. l. 359. So in Matth.
Paris, "Genus cultelli, quod vul-
gariter *Anelacius* dicitur." V. Gl.
in voc. and Todd's Gl. to Illustr. of
Chauc. In *Sir Gawan and Sir*
Galan, ii. 4, an *anlas* signifies a
sharp spike fixed in the chanfron
of a horse. Probably from the
Francic *Anelaz*, *Analeze*. V. Jam.

Auter, *n.* Fr. Lat. altar, 389,
1386, 2373. Sir Tr. p. 61, Octo-
vian, 1312, R. Br., Chauc. *Auter*,
Barb.

Ax, *n.* S. axe, 1776, 1894.

Ay, *adv.* S. ever, aye, always,
159, 946, 1201, &c. *Ae*, Sc. V.
Jam.

Ayen. See Agen.

Ayþer, *pron.* S. [*Ægþer*] either,
each, 2665. *Eþer*, 1882. *Athir*,
Sc. V. Jam. See Other.

Awe, *v.* S. to owe, own, possess,
1292. It may also very possibly be
a corruption of *Have*. Cf. ll. 1188,
1298.

Bac, *n.* S. back, 1844, 1950, &c.;
backes, *pl.* 2611.

Baldelike, *adv.* S. boldly, 53.
Baldeliche, R. Glouc. *Baldely*, R.
Br., Minot, p. 20.

Bale, *n.* S. sorrow, misery, 327.

Bar. See Beren.

Baret, *n.* (O. Fr. *barat*, Isl. *bar-atta*) contest, hostile contention,
1932.

Ther nis *baret*, nothir strif,
Nis ther no deth, ac euer lif.

Land of Cockayne, ap. Hickes,
Thes. 1, p. 231.

In alle this *barette* the kyng and
Sir Symon Tille a loking tham
sette, of the prince suld it be don.

R. Brunne, p. 216. Cf. p. 274.

That mekill bale and *barete* till
Ynglande sall brynge. *Awntyrs*
of *Arthure*, st. 23.

Barfot, *adj.* S. barefoot, 862.

Barnage, *n.* Fr. barons or noble-men collectively, baronage, 2947. Yw. and Gaw. 1258. Web. Doug. Virg. 314, 48.

Barre, *n.* Fr. bar of a door, 1794, 1811, 1827. Synonymous with Dore-tre, *q. v.* Chauc. C. T. 552.

Barw. *See* Berwen.

Bape, *adj.* S. both, 1336, 2543. *Bethe*, 694, 1680.

Be. *See* Ben.

Be-bedde, *v.* S. to provide with a bed, 421.

Bede, *n.* S. prayer, 1385.

Bede, *v.* S. to order, to bid, 668, 2193, 2396; to offer, 1665, 2084, 2172. *Beden*, *pa. t. pl.* offered, 2774, 2780. *Bedes*, bids, 2392. Of common occurrence in both senses. *See* Bidd.

Bedden, *v.* S. to bed, put to bed, 1235. *Bedded*, *Beddeth*, *part. pa.* put to bed, 1128, 2771.

Bedels, *n. pl.* S. beadles, 266, V. Spelm. in v. *Bedellus*, and Blount, *Joc. Ten.* p. 120, ed. 1784.

Beite, Beyte, *v.* to bait, to set dogs on, 1840, 2330, 2440. *Bayte*, R. Br. From the Isl. *Beita*, incitare; Su. Goth. *Beita biorn*, to bait the bear. V. Jam. and Thomson's Etymons.

Bem. *See* Sunne-bem.

Ben, *v.* S. to be, 19, 905, 1006, &c. *Ben*, *pr. t. pl.* are, 1787, 2559. *Be*, *Ben*, *part. pa.* been, 1428, 2799. *Bes*, *Beth*, *imp.* and *fut.* be, shall be, 1261, 1744, 2007, 2246. *Lat be*, 1265, 1657, leave, relinquish, a common phrase in the Old Romances. *Lat abee*, Sc. V. Jam.

Benes, *n. pl.* S. beans, 769.

Beneysun, *n.* Fr. blessing, benediction, 1723. R. Br., Web., Chauc. C. T. 9239. Lynds. Gl.

Bere, *n.* S. bear, 573, 1838, 1840, 2448.

Bere, Beren, *v.* S. to bear, to carry, 581, 762, 805. *Ber*, 2557; *Bar*, *pa. t.* bore, 557, 815, 877. *Bere*, 974. *Beres*, *pr. t. pl.* bear, 2323.

Bermen, *n. pl.* S. bar-men, porters to a kitchen, 868, 876, 885. The only author in which this term has been found is Lazamon, in the following passages:

Vs selve we habbet cokes,
to quecchen to cuchene,
Vs sulue we habbet *bermen*,
& birles inowe.—l. 3315.

Weoren in þeos kinges cuchene
twa hundred cokes,
& ne mæi na man tellen
for alle þa *bermunnen*.—l. 8101.

Bern, *n.* S. child, 571. *Barn*, *bearne*, R. Br. *Bairn*, Sc.

Berwen, *v.* S. [*beorgan*] to defend, preserve, guard, 697, 1426; *burwe*, 2870. *Barw*, *pa. t.* 2022, 2679. The original word is found in Beowulf:

Scyld-weall gebearg
Líf and líce.
(The shield-wall defended
Life and body).—l. 5134.

So in K. Horn, MS. Laud. 108.

At more ich wile the serue,
And fro sorwe the *berwe*.—f. 224b,
c. 2.

Bes. *See* Ben.

Bes for Best, 354.

Best, Beste, *n.* Fr. beast, 279, 574, 944, 2691.

Bete, *v.* S. [*beátan*] to beat, fight, 1899, 2664, 2763. *Beten*, *pa. t. pl.* beat, struck, 1876. Chauc. C. T. 4206, to which Tyrwh. gives a Fr. derivation.

Betere, *adv. comp.* S. better, 1758.

Beye, *v.* S. to buy, 53, 1654. *Byen*, 1625.

- Beyes, *pr. t.* for Abeyes, S. suffers, or atones for, 2460.
 His deth thou *bist* to night,
 Mi fo. *Sir Tristr.* p. 146.
 We shulden alle deye
 Thy fader deth to *beye*.
K. Horn, 113.
 An of yow schall *bye* thys blunder.
Le bone Flor. 1330.
 See Jam. in v. Aby. Web. Gl. and
 Lynds. Gl.; also Nares, v. Bye.
- Bicomen, *pa. t. pl.* became, 2257;
part. pa. become, 2264. *Bicomes*,
imp. pl. become (ye), 2303.
- Bidd, Bidde, v. S. offer, 484,
 2530; order, bid, 529, 1733. *Ut*
bidde, 2548, order out. *Biddes*,
pr. t. bids, orders, 1232. *Bidde*,
 to ask, 910. R. Glouc., Lynds.
 Gl. See Bede.
- Bidene, *adv.* forthwith, 730,
 2841.
 "Rohand told anon
 His aventours *al bidene*."
Sir Tr. p. 45.
 From Du. *bij dien*, by that.
- Bifalle, v. S. to happen, befall,
 2981. Bifel, *pa. t.* 824. *Fel*, 1009;
 appertained, 2359.
- Biforn, *prep.* S. (1) before, 1022,
 1034, 1364, &c.; *bifor*, 1357; *bifo-*
ren, 1695; (2) in front of, 2406;
bifor, 1812.
- Bigan, *pa. t.* began, 1357. *Bi-*
gunnen, *pl.* 1011, 1302. *Biginnen*,
pr. t. pl. begin, 1779.
- Bihalue, v. S. to divide into two
 parts, or companies, 1834. *Halue*
 occurs as a noun in Chauc. Troil.
 4, 945.
- Bihel for Beheld, 1645. *Bihel-*
den, *pa. t. pl.* beheld, 2148.
- Bihetet, *pa. t.* S. promised, 677.
Bihight, *Sir Tr.* p. 105. *Behet*, *Bi-*
het, R. Gl. *Be-hette*, R. Br. *Be-*
hete, Web., Rits. M. R. *Behighte*,
 Chauc.
- Bihoten, *part. pa.* promised, 564.
Behighte, Chauc.
- Bihoue, n. S. behoof, advantage,
 1764. R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc.
- Bikenneth, *pa. t.* S. betokens,
 1268. *Bikenne*, R. Br.
- Bileue, *imp.* tarry, remain, 1228.
Bilefte, *pa. t.* remained, 2963. From
 v. S. *belifan*, to be left behind.
 Winde thai hadde as thai wolde,
 A lond *bilast* he.
Sir Tristr. p. 29. Cf. pp. 38, 60.
 He schal wip me *bileue*,
 Til hit beo nir euc.
K. Horn, ed. Lumby, 363.
 Horn than, withouten lesing,
Bilast at hom for blode-leteing.
Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R. V.
 3, p. 298.
 Sojourn with us evermo,
 I rede thee, son, that it be so.
 Another year thou might over-fare,
 But thou *bileve*, I die with care.
Guy of Warw. ap. Ellis, M. R.
 V. 2, p. 23.
- See also the Gl. to R. Gl., R. Br.
 and Web., to which add *Emare*,
 496, and Gower, Conf. Am. This
 is sufficient authority for the read-
 ing adopted in the text, and it
 may hence be reasonably ques-
 tioned, whether *bilened* in Lye, and
belenes in *Sir Gawan* and *Sir Ga-*
loran, i. 6, quoted by Jamieson in
 v. Belene, be not the fault of the
 scribe, or of the Editors.
- Bimene, v. S. mean, 1259.
- Binden, v. S. to bind, 1961.
 Used passively, 2820, as *Bynde*, 42.
Bounden, *pa. t. pl.* 2442. *Bunden*,
 2506. *Bounden*, *part. pa.* 545.
Bunden, 1428.
- Binne, *adv.* S. within, 584. *Byn*,
 Rits. M. R. *But and ben*, Doug.,
 Virg., 123, 40; without and with-
 in. V. Jam., in v. Ben.
- Birde. See Birþe.
- Birþe (should rather be birþ),
 3 p. s. pres. it behoves, 2101.
 Hence birde, 3 p. s. pt. t. behoved,
 2761. A. S. *byrian*, *gebýrian*, to fit,
 suit, be to one's taste. See *Buren*
 in Stratmann.

Birpene, *n.* S. burden, 900, 902.

Bise, *n.* Fr. a north wind. *Bise* *traverse*, a north-west or north-east wind. *Cotgr.*

Après grant joie vient grant ire,
Et après Noel vent bise.

Rom. de Renart, 13648.

The term is still in common use.

Biseken, *v.* S. to beseech, 2994.

Biswike, *part. pa.* S. cheated, deceived, 1249.

Hu þu biswikest

Monine mon.

Lazam. l. 3412.

Byswike, K. Horn, 296; Yw. and Gaw. 2335. *Bisuike*, R. Br. *Beswyke*, R. Cœur de L. 5918.

Bitaken, *v.* S. [*bitécan*, *técan*]

to commit, deliver, give in charge, 1226. *Bitechen*, 203, 384, 395.

Bi-teche, *pr. sing.* 384; *imp. sing.* 395. *Lazam.* 5316. *Bitake*, Sir Tr. p. 87. *Byteche*, K. Horn, 577.

Biteche, Web. *Betake*, *Beteche*, Chauc., Barb., Wall. *Bitauhte*, *pa. t.* delivered, 206, 558. *Bitauhte*, 2212, 2317, 2957. *Bitawchte*, 1224.

Bitawte, 1408. *Tauhte*, 2214. *Bitæht*, *Bitachet*, *Lazam.* *Bitaught*, Sir Tr. p. 85. *Bitoke*, K. Horn, 1103. *Betok*, Ly Beaus Desc. 82.

Betauht, *bitauht*, *tauht*, *biteched*, R. Br. *Bitake*, R. Gl. *Betake*, Sir Guy. *Betaught*, Chauc. *Betaucht*, Doug., Lynds.

Bite, *v.* S. to taste, drink, 1731.

Horn toc hit hise yfere,
Ant seide, Quene, so dere,
No beer nullich bite,
Bote of coppe white.

K. Horn (Ritson), 1129.

Bip for By the, 474. Cf. l. 2470.

Bituene, Bitwenen, Bitwene, *prep.* S. between, 748, 2668, 2967.

Blac, *adj.* S. black, 555, 1008. *Pl. Blake*, 1909, 2181, &c.

Blakne, *v.* S. to blacken in the face, grow angry, 2165.

And Arthur sæt ful stille,
ænne stunde he wes blac,
and on heuwe swithe wak,
ane while he wes reod.

Lazam. l. 19887.

Tho Normans were sorie, of con-
tenance gan blaken.

R. Brunne, p. 183.

Blawe, *v.* S. to blow, 587. *Blou*, *imp. blow*, 585.

Blede, *v.* S. to bleed, 2403.

Bleike, *pl. adj.* bleak, pale, wan, 470. A.S. *blác*, bleak, Su.-G. *blek*.

Blenkes, *n. pl.* blinks, winks of the eye, in derision, 307. R. Br. p. 270; Sc. V. Jam. Suppl. Derived from S. *blican*, Su.-G. *blænka*, Belg. *blencken*, to glance. See Gl. Lynds.

Blinne, *v. n.* S. to cease, 2367, 2374. Sir Tr. p. 26; Rits. M. R. Web., R. Gl., Chauc.; so in Sc. V. Jam. Gl. Lynds. *Blinne*, *pa. t. pl.* ceased, 2670. *Blinneth*, *pr. t.* ceases, 329.

Blissed, *part. pa.* S. blessed, 2873.

Blipe, *adj.* S. happy, 632, 651.

Blome, *n.* S. bloom, flower, 63.

Bloute, *adj.* soft, 1910. Sw. *blöt*, soft, pulpy.

Bode, *n.* S. command, 2200, 2567. Sir Tr. p. 121, Web.

Bok, *n.* S. book, 1173, 1418, &c. See Messe-bok.

Bole, *n.* [Isl. *bolli*, W. *bwla*. Cf. A.S. *bulluca*] bull, 2438. *Boles*, *pl.* 2330.

Bon, Bone. See O-bone.

Bondemen, *n. pl.* S. husbandmen, 1016, 1308. R. Gl.

Bone, *n.* S. [*bén*] boon, request, 1659. Sir Tr. p. 31, and all the Gloss.

Bor, *n.* S. boar, 1867, 1989. *Bores*, *pl.* 2331.

Bord, *n.* S. (1) table, 1722, K. Horn, 259; Rits. M. R., Web.,

- Chauc.; (2) a board, 2106. *See* the note on l. 2076.
- Boren, *part. pa.* S. born, 1878.
- Boru, *n.* S. borough, 773, 847, 1014, 1757, 2086, 2826. *Borwes*, *pl.* 1293, 1444, 1630. *Burwes*, 55, 2277. Sir Tr. pp. 12, 99. Chalmers is certainly mistaken when he says it does not signify *boroughs*, but *castles*. Introd. Gl. p. 200. In *Lazamon* the word is always clearly distinguished from *castle*, as it is in many other writers. V. Spelm. in v. *Burgus*.
- Bote, *adv.* S. but, only, 721. *See* But.
- Bote, *n.* S. remedy, help, 1200. *Lazam.*, Sir Tr. p. 93; Web., Rits. M. R., Rob. Gl., R. Br., Minot, Chauc., Doug., Lynds. Gl.
- Bopen, *adj. pl.* S. both, 173, 697, 958; *g. c.* of both, 2223.
- Bounden, Bunden. *See* Binden.
- Bour, Boure, Bowr, *n.* S. [*búr*] chamber, 239, 2072, 2076, &c. In *Beowulf* the apartment of the women is called *Bryd-bur*; l. 1846. Ygarne beh to *bure* & lætte bed him makien. *Lazam.* l. 19042.
- Honder hire *boures* wowe, K. Horn, 982, MS., where Rits. Ed. reads *chambre wowe*. Cf. Sir Tr. p. 114; Rits. M. R., Web., R. Br., Doug., V. Jam. *See* note on l. 2076.
- Bouthe, *pa. t.* S. bought, 875, 968. Cf. Sir Tr. p. 104.
- Bouth, *part. pa.* bought, 883.
- Boyes, *n. pl.* S. boys, men, 1899.
- Brayd, *pa. t.* S. (1) started, 1282. Chauc., Gaw. and Gal. iii. 21; R. Hood, ii. p. 83; (2) drew out, 1825, a word particularly applied to the action of drawing a sword from the scabbard. Sone his sweord he ut *abreïd*. *Lazam.* l. 26533.
- Cf. Am. and Amil. 1163; Sir Ferumbbras, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 387. Rauf Coilzeor, ap. Laing, and Wall. i. 223.
- Brede, *n.* S. bread, 98. *Bred*, 1879.
- Breken, *v.* S. to break, 914. *Broken*, *pa. t. pl.* broke, 1238.
- Brennen, Brenne, *v.* S. to burn, 916, 1162; Rits. M. R., Rob. Gl., R. Br., Chauc. *Brenden*, *pa. t. pl.* burnt, 594, 2125. *Brend*, *part. pa.* burnt, 2832, 2841, &c. Sir Tr. p. 93.
- Brenne. *See* On brenne.
- Brigge, *n.* S. bridge, 875. Sir Tr. p. 148. Still used in Sc. and N. E.
- Brihte. *See* Brith.
- Brim, *adj.* S. furious, raging, 2233; R. Br. p. 244; Chauc. Rom. Rose, 1836. *Breme*, Rits. M. R. It originally signified the sea itself, and was afterwards used for the raging of the sea, *Beowulf*, l. 56; Compl. of Scotland, p. 62. V. Jam.
- Bringe, Bringen, *v.* S. to bring, 72, 185, &c.
- Brini, Brinie, *n.* S. [Mæso-Goth. *brunjo*] cuirass, 1775, 2358, 2551. *Brinies*, *pl.* 2610. Sir Tr. p. 20. *Burne*, *Lazam.* *Brenye*, K. Horn, 719, MS. *See* Merrick's Gl. to Ess. on Anc. Armor. The *Brini* then worn was of *mail*, as appears from l. 2740, *Of his brinie ringes mo*. Hence in *Beowulf* it is termed *Breostnet*, l. 3100; *Here-net*, 3110; *Hringedbyrne*, 2495. So in the French K. Horn, MS. Douce, *Mes vnc de sun halberc muele ne falsa*. *See* Rits. Gl. M. R.
- Brisen, *v.* S. to bruise, beat, 1835. *See* To-Brised.
- Brith, *adj.* S. bright, 589, 605, &c. *Brihte*, 2610. *Bryth*, 1252. *Brithter*, *comp.* brighter, 2141.
- Brittene, *part. pa.* S. destroyed, 2700; R. Br. p. 244. *Pistill of Sussan*, ap. Laing. In Doug., Virg. pp. 76, 5; 296, 1, the verb has the sense of *to kill*, which it

- may also bear here. See *Bruten* in *Will. of Palerne*.
- Brod*, *adj.* S. broad, 1647.
- Broucte*, *pa. t. and pp.* brought, 767. *Brouht*, 1979. *Broute*, 2868. *Browth*, 336, 64. *Browt*, 2412. *Browth*, 2052. *Brouct of line*, 513, 2412, dead. *Brouthen*, *pl.* brought, 2791.
- Brouke*, 1 *p. pres. sing.* S. brook, enjoy, use, 311, 1743, 2545 (cf. *Ch. Non. Pr. Ta.* 480).
So *brouke* thou thi croune!
K. Horn, 1041.
- Cf. *Rits. Gl. M. R.*, Rich. C. de Lion, 4578; *Chauc. C. T.* 10182, 15306, R. Hood, V. i. 48, II. 112; *Lynds. Gl. Percy*, A. R. In *Sc. Bruike*. With these numerous instances before him, it is inconceivable how Jamieson, except from a mere love of his own system, should write: 'There is no evidence that the Engl. *brook* is used in this sense, signifying only to bear, to endure.'
- Broys*, *n.* S. broth, 924. *Brouwys*, R. Cœur de L. 3077; *Sc. V. Jam.* and Brockett's North country words, v. *Brewis*; also *Nares. Sc. brose*.
- Brune*, *adj. pl.* S. brown, 2181, 2249.
- Bulder*, *adj. or n.* 1790. In the north a *Boother* or *Boulder*, is a hard flinty stone, rounded like a bowl. Brockett's *Gl.* So also in *Grose*, *Boulder*, a large round stone. *Boulders*, Marsh. Midl. Count. *Gl.* The word has a common origin with Isl. *ballaðr*, Fr. *boulet*, *Sc. boule*, in *Doug. V. Jam.*
- Bunden*. See *Binden*.
- Burgeys*, *n.* S. burgess, 1328. *Burgeis*, 2466, *pl.* 2012. *Burgmen*, 2049. *Burhmen*, *Borkmen*, *Lazamon.*, V. *Spelm.* in v. *Burgarii*.
- Burwe*. See *Berwen*.
- Burwes*. See *Boru*.
- But*, *Bute*, *conj.* S. except, unless, 85, 690, 1149, 1159, 2022, 2031, 2727. *But on*, 535, 962, except. *Butand*, *Sc.* *But yf*, 2972, unless. [It should be noted that *but* on should properly be one word, being the A. S. *búton* or *bútan*, except. But it is written as two words in the MS.]
- But*, *n.* 1040. Probably the same as *Put*, q. v. The word *Bout* is derived from the same source.
- But*, *part. pa.* contended, struggled with each other (or perhaps struck, thrust, pushed), 1916. *Buttinge*, *part. pr.* striking against with force, 2322. From the Fr. *Bouter*, Belg. *Botten*, to impel, or drive forward. V. *Jam. Suppl.* in v. *Butte*, and *Butt* in *Wedgwood*.
- Butte*, *n.* a flounder or plaice, 759. *Du. bot.* See *Halliwell*.
- Byen*. See *Beye*.
- Bynde*. See *Binden*.
- Bynderes*, *n. pl.* S. binders, robbers who bind, 2050.
- Caliz*, *n.* S. chalice, 187, 2711.
Lunet than riche relikes toke,
The *chalis* and the mes boke.
Iw. and Gaw. 3907.
- Callen*, *v.* S. to call, 747, 2899.
- Cam*. See *Komen*.
- Canst*, *pr. t.* S. knowest, 846. *Cone*, 622, *canst. Kunne*, *pl.* 435. V. *Gl. Chauc.* in v. *Conne*. *Jam.* and *Gl. Lynds.* See *Couthe*.
- Carl*, *n.* S. churl, slave, villain, 1789. *Cherl*, 682, 684, 2533. *Cherles*, *g. c.* churl's, 1092. *Cherles*, *pl.* villains, bondsmen, 262, 620. *Sir Tr.* p. 39; V. *Spelm.* in v. *Ceorlus*, and *Jam.* and *Gl. Lynds.*
- Casten*. See *Kesten*.
- Catel*, *n.* Fr. chattels, goods, 225, 2023, 2515, 2906, 2939. *Web. Gl.*, R. Br., P. *Flowm.*, *Chauc.*
- Nowe* hath *Beuis* the treasure wone,
Through *Arundell* that *wyll runne*,

Wherefore with that and other *catel*,
He made the castle of Arundel.

Syr Bevy's, O. iii.

Cauenard, *n.* Fr. [*cagnard caignard*] a term of reproach, originally derived from the Lat. *canis*, 2389.
V. Roquef. Menage.

This crokede *caynard* sore he is adred.
Rits. A.S. p. 36.

Sire *olde kaynard*, is this thin aray?
Chauc. C. T. 5817.

Cayser, Caysere, *n.* Lat. emperor,
977, 1317, 1725. *Kaysere*, 353.

Cerges, *n. pl.* Fr. wax tapers, 594.
Serges, 2125. Chauc. Rom. R. 6251; V. Le Grand. *Vie privée des F.*; V. 3, p. 175.

Chaffare, *n.* S. merchandise, 1657.
R. Cœur de L. 2468, R. Gl., Sir Ferumbras, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 412, Chauc., R. Hood, I. 87.
Chaffery, Sc. V. Lynds. Gl.

Cham for Came, 1873.

Chanbioun, *n.* Fr. champion,
1007. Sir Tr. p. 97. *Chaunpiouns*,
pl. 1015, 1031, 1055; V. Spelm.
in *v. Campio*. Cf. A.S. *cempa*.

Chapmen, *n. pl.* S. merchants,
51, 1639; R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc.
In Sc. pedlars. V. Jam., and Gl.
Lynds.

Charbucle, *n.* Fr. Lat. a carbuncle,
2145. *Charbocle*, Syr Bevy's. *Char-*
bokull, Le bone Flor. 390. *Char-*
boucle, Chauc. C. T. 13800. *Char-*
bukill, Doug. Virg. 3, 10.

Cherl. See Carl.

Chesen, *v.* S. to choose, select,
2147. Sir Tr. p. 27; K. Horn,
666; Rits. M. R., Web., R. Br.,
Chauc., V. Jam. in *v. Cheis*.

Chinche, *adj.* Fr. niggardly,
penurious, 1763, 2941.

Bothe he was scars, and *chinche*.

The Sevy'n Sages, 1244.

So in Chauc. Rom. Rose, 5998,
and Gower, *Conf. Am.* 109 b.

Chiste, *n.* S. Lat. chest, 222.

Kiste, 2018. *Kist*, Yorksh. and
Sc.; V. Jam. and Lynds. Gl.

Citte, *pa. t.* S. cut, 942. *Kit*,
Web. M. R. *Kyt*, Syr Eglam. B.
iv. *Kette*, Syr Bevy's, C. iii. So
Chauc. C. T. 6304.

Claddes, *pa. t.* 2 *p.* S. claddest,
2907.

Clapte, *pa. t.* S. struck, 1814,
1821.

Clare, *n.* Fr. spiced wine, 1728.
See Claret in Prompt. Parv.

Clef, *pa. t.* S. cleft, 2643, 2730.

Cleue, *n.* S. dwelling, 557, 596.
A.S. *cleofa*.

Cleuen, *v.* S. to cleave, cut, 917.

Clothe, Clothen, *v.* S. to clothe,
1138, 1233. In l. 1233, Garnett
suggests that *cloþen* may be a *nom.*
pl. = clothes. If so, *dele* the
comma after it.

Clutes, *n. pl.* S. clouts, shreds of
cloth, 547. *Clottys*, Huntynge of the
hare, 92. Cf. Chauc. C. T. 9827,
and *Clut* in Bosworth.

Clyueden, *pa. t. pl.* S. cleaved,
fastened, 1300.

Cok, *n.* Lat. cook, 967. *Kok*,
903, 921, 2898. *Cokes*, *Kokes*, *g. c.*
cook's, 1123, 1146.

Comen, Comes, Cometh. See
Kömen.

Cone. See Canst.

Conestable, *n.* Fr. constable, 2286.
Conestables, *pl.* 2366.

Conseyl, *n.* Fr. counsel, 2862.

Copes. See Kope.

Corporaus, *n.* Fr. Lat. the fine
linen wherein the sacrament is put,
183; Cotgr. V. Du Cange, and
Jam. in *v. Corporale*.

After the relics they send;
The *corporas*, and the mass-gear,
On the bandom [halidom?] they
gun swear,

With wordes free and hend.

Guy of Warw. ap. Ellis,
M. R. V. 2, p. 77.

- Corune, *n.* Lat. crown, 1319, 2944.
- Coruning, *n.* Lat. coronation, 2948.
- Cote, *n.* S. cot, cottage, 737, 1141.
- Couel, *n.* coat, garment, 768, 858, 1144. *Cuuel*, 2904. *Köuel*, 964. The word is connected with A.S. *cufle*, *cugele*, a cowl.
- Couere, *v.* Fr. to recover, 2040. And prayde to Marie bryght, *Kevere* hym of hys care. *Iy Beaus Desc.* 1983. Hyt wolde *covyr* me of my care. *Erl of Tol.* 381.
- Coupe, *v.* buy, buy dearly, get in exchange, 1800. Icel. *kaupa*.
- Couth. *See* Quath.
- Coupe, *pa. t.* of Conne, *v. aux.* S. knew, was able, could, 93, 112, 194, 750, 772. *Koupen*, *pl.* 369. More he *coulhe* of veneri, Than *coulhe* Manerious. *Sir Tristr.* p. 24. *See* Canst.
- Crake, Crakede. *See* Kraken.
- Crauede, *pa. t.* S. craved, asked, 633.
- Crice, *n.* explained to mean *rima podicis* in Coleridge's Glossarial Index, 2450. Cf. A.S. *crecca*. Icel. *kryki*, a corner. In Barb. x. 602, *crykes* is used for *angles*, corners. *See* Krike.
- Crist, *n.* Lat. Gr. Christ, 16, &c. *Cristes*, *g. c.* 153. *Kristes*, 2797.
- Croiz, *n.* Fr. Lat. cross, 1263, 1268, 1358, &c. *Croice*, *Sir Tr.* p. 115.
- Croud, *part. pa.* crowded, oppressed (?) 2338. K. Alisaund, 609. Cf. A.S. *crydan*, *p. p.* *gecróden*.
- Croun, Croune, *n.* Fr. crown, head, 568, 902, 2657. *Crune*, 1814, 2734. *Fykenildes crowne* He fel ther doune. *K. Horn*, 1509.
- Cf. K. of Tars, 631; Le bone Flor. 92, and Erl of Tol. 72.
- Cruhssse. *See* To-cruhssse.
- Crus, brisk, nimble, 1966. It is the Sw. *krus*, excitable, Sc. *crouse*. *See* *Crouse* in Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary.
- Cunrriche, *n.* S. kingdom, 2318. *Kinneriche*, 976. *Kuneriche*, 2400. *Kunerike*, 2804. *Kunrik*, 2143. In the last instance it means *a mark of royalty, or monarchy*. Web. *Kyngriche*, *Kynryche*.
- Curt, *n.* Fr. court, 1685.
- Curteys, Curteyse, *adj.* Fr. courteous, 2875, 2916.
- Cuuel. *See* Couel.
- Dam, *n.* 2468, here used in a reproachful sense, but apparently from the same root as the Fr. *Dam*, *Damp*, *Dan*, and *Don*, i.e. from *Dominus*.
- Dame, *n.* Fr. Lat. mistress, lady, 558, 1717. V. Gl. Chauc.
- Danshe, *n. pl.* Danish men, 2689, 2945, &c. *See* Denshe.
- Datheit, *interj.* 296, 300, 926, 1125, 1887, 1914, 2047, 2447, 2511. *Datheyit*, 1799, 1995, 2604, 2757. An interjection or imprecation, derived from the Fr. *Deshait*, *dehait*, *dehet*, explained by Barbazan and Roquefort, *affliction, malheur*; [possibly from *hair*, to hate]. It may be considered equivalent to Cursed! Ill betide! In the old Fabliaux it is used often in this sense:
Fils à putain, fet-il, lechiere,
Vo joglerie m'est trop chiere,
Dehait qui vous i aporta,
Par mon chief il le comparra.
De S. Pierre et du Jogleor, 381.
- The term was very early engrafted on the Saxon phraseology. Thus in the *Disputation of Ane Hule and a Niztingale*, l. 99.
Dahet habbe that ilke best,
That fuleth his owe nest!

- It occurs also frequently in the Old English Romances. *See* Sir Tristr. pp. 111, 191; Horn Childe, ap. Rits. V. 3, p. 290; Amis and Amil. 1569; Sevyng Sages, 2395; R. Brunne, where it is printed by Hearne *Dayet*. To this word, in all probability, we are indebted for the modern imprecation of *Dase you! Dise you! Dash you!* still preserved in many counties, and in Scotland. V. Jam. Suppl. v. *Dash you*.
- Dawes, *n. pl.* S. days, 27, 2344, 2950. *Days*, 2353.
- Ded, Dede, *n.* S. death, 149, 167, 332, 1687, 2719, &c.
- Ded, *part. pa.* S. dead, 2007.
- Dede, *n.* S. deed, action, 1356.
- Dede, Deden, Dedes. *See* Do.
- Deide. *See* Deye.
- Del, *n.* S. deal, part, 218, 818, 1070, &c. Web., R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc. *Deil*, Sc. V. Jam.
- Deled, *part. pa.* S. distributed, 1736. *See* To-deyle.
- Demen, *v.* S. to judge, pass judgment, 2467. *Deme*, *Demen*, *pr. t. pl.* judge, 2476, 2812. *Demden*, *pa. t. pl.* judged, 2820, 2833. *Demd*, *part. pa.* judged, 2488, 2765, 2833.
- Denshe, *adj.* Danish, 1403, 2575, 2693. *See* Danshe.
- Deplike, *adj.* S. deeply, 1417. Synonymous with *Grundlike*, q. v.
- Dere, *n.* S. dearth, scarcity, 824, 841. R. Gl. p. 416.
- Dere, *adv.* S. dearly, 1637, 1638.
- Dere, *v.* S. to harm, injure, 490, 574, 806, 2310. *Dereth*, *pr. t.* injures, 648. K. Horn, 148; R. Br. p. 107; K. of Tars, 192; Chauc. *Deir*, Sc. Doug. Virg. 413, 52; Lynds. Gl.
- Dere, *adj.* S. dear, 1637, 2170, &c.
- Deuel, *n.* S. devil, 446, 496, 1188. *Deueles*, *g. c.* devil's, 1409.
- Deus. This is undoubtedly the vocative case of the Lat. *Deus*, used as an interjection, 1312, 1650, 1930, 2096, 2114. "Its use was the same in French as in English. Thus in King Horn:
- Enuers Deu en sun quer a fait grant clamur,
Ohi, *Deus!* fait il, ki es uerrai creatur,
Par ki deuise, &c.
- Harl. MS.* 527, f. 66 b. c. 2.
- It was probably introduced into the English language by the Normans, and its pronunciation remained the same as in the French. And gradde 'as armes,' for *Douce Mahons!*—K. *Alisaunder*, 3674.
- It is curious to remark, that we have here the evident and simple etymology of the modern exclamation *Deuce!* for the derivation of which even the best and latest Lexicographers have sent us to the *Dasi* of St Augustine, the *Dues* of the Gothic nations, *Diis* of the Persians, *Teus* of the Armorians, &c. Thomson very justly adds, that all these words, 'seem, like dæmon, to have been once used in a good sense,' and in fact are probably all corruptions of the same root. Cf. R. Brunne, p. 254, and Gl. in v. *Deus*. For the first suggestion of this derivation the Editor is indebted to Mr Will. Nicol."—M.
- Deye, *v.* S. to die, 840. *Deide*, *pa. t. pl.* died, 402.
- Dide, Diden, Dides. *See* Do.
- Dike, *n.* S. ditch, 2435. *Dikes*, *pl.* 1923, N.E. and Sc., V. Jam. and Brockett.
- Dine, *n.* S. din, noise, 1860, 1868.
- Dinge, *v.* S. to strike, scourge, beat, 215, 2329. *Dong*, *pa. t.* struck, 1147. *Dungen*, *part. pa.* beaten, or scourged, 227. Sc. and N.E. *See* Jam. Gl., Lynds., and Ray.

- Dint, *n.* S. blow, stroke, 1807, 1817, 1969, &c. *Dent*, Sir Tr. p. 92; Chauc. *Dynt*, R. Br. *Dintes*, *pl.* 1437, 1862, 2665. *Duntes*, K. Horn, 865. *Dentys*, Rits. M. R. *Dyntes*, R. Gl. *Dintes*, Minot, p. 23; V. Gl. Lynds.
- Dunten, *pa. t. pl.* S. struck, beat, 2448.
- Do, Don, *v.* S. The various uses of this verb in English and Scotch, in an auxiliary, active, and passive sense, have been pointed out by Tyrwhitt, Essay on Vers. of Chauc. Note (37), Chalmers, Gl. Lynds. and Jamieson. It signifies: to do, *facere*, 117, 528, 1191; to cause, *efficere*, 611; *do casten*, 519; *do hem fle*, 2600, to put or place (used with *in* or *on*), 535, 577, &c. *Dones on* = *don es on* = *do them on*, put them on (*see* Es), 970. *Dos*, *pr. t.* 2 *p.* *dost*, 2390. *Dos*, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* *does*, 1994, 2434, 2698. *Doth*, *Don*, *pr. t. pl.* *do*, 1838, 1840. *Doth*, *imp.* *do*, cause (ye), 2037. *Dos*, *imp. pl.* *do ye*, 2592. *Dede*, *Dide*, *pa. t.* caused, 653, 970, &c. *Dede*, *Dide*, *pa. t.* put, placed, 659, 709, 859. *Dedes*, *Dides*, *pa. t.* 2 *p.* *didest*, 2393, 2903. *Deden*, *Diden*, *pa. t. pl.* caused, 242; *did*, performed, 953, 1176, 2306. *Don*, *part. pa.* caused, 1169. *Don*, *part. pa.* done, 667. *Of liue haue do*, 1805, have slain.
- Dom, *n.* S. doom, judgment, 2473, 2487, 2813, &c. Sir Tr. p. 127.
- Dore, *n.* S. door, 1788.
- Dore-tre, *n.* S. bar of the door, 1806. *See* Tre.
- Douhter, *n.* S. daughter, 120, 2712. *Douthe*, 1079. *Douthet*, 2867, 2914. *Douhtres*, *pl.* 350, 2982. *Douthres*, 2979. *Doutres*, 717.
- Doun. *See* Adoun.
- Doutede, *pa. t.* Fr. feared, 708.
- Douthe, *n.* Fr. fear, 1331, 1377.
- Douthe, *pa. t.* of Dow, *v. imp.* S. [*dugan*, *valere*, *prodesse*] was worth, was sufficient, availed, 703, 833, 1184. It is formed in the same manner as *Mouthe*, Might. *See* Sir Tr. p. 77; Jam. and Gl. Lynds. in *v.* Dow.
- Drad. *See* Dred.
- Drawe, Drawen. *See* Drou.
- Dred, *imp.* dread, fear (*thon*), 2168. *Dredde*, *pa. t. pl.* dreaded, feared, 2289, 2568. *Drad*, *part. pa.* afraid, 1669. *See* Adrad.
- Drede, *n.* S. dread, 1169; doubt, anxiety, care, 828, 1664. Chauc.
- Dremede, *pa. t.* S. (used with *me*), dreamed, 1284, 1304.
- Dreichen, Drenchen, Drinchen, *v.* S. to drown, 553, 561, 583, 1416, 1424, &c. *Drenched*, *part. pa.* drowned, 520, 669, 1368, 1379. V. Gl. Web., R. Gl., Chauc.
- Dreng, *n.* *See* note on l. 31.
- Drepen, *v.* S. to kill, slay, 1783, 1865, &c. *Drepe*, would slay, 506. *Drop*, *pa. t.* killed, slew, 2229. Bosworth gives *drepan*, to slay. Cf. Sw. *dräpa*.
- Dreping, *n.* slaughter, 2684. Cf. A.S. *drepe*.
- Drinchen. *See* Dreichen.
- Drinken, *v.* S. to drink, 459, 800.
- Drinkes, *n. pl.* S. drinks, liquors, 1738.
- Drit, *n.* [Icel. *drítr*, Du. *dreet*] dirt, 682. A term expressing the highest contempt. K. Alisaund. 4718; Wicliffe. So, in an ancient metrical invective against Grooms and Pages, written about 1310, Thah he 3eue hem cattes *dryt* to huere companage, 3et hym shulde arewen of the arrerage. MS. Harl. 2253, f. 125. Cf. Jam. Suppl. in *v.* *Dryte*, and Gl. Lynds.
- Driuende. *See* Drof.

- Drou, *pa. t.* S. drew, 705, 719, &c. *Vt-drou*, *pa. t.* out-drew, 2632. *With-drou*, withdrew, 498; (*spelt* wit-drow), 502. *Drawe*, *Drawen*, *part. pa.* drawn, 1925, 2225, 2477, 2603, &c. *Ut-drawe*, *Ut-drawen*, out-drawn, 1802, 2631. *See* To-Drawe.
- Drof, *pa. t.* S. drove, 725; hastened, 1793, 1872. *Driuende*, *part. pr.* driving, riding quickly, 2702.
- Drurye, *n.* Fr. courtship, gallantry, 195. Web., Rits. M. R., P. Plowm., Chauc., Lynds.
- Dubbe, *v.* Fr. S. to dub, create a knight, 2042. *Dubbede*, *pa. t.* dubbed, 2314. *Dubban to ridere*, Chron. Sax. An. 1085, [1086]. *To cnihte hine dubben*, *Lazam. l.* 22497. "Hickes, Hearne, Gl. R. Gl., and Tyrwhitt, Gl. Chauc., all refer the word to the Saxon root, which primarily signified to *strike*, the same as the Isl. *at dubba*. Todd on the contrary, Gl. Illustr. Chauc., thinks this questionable, and refers to Barbazan's Gl. in *v.* *Adouber*, which is there derived from the Lat. *adaptare*. Du Cange and Dr Merrick give it also a Latin origin, from *Adoptare*, and by corruption *Adobare*."—M. The etymology is discussed in Wedgwood, *s. v.* *Dub*. *See* Note on l. 2314.
- Duelle, *v.* S. to dwell, give attention, 4.
A tale told Ysoude fre,
Thai *duelle* :
Tristrem that herd he.
Sir Tristr. p. 181.
Cf. Sir Otuel, l. 3, and Sevyng Sages, l. *Dwellen*, to dwell, remain, 1185; to delay, 1351. *Dwellen*, *pr. t. pl.* dwell, tarry, 1058. *Duelleden*, *pa. t. pl.* dwelt, tarried, 1189.
- Dwelling, *n.* delay, 1352
Dun. *See* Adoun.
Dungen. *See* Dinge.
- Dursten, *pa. t. pl.* S. durst, 1866.
- Eie, *n.* S. eye, 2545. *Heie*, 1152. *Eyne*, *pl.* eyes, 680, 1273, 1364; *eyen*, 1340; *eyn*, 2171.
- Eir, *n.* Fr. Lat. heir, 410, 2539. *Eyr*, 110, 289, &c. Jam. gives it a Northern etymology, in *v.* *Ayr*.
- Ek, *conj.* S. [*eac*] eke, also, 1025, 1038, 1066, &c. *Ok* [Su.-G. *och*, Du. *ook*] 187, 200, 879, 1081, &c. V. Jam. in *v.* *Ac*.
- Eld, *adj.* S. old, 546. *Helde*, 2472. *Heldeste*, *sup.* 1396.
- Elde, *n.* S. age, 2713. *Helde*, 128, 174, 387, 1435.
Elde hæfde heo na mare
Buten fihene zere.
Lazam. l. 25913.
R. Br. In Sc. *Eild*. It was subsequently restricted to the sense of *old age*, as in Chauc.
- Elles, *adv.* S. else, 1192, 2590.
- Em, S. uncle, 1326. Sir Tr. p. 53. Properly, says Sir W. Scott, an uncle by the father's side. It appears however to have been used indifferently either on the father's or mother's side. *See* Hearne's Gl. on R. Gl. and R. Br., Web., Erle of Tol. 988; Chauc. Troil. 2, 162, and Nares. Prov. Eng. *Eam*.
- Er, *adv.* S. before, 684. *Her*, 541. *Are*, Sir Tr. p. 152. *Er*, K. Horn, 130. *See* *Are*, *Or*.
- Er, *conj.* S. before, 317, 1261, 2680. *Her*, 229.
- Erl, *n.* S. earl, 189, &c. *Erles*, *g. c.* 2898, earl's. *Herles*, 883. *Erlodom*, earldom, 2909.
- Ern, *n.* S. eagle, 572. Rits. M. R. Octovian, 196; R. Gl. p. 177; Will. of Palerne.
- Erpe, *n.* S. earth, 740; ground, 2657.
- Erpe, *v.* S. to dwell, 739. A.S. *eardian*.

- Es, a plural pronoun signifying *them*, as in *don es on* = put them on, 970. See *Gen. and Exod.* ed. Morris, pref. p. xix.
- Et, a singular pronoun, equivalent to *it*, used in *hauenet* = *hauen et*, 2005; *hauedet* = *haued et*, 714.
- Ete, Eten, *v. S.* to eat, 791, 800, 911, &c. *Hete, Heten*, 146, 317, 457, 641. *Et, imp.* eat (thou), 925. *Et, Het, pa. t. ate*, 653, 656. *Etes, fut. 2 p.* thou shalt eat, 907. *Eteth, fut. 3 p.* shall eat, 672. *Eten, part. pa.* eaten, 657.
- Epen, *adv. S.* hence, 690. *Hepen*, 683, 845, 1085, 2727.
- Eper. See Ayper.
- Euere, Eure, *adv. S.* ever, 207, 424, 704, &c. *Heuere*, 17, 327, 830.
- Euereich, *adj. S.* every, 137. *Euere il*, 218, 1334, 1644. *Euere ilc*, 1330. *Eueri*, 1070, 1176, 1383. *Eueril*, 1764, 2318, &c. *Euerilk*, 2258, 2432. *Euerilkon*, every one, 1062, 1996, 2197. See II.
- Euere-mar, *adv. S.* evermore, 1971.
- Eyen, Eyn, Eyne. See Eie.
- Eyr. See Eir.
- Fader, *n. S. Lat.* father, 1224, 1403, 1416. Sir Tr. p. 35; K. Horn, 114. The cognate words may be found in Jam.
- Faderles, *adj.* fatherless, 75.
- Fadmede, *pa. t. S.* fathomed, embraced, 1295. From *fathmian*, *Utraque manu extensa complecti*, Cod. Exon., ed. Thorpe, p. 334. It has the same meaning in Sc. V. Jam.
- Falle, *v. S.* to fall, 39, &c. *Falles, imp. pl.* fall ye, 2302. *Fel, pa. t.* fell, appertained. 1815, 2359. *Fellen, pa. t. pl.* fell, 1303.
- Fals, *adj. S.* false, 2511.
- Falwes, *n. pl. S.* fallows, fields, 2509. Chauc. C. T. 6238, where Tyrwh. explains it *harrowed lands*.
- Fare, *n. S.* journey, 1337, 2621. R. Gl. p. 211; R. Br., Minot, p. 2 (left unexplained by Rits.); Barb. iv. 627. *Schip-fare*, a voyage, Sir Tr. p. 53.
- Faren, *v. S.* to go, 264. *Fare*, 1378, 1392, &c. *Fare, pr. t. 2 p.* farest, behavest, 2705. *Fares, pr. t. 3 p.* goes, flies, 2690. *Ferde, pa. t. went*, 447, 1678, &c.; behaved, 2411. *For (went)*, 2382, 2943. *Foren, pa. t. pl. went*, 2380, 2618.
- Faste, *adv. S.* attentively, earnestly, 2148.
Tristrem as a man
Fast he gan to fight.
Sir Tristr. p. 167.
- Bidde we ȝeorre Ihū Crist, and
seint Albon wel *faste*,
That we moten to the Ioye come,
that euere schal i-laste.
Vita S. Albani, MS. Laud. 108.
f. 47 b.
- Fastinde, *part. pr. S.* fasting, 865.
- Fauth. See Fyht.
- Fawen, *adj. S.* fain, glad, 2160. *Fawe*, K. of Tars, 1058; Octovian, 307; R. Gl. p. 150; Chauc. C. T. 5802.
- Fe, *n. S.* fee, possessions, or money, 386, 563, 1225, &c. See Jam. and Lynds. Gl.
- Feble, *adj. Fr.* feeble, poor, scanty, 323.
- Feblelike, *adv.* feebly, scantily, 418. *Febli*, Sir Tr. p. 179, for *meanly*.
- Feden, *v. S.* to feed, 906. *Feddes, pa. t. 2 p.* feddest, 2907.
- Fel. See Bifalle, Falle.
- Felawes, *n. pl. S.* fellows, companions, 1338.
- Feld, *n. S.* field, 2634, 2685, 1291.

- Felde, Felede. *pa. t.* S. felled, 67, 1859, 2694. *Felden* (? read *he ne fellen*, they did not fall), 2698. *Feld, part. pa.* felled, 1824. Sir F. Madden writes—"in l. 2698, I prefer reading *ne felden*, did not fell, governed by *that*. In l. 67, Garnett suggested *felede*, pursued, from Swed. *följade*."
- Fele, *adj.* S. many, often, 778, 1277, 1737, &c. Sir Tr. p. 19.
- Fele, *adv.* S. very, 2442.
- Fend, *n.* S. fiend, 506, 1411, 2229.
- Fer, *adv.* S. far, 359, 1863, 2275, &c. *Ferne*, far, 1864; *pl. adj.* foreign, 2031.
pa kingges buh stronge,
And of ferrene lond.
Lazam. l. 5528.
- Cf. Chauc. Prol. l. 14.
- Ferd, *n.* S. army, 2384, 2548, &c. *Ferde*, 2535. *Lazam.*, R. Gl., R. Br., Web. *Ferdes*, *pl.* 2683.
- Ferde. See Fare.
- Fere, *n.* S. companion, wife, 1214. Sir Tr. p. 157. K. Horn, Web., R. Gl., R. Br., Minot, Chauc. *Feir*, Sc. V. Jam. and Gl. Lynds.
- Ferlike, *n.* S. wonder, 1258. *Ferlik*, 1849. Sir Tr. p. 21. Originally in all probability an *adj.*
- Ferpe, *adj.* S. fourth, 1810.
- Feste, *n.* Fr. feast, 2344, &c.
- Feste, *v.* Fr. to feast, 2938.
- Festen, *v.* S. to fasten, 1785; (used passively) 82. *Fest, pa. t.* fastened, 144.
- Fet. See Fot.
- Fete, *v.* S. to fetch, bring, 642, 912, 937, &c. Used passively, 316, 2037. *Fetes, pr. t. s.* fetch, 2341. V. Pegge's Anecd. of Engl. Lang. p. 135.
- Fetere, *v.* S. to fetter, chain, 2758. Used passively.
- Feteres, *n. pl.* S. fetters, 82, 2759.
- Fey, *n.* Fr. faith, 255, 1666. *Feyth*, 2853.
- Fiht, *n.* S. fight, 2668, 2716.
- Fikel, *adj.* S. fickle, inconstant, 1210, 2799.
- File, *n.* vile, worthless person, 2499.
Men seth ofte a muche file,
They he serue boten a wile,
Bicomen swithe riche.
Hending the hende, MS. Digb. 86.
 So in R. Br. p. 237.
 David at that while was with Edward the kyng,
 3it auanced he that *file* vntille a faire thing.
 It is used for *coward* by Minot, pp. 31, 36. Cf. Du. *vuil*, foul, malicious.
- Finden, *v.* S. to find, 1083. *Finde*, 220. *Fynde*, 42. *Funden*, *pa. t. pl.* found, 692. *Funde, part. pa.* found, 2376. *Funden*, 1427.
- Fir, *n.* S. fire, 585, 1162, &c. *Fyr*, 915.
- Firrene, *adj.* S. made of fir, 2078. *Firron*, Doug. Virg. 47. 34.
- Flaunes, *n. pl.* Fr. custards, or pancakes, 644. See Way's note in Prompt. Parv.
- Fledden, *pa. t. pl.* S. fled, 2416.
- Flemen, *v.* S. to drive away, banish, 1160. R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc., Rits. A.S. So in Sc. V. Jam.
- Flete, *pres. subj.* S. float, swim, 522. Sir Tr. p. 27; K. Horn, 159; Chauc. *Fleit*, Sc. V. Jam.
- Fleye, *v.* S. to fly, 1791, 1813, 1827, 2751. *Fley, pa. t.* flew, 1305.
- Flo, *v.* S. to flay, 612, 2495. K. Horn, 92. *Flow, pa. t.* flayed, 2502. *Flowe, pa. t. pl.* 2433.
- Flok, *n.* S. flock, troop, 24. See Trome.
- Flote, *n.* S. boat, 738. A.S. *flōta*, a ship; Icel. *floti*, (1) a ship, (2) a fleet; cf. *Lazam.* 4530.

- Flour, *n.* Fr. flower, 2917.
- Fnaste, *v.* S. to breathe, 548.
Cf. A.S. *Fnæstiað*, the wind-pipe,
Fnæstan, puffs of wind. *Fnast* =
breath in *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 44.
- Fo, *n.* S. foe, 1363, 2849; *pl.*
foos, 67.
- Fol, *n.* Fr. fool, 298. *Foles*, *pl.*
2100.
- Folc, Folk, *n.* S. men collectively,
people, 89, 438, &c.
- Folwes, *imp.* S. follow ye, 1885,
2601.
- Fonge, *v.* S. to take, receive,
763; 2 *p. pres. subj.* 856. In com-
mon use from Lazam. to Chauc.
and much later.
- For, *prep.* S. *For* to is prefixed
to the inf. of verbs in the same
manner as the Fr. *pour*, or Sp. *por*.
It is so used in all the old writers,
and in the vulgar translation of the
Scriptures, and is still preserved in
the North of England. Cf. 17,
&c. *For* = on account of, 1670.
Sir Tr. p. 62.
- For, Foren. See Faren.
- Forbere, *v.* S. spare, abstain from,
352. Chauc. Rom. R. 4751. *For-*
bar, *pa. t.* spared, abstained from,
764, 2623.
- Forfaren, *v.* S. to perish, 1380.
R. Br. *Forfard* (*p. p.*) Ly Beaus
Desc. 1484. The inf. is also used
in Web., P. Plowm., Chauc. In
Sc. *Forfair*. V. Compl. of Scotl.
p. 100, and Gl. Lynds.
- Forgat, *pa. t.* S. forgot, 2636,
&c. *Foryat*, 249.
- For-henge, *v.* to kill by hanging,
2724. Cf. Du. *verhangen zich*, to
hang one's self.
- Forlorn, *part. pa.* S. utterly lost,
770, 1424. *Forloren*, 580. R. Br.,
Rits. M. R., Chauc. Used actively,
Sir Tr. p. 35.
- Forpi, *adv.* S. on this account,
therefore, because, 1194, 1431,
2043, 2500, 2578. Sir Tr. p. 14,
and in all the Gloss.
- Forthwar, *adv.* S. forthward;
i. e. as we go on, 731.
- Forw, *n.* S. furrow, 1094.
- Forward, *n.* S. promise, word,
covenant, 486. *Forwarde*, 554.
Lazam. l. 4790. Sir Tr. p. 13.
Rits. M. R., Web., R. Gl., R. Br.,
Minot, Chauc.
- Fostred, *part. pa.* S. nourished,
1434, 2239.
- Fot, *n.* S. *Euerilk fot*, 2432,
every foot, or man. *Fet*, *pl.* 616,
1022, 1303, 2479. *Fote*, 1054,
1199.
- Fouhten. See Fyht.
- Fourtenith, *n.* S. fortnight, 2284.
- Fremde, *adj.* (used as a *n.*) S.
stranger, 2277.
Vor hine willeth sone uorgiete
Tho fremde and tho sibbe.
MS. Digb. 4.
Ther ne myhte libbe
The fremede ne the sibbe.
K. Horn, 67.
See also R. Gl. p. 346; Chron. of
Eng. 92; P. Plowm., Chau., Jam.
and Gl. Lynds.
- Freme, *v.* S. to perform, 441.
- Fri, *adj.* S. free, liberal, 1072.
Chauc.
- Frie, *v.* to blame, 1998. Icel.
fryja, to blame. Cf. *freles*, blame-
less. *Allit. Poems*, ed. Morris, A.
431.
- Fro, *prep.* S. from, 265, &c.
- Frusshe. See To-frusshe.
- Ful, *adv.* S. very, much, com-
pletely, 6, 82, &c. *Ful wo*, 2589,
much sorrow.
- Ful, Fule, *adj.* S. foul, 506, 555,
626, 965, &c. *Foule*, 1158.
- Fulike, *adv.* S. foully, shame-
fully, 2749.
- Fulde, *part. pa.* S. filled, com-
plete, 355.

- Funde, Funden. *See* Finde.
- Fyht, *v. S.* to fight, 2361. *Fauth*, *pa. t.* fought, 1990. *Fouhten*, *pa. t. pl.* fought, 2661.
- Fyn, *n. Fr. Lat.* ending, 22. *R. Br.*, Minot, Chauc., &c.
- Ga, *v. S.* to go. *See* Ouer-ga.
- Gad, *n. S.* goad, 279. *Gaddes*, *pl.* 1016. In *Gl. Ælfr.* among the instruments of husbandry occur *Gad*, stimulus, and *Gadiron*, aculeus. So in *The Fermeror and his Docter*, printed by Laing :
- Quhen Symkin standis quhisling with
ane quhip and ane *gaid*,
Priking and zarkand ane auld ox hide.
V. Jam. in *v. Gade*, 4. and Nares.
- Gadred, *part. pa. S.* gathered, 2577.
- Gadeling, *n. S.* an idle vagabond, low man, 1121.
pa wes æuer alc cheorl
Al swa bald alse an corl
& alle þa gadelinges
Alse heo weoren sunen kinges.
Lazam. l. 12333.
- Cf. *K. Alisaund.* 1733, 4063. *Gadlyng*, *Rob. of Cicyle*, MS. Harl. 1701. *R. Gl. p.* 277, 310. Chauc. *Rôm. Rose*, 938. The word originally meant *Vir generosus*. *See* Beowulf, l. 5227.
- Gaf. *See* Yeue.
- Galwe-tre, *n. S.* the gallows, 43, 335, 695. *Le Bone Fl.* 1726. *Erle of Tol.* 657. *Galues*, *Galwes*, *Galewes*, 687, 1161, 2477, 2508. *R. Br.*, Chauc. Cf. *lhre Gl. Suiog.* in *v. galge*, ab *Isl. gayl*, ramus arboris.
- Gamen, *n. S.* game, sport, 980, 1716, 2135, 2250, 2577; joy, 2935, 2963. *Gamyn*, *Barb. iit.* 465. *V. Jam.*
- Gan, *pa. t. S.* began, 2443. *V. Jam.*
- Gangen, *v. S.* to go, walk, 370, 845, &c. *Gange*, 796. *Gongen*, 855. *Gonge*, 1185, 1739, &c. *Gonge, pr. t. 2 p.* goest, 690, 843. *Gangande, part. pr.* on foot, walking, 2283. *Wynt. V. Jam.*
- Garte, *pa. t. S.* made, 189, 1857, &c. *Gart*, 1001, 1082. *Gert*, *Sir Tr. p.* 147. *V. Jam.* and *Gl. Lynds.*
- Gat, *Gaten.* *See* Geten.
- Gate, *n. S.* (1) way, road, 846, 889. *Sir Tr. p.* 27; (2) manner, fashion (*see* pus-gate), 783, 2419, 2586.
- Genge, *n. S.* family, company, 786, 1735; retinue, 2353, 2362, 2383.
pe king of þan lond
Mid muchelere genge.
Lazam. l. 6156.
- Hence *Gang.* *V. Todd's Johns.*
- Gent, *adj. Fr.* neat, pretty, 2139. *Sir Tr. p.* 87, *R. Br.*, Chauc.
- Gere. *See* Messe-gere.
- Gest, *n. Fr.* tale, adventure, 2984. *See* Note in *Warton's Hist. E. P.*, *V. i. p.* 69. *Ed.* 1840.
- Gete, *v.* to guard, watch, keep, 2762, 2960. *Icel. gata*, to guard. Cf. *Omulum*, 2079. [Suggested by *Garnett.*]
- Geten, *v. S.* to get, take, 792. *Gete*, 1393. *Gat, pa. t.* begot, got, 495, 730. *Gaten, Geten, pa. t. pl.* begot, 2893, 2934, 2978. *Getes, f. t. 2 p.* shalt get, 908.
- Ghod for Good, 255.
- Gisarm, *n. Fr.* a bill, 2553. *See* *Gl. Rits. M. R.*, *Spelm.* in *v. Jam. Dict.*, and *Merrick's Gl.* in *v. Gesa*, *Gesum*. ["Distinguished from other weapons of the axe kind by a spike rising from the back. There were two kinds, viz. the *glaiue-gisarme*, with a sabre-blade and spike; and the *bill-gisarme*, in shape of a hedging-bill with a spike." *Godwin's Archæol. Handbook*, p. 254.]
- Giue. *See* Yeue.
- Giue, *n. S.* gift, 2880. *Gyue*, 357. *Yeft*, 2336.

Giueled, piled up, 814. [The O.Fr. *gavelé* means piled up, heaped together. To *gavel* corn (see Halliwell) is to put it into heaps, and a *gavel* is a heap of corn. But this may very well be derived from *gable*, since a heap takes the shape of a peaked end of a house; and the O.Fr. term is probably originally Teutonic, and connected, as *gable* is, with Mæso-Goth. *gibla*, a pinnacle, with which compare German *giebel*, Du. *gevel*, and hence our word would be taken from a verb *giselen*, to pile up. The fish in Havelok's basket would be what the Dutch call *gevelvormig*, or formed like a gable, or like the peaked end of a *stack* of hay or corn, whence the author's expression—*giueled als a stac*, piled up in the shape of a stack. Other explanations are *flayed*, from Du. *villen*, to flay; or *filed*, ranged in rows upon a stick, where *stick* is represented by *stac*. But the latter supposition would require the reading *on* rather than *als*; not to mention the fact that if fish are carried in a *pannier* they would not resemble fish carried *on a stick*. Nor is it quite satisfactory to say that *giueled* is put for *gefilled*, filled; for this is not elucidated by the expression *als a stac*, any more than the explanation *flayed* is. *Gable* is Icel. *gaft*, Sw. *gafvel*, Dan. *gavl*, Du. *gevel*, Ger. *giebel*, *gipsel*, &c. Its forked shape seems to give rise to Ger. *gabel*, Sw. *gaffel*, a fork; respecting which set of words see *Gaff* in Wedgwood.]

Gladlike, *adv.* S. gladly, 805, 906, 1760.

Glede, *n.* S. a burning coal, 91, 869. Rits. M. R., Web., R. Br., Chauc. See Note on l. 91.

Gleive, Gleyue, Fr. a spear, lance, 1770, 1844, 1981. *Gleives*, *Gleyues*, *pl.* 267, 1748, 1864. Dr Merrick explains it, "A weapon composed of a long cutting blade at the end

of a staff." See R. Gl. p. 203; Guy of Warw. R. iii.; Chauc. Court of Love, 544; Percy, A. R. Glem, *n.* S. gleam, ray, 2122. See Stem.

Gleu, *n.* S. game, skill, 2332. Properly, says Sir W. Scott, the joyous science of the minstrels. Cf. Sir Tr. p. 24, 35, 150.

Gleymen, *n. pl.* S. gleemen, 2329. *Glewemen*, Sir Tr. p. 110.

Whar bin thi *glewmen* that schuld thi *glewe*,

With harp and fithel, and tabour bete. *Disp. betw. the bodi & saul*, ap.

Leyd. Compl. of Scotl.

Glotuns, *n. pl.* Fr. gluttons, wicked men, 2104.

Va, *Glutun*, envers tei nostre lei se defent.

K. Horn, 1633, MS. Douce.

Cf. K. Horn, 1124, ap. Rits., Yw. and Gaw. 3247; R. Cœur de L. 5953, and Chauc.

Gnede, *adj.* S. niggardly, frugal, 97. Nearly equivalent to *chinche*, l. 1763. Printed *guede* in Sir Tr. p. 169. [Cf. *Gnede* in Halliwell, and A.S. *gneadlicnes*, frugality.]

God, *n.* S. gain, wealth, goods, 797, 2034; *pl.* gode, 1221. R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc.

God, Gode, *adj.* S. good, excellent, 7, &c.

Goddot, Goddoth, *interj.* god wot! 606, 642, 796, 909, 1656, 2543; cf. 2527. It is formed probably in the same manner as *Goddil*, for God's will, in Yorksh. and Lanc. V. Craven dialect, and View of Lanc. dialect, 1770, 8vo. The word before us appears to have been limited to Lincolnshire or Lancashire, and does not appear in the Glossaries. Other instances are in the *Cursor Mundi*, MS. Cott. Vesp. F. iii. fol. 87, and in MS. Cott. Galba E. ix. fol. 61. It also occurs in a translation of a French Fabliau, written in the reign of Edw. I.

Goddot! so I wille,
And loke that thou hire tille,
And strek out hire thes.

La fublet & la cointise de dame
Siriz, MS. Digb. 86.

Grundtvig told me (adds Sir F. Madden) that it is "undoubtedly the same interjection spelled *Io-duth* in the old Danish rime-chronicle."

Gome, *n.* S. man, 7.

Gon, *v.* S. to go, walk, 113, 1045. *Goth*, *imp.* go ye, 1780.
Gon, *part. pa.* gone, 2692.

Gonge, Gongen. *See* Gange.

Gore, 2497. *See* Grim.

Gos, *n.* S. goose, 1240. *Gees*, *pl.* 702.

Gouen. *See* Yeue.

Goulen, *pr. t. pl.* 2 *p.* S. howl, cry, 454. *Gouleden*, *pa. t. pl.* howled, cried, 164.

An *yollen* mote thu so heye,
That ut berste bo thin ey.

Hule and Nihtingale, l. 970.

Used also by Wickliffe. In Scotland and the North it is still preserved, but in the South *Yell* is used as an equivalent. *See* Jam. and Gl. Lynds.

Gram, *n.* S. grief, 2469.

Graten, *v.* S. [*grétan*] to weep, cry, cry out, 329. *Grede*, 96. *Grete*, *pres. pl.* 454, 2703. *Gret*, *pa. t.* cried out, wept, 615, 1129, 2159. *Gredde*, 2417. *Greten*, *pa. t. pl.* wept, 164, 415, 2796. *Grotinde*, *part. pr.* weeping, 1390. *Graten*, *part. pa.* wept, 241. *I-groten*, 285. *See* Jam. and Gl. Lynds.

Graue, *v.* S. to bury, 613. *Grauen*, *part. pa.* buried, 2528. Web., Sir Guy, li. iv., Chauc.

Greme, *v.* S. to irritate, grieve, 442. In R. Br. *Gram* is used as a verb, in the same sense.

Grene, *n.* desire, lust, 996. It

is simply the Mæso-Goth. *gairuni*, lust; Icel. *girmi*, desire. V. Jam. in v. Grene. Halliwell suggests *sport*, *play*, to which it is opposed.

Greting, *n.* S. weeping, 166.

Gres, *n.* S. grass, 2698.

Gret, *adj.* S. great, heavy, loud, 807, 1860. *Greth*, 1025; *pl.* grete, 1437, 1862. *Grettere*, *comp.* greater, 1893.

Grete. *See* Graten.

Grepede, 2003. Explained as *greeted*, *accosted*, by Sir F. Madden; but the use of *p* (not *th*) renders this doubtful. May it not signify *treated*, *handled* (lit. *arrayed*), from the *vb.* greype?

Grethet. *See* Greype.

Grette, *pa. t.* S. accosted, greeted, 452, 1811, 2625. *Gret*, *part. pa.* accosted, greeted, 2290.

Greu, *pa. t.* S. grew, prospered, 2333; *pl.* grewe, 2975.

Greue, *v.* S. to grieve, 2953.

Greype, *v.* S. [*gerédian*] to prepare, 1762. *Greypede*, *pa. t.* prepared, 706. *Greyped*, *part. pa.* prepared, made ready, 714. *Grethet*, 2615. *Lazam* l. 4414. Sir Tr. p. 33. Sc. *Graith*. V. Jam. and Gl. Lynds.

Greyue, *n.* S. [*geréfa*] greave, magistrate, 1771. *Greyues*, *g. c.* greave's, 1749. *Greyues*, *pl.* 266. V. Spelm. in v. *Grafio*, and Hickes, Diss. Epist. p. 21, n. p. 151.

Grim, *adj.* S. cruel, savage, fierce, 155, 680, 2398, 2655, 2761. R. Br., Rits. M. R. *See* Beowulf, l. 204.

Grim, *n.* [smut, dirt, 2497. The explanation is that Godard, on being flayed, did not bear his sentence as one of rank and blood would have done, but began to roar out as if he were mere dirt or mud, i. e. one of the dregs of the common herd. This curious expression is ascertained to have the meaning here

- assigned to it by observing (1) that *grim* and *gore* must be substantives, and (2) that they must be of like signification; but chiefly by comparing the line with others similar to it. Now the context, in the couplet following, repeats that "men might hear him roar, that *foul vile* wretch, a mile off;" and in l. 682, Godard calls Grim "*a foul dirt*, a thrall, and a churl." The author clearly uses *dirt* and *churl* as synonyms. The word *grim* is the Danish *grim*, soot, lampblack, smut, dirt, answering to the English *grime*; see *grime* in Atkinson's Glossary of the Cleveland dialect. *Gore* is the A.S. *gór*, wet mud, or clotted blood, in the latter of which senses it is still used. See "*Gore. Limus*" in Prompt. Parv., and Way's note.]
- Grip, *n.* griffin, 572. Web. *Graip*, Se., V. Jam. The plural *gripes* is in Lazam. l. 28062, and K. Alisaund. 4880. Swed. *grip*.
- Grip, *n.* S. [*græp*] ditch, trench, 2102. *Gripes*, *pl.* 1924. V. Jam. in v. *Grape*; and Skinner, v. *Groop*. Cf. Swed. *grop*.
- Gripen, *pr. t. pl.* S. gripe, grasp, 1790. *Gripeth*, *imp.* gripe ye, 1882. *Grop*, *pa. t.* grasped, 1776, 1871, 1890, &c.
- Grith, *n.* S. peace, 61, 511. *Grith-sergeants*, 267, legal officers to preserve the peace. These must not be confounded with the *Justitiarum Pacis* established in the beginning of Edw. III. reign, and called *Gardiani Pacis*. V. Spelm. in v. Cf. Icel. *gríð*.
- Grom, *n.* male child, youth, 790; young man, 2472. Belgic *grom* has the same sense of *boy*. Cf. Icel. *gromr*, homuncio. So in *Sir Degore*, A. iv. He lyft up the shete anone And loked upon the lytle *grome*. It generally elsewhere signifies *lad*, *page*.
- Gronge, *n.* Fr. grange, 764. [Halliwell says that, in *Lincolnshire*, a lone farm-house is still called a *grange*. In old English it is sometimes spelt *graunge*, which comes near the form here used. Cf. Fr. *grange*; Ital. *grangia* (Florio), a country-farm.]
- Grop. See Gripen.
- Grotes, *n. pl.* S. [*grót*] small pieces, grit, dust, 472, 1414.
- Grotinde. See Graten.
- Grund, *adj.* used as *adv.* 1027. See Grundlike.
- Grunde, *n.* S. *dat. c.* ground, 1979, 2675.
- Grunden, *part. pa.* S. ground, 2503. Yw. and Gaw. 676. *Grounden*, Chauc.
- Grundlike, *adv.* heartily, 651, 2659; deeply, 2013, 2268, 2307, where it is equivalent to *Deplike*, q. v. The word is undoubtedly Saxon, but in the Lexicons we only find *Grundlinga*, funditus, from Ælf. Gl. It is used by Lazamon, l. 9783.
- Cnihtes heom gereden
Grundliche feire.
- Gyue. See Giue.
- Hal, all, 2370.
- Halde, *v.* S. to hold, take part, 2308. *Holden*, to keep or observe, 29, 1171. *Haldes*, *pr. t.* 3 p. holds, 1382. *Hel*, *pa. t.* held, 109. *Helden*, *pa. t. pl.* held, 1201. *Halden*, *part. pa.* held, holden, 2806.
- Hals, *n.* S. neck, 521, 670, 2510. Sir Tr. p. 109.
- Halue, *n.* S. side, part; *bi bothe halue*, 2682. See Bi-halue.
- Haluendel, *n.* S. the half part, 460. R. Gl. p. 5; R. Br.; K. Alisaund. 7116; Emare, 444; Chron. of Engl. 515; R. Hood, i. 68.

- Handlen, *v.* S. to handle, 347.
Handel, 586.
- Hangen, *v.* S. to hang, 335, 695.
Hengen, 43, &c. *Honge*, 2807.
Henged, *part. pa.* hung, 1922,
 2480. Cf. For-henge.
- Harum for Harm, 1983, 2408.
- Hasard, *n.* Fr. game at dice, 2326.
See Note on l. 2320.
- Hatede, *pa. t.* S. hated, 1188.
- Hauen, *v.* S. to have, 78, &c.
Hawe, 1188. *Hauz*, 1298. *Haues*,
Hauest, *pr. t.* 2 *p.* hast, 688, 848.
Haues, *Haueth*, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* haveth,
 hath, has, 1266, 1285, 1952, 1980,
 &c. *Hauet*, hath, 564. *Hauen*,
pr. t. pl. have, 1227. *Hauenet*,
 have it, 2005. *Hauede*, *pa. t.* had,
 649, 775, &c. *Hauedet*, 714, had
 it. *Haueden*, *pa. t. pl.* had, 238,
 &c. *Aueden*, 163. *Hauz*, *Hauede*,
Haueden, *subj.* would have, 1428,
 1643, 1687, 2020, 2675.
- Hau for Haue I, 2002.
- He, *pron.* S. Is often understood,
 as in ll. 869, 1428, 1777, and hence
 might perhaps have been designedly
 omitted in ll. 135, 860, 1089, 2311,
 though the metre seems to require
he in 135 and 1089. *He*, *pl.* they,
 54, &c.
- Heie, *n.* *See* Eie.
- Heie, *adj.* S. tall, 987. *Hey*,
 1071, 1083; high, 1289. *Heye se*,
 719. *Heye curt*, 1685. *Heye and*
lowe, 2431, 2471, &c.
- Hel, Helden. *See* Halde.
- Helde, Heldeste. *See* Eld.
- Helen, *v.* S. [*h  lan*] to heal,
 1836. *Hele*, 2058. *Holed*, *part.*
pa. healed, 2039.
- Helm, *n.* S. helmet, 379, 624,
 1653, &c. *Helmez*, *pl.* 2612.
- Helpen, *v.* S. to help, 1712.
Helpes, *imp. pl.* help ye, 2595.
Holpen, *part. pa.* helped, 901.
- Hem, *pron.* S. them, 367, &c.
- Hend. *See* Hond.
- Hende for Ende, 247.
- Hende, *n.* S. a duck, 1241. A.S.
ened; Lat. *anas* (*anat-is*); Du.
ceend; Icel. *  nd*. "Ende mete,
 for dookelyngys, *Lenticula*;" and
 again, "Ende, dooke byrde, *Anas*."
 Prompt. Parv.
- Hende, *adj.* courteous, gentle,
 1104, 1421, 1704, 2793, 2877,
 2914; skilful, 2628. It certainly
 is the same word with *hendi*, *hendy*.
See Tyrwh. on C. T. 3199; Gl. R.
 Glouc.; Amis and Amil. 1393;
 Ly Beaus Desc. 333; Morte Ar-
 thur, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. i. p. 359,
 &c.; Dan. and Sw. *h  ndig*, dex-
 terous.
- Hende, *adv.* S. near, handy, 359,
 2275. Web.
- Hendeleik, *n.* courtesy, 2793. Cf.
Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 860.
- Henged, Hengen. *See* Hangen.
- Henne, *adv.* S. hence, 843, 1780,
 1799. In the same manner is
 formed *Whenne*, K. Horn, 169,
 which Ritson thought a mistake
 for *whence*.
- Henne, *n.* S. hen, 1240. *Hennes*,
pl. 702.
- Her. *See* Er.
- Her, *adv.* S. here, 689, 1058,
 &c. *Her offe*, 2585, hereof.
- Her, *n.* S. hair, 1924. *Hor*, 235.
- Herboru, *n.* S. habitation, har-
 bour, lodging, 742. *Herberowe*,
 Web.; *Herbegerie*, R. Br.; *Har-*
broughe, Sq. of Lowe Degre. 179;
Herberwe, Chauc.; *Herbry*, Wynt.;
Herberye, Lynds. Gl. q. v. and Jam.
- Herborwed, *pa. t.* S. lodged, 742.
 Lazam., Chauc., V. Jam. in v.
Herbery.
- Here, *pron.* S. their, 52, 465, &c.
- Here, *n.* S. army, 346, 379, 2153,
 2942. R. Br., K. Alisaund., 2101.
- Here, Heren, *v.* S. to hear, 4,

- 732, 1640, 2279, &c. *Y-herre*, 11.
Herd, Herde, *pa. t.* heard, 286,
 465, &c. *Herden*, *pa. t. pl.* 150.
- Herinne, *adv.* S. herein, 458.
- Herkne, *imp. s.* S. hearken, 1285.
Herknet, *imp. pl.* hearken ye, 1.
- Herles. *See* Erl.
- Hernes, *n.* Fr. armour, harness,
 1917. R. Br., &c.
- Hernes, *n. pl.* S. brains, 1808.
- Hern-panne, *n.* S. skull, 1991.
 Yw. and Gaw. 660; R. Cœur de
 L., 5293. *Hardynpan*, Compl. of
 Scotl. p. 241; V. Gl.
- Hert, *n.* S. hart, deer, 1872.
- Herte, *n.* S. heart, 479, 2054,
 &c. *Herte blod*, 1819. Lazam. l.
 15846; Sir Tr. p. 98; Chauc.
- Hertelike, *adv.* S. heartily, 1347,
 2748.
- Het, *pa. t.* S. hight, named, 2348.
Hoten, *part. pa.* called, named, 106,
 284.
- Het, Hete, Heten. *See* Ete.
- Hetelike, *adv.* S. hotly, furiously,
 2655.
 And Guy hent his sword in hand,
 And *hetelich* smot to Colbrand.
Guy of Warw. ap. Ellis, M. R.
 V. 2, p. 82.
 In Sir Tr. p. 172, *Hethelich* is ex-
 plained *Haughtily* by the Editor,
 and by Jam. *reproachfully*. Cf.
Hetterly in Gloss. to *Will. of Pa-*
lerne.
- Hethede, *pa. t.* commanded, 551.
 A.S. *hetan*. The *th* is here pro-
 nounced like *t*, as elsewhere.
- Hepen. *See* Epen.
- Heu, *n.* S. hue, colour, com-
 plexion, 2918. Very common. We
 may hence explain the "inexplic-
 able phrase" complained of by Mr
 Ellis, Spec. E. E. P. V. i. p. 109.
 "On *heu* her hair is fair enough"
 —occasioned by Ritson having in-
 advertently copied it *hen*, from the
 MS.; see Anc. Songs, p. 25.
- Hened, *n.* S. head, 624, 1653,
 1701, 1759, &c. *Heuedes*, *pi.* 1907.
- Heuere. *See* Euere.
- Heui, *adj.* S. heavy, 808; la-
 borious, 2456.
- Hew, *pa. t.* S. cut, 2729. Sir
 Tr. p. 20.
- Hext, *adj. sup.* S. highest, tallest,
 1080. *Hast*, Lazamon; *Hext*, K.
 Alisaund. 7961; R. Gl.; Chauc.
- Hey, Heye. *See* Heie.
- Heye, *adv.* S. on high, 43, 335,
 695, &c.
- Heylike, *adv.* S. highly, honour-
 ably, 2319. *Heyelike*, 1329.
- Heyman, *n.* S. nobleman, 1260.
 Sir Tr. p. 82. *Heymen*, *Heyemen*,
pl. 231, 958.
- Hi, Hie. *See* Ich.
- Hider, *adv.* S. hither, 868, 885,
 1431.
- Hides, *n. pl.* S. hides, skins, 918.
- Hijs, *pron.* S. his, 47, 468. *Hise*,
 34, &c. *Hyse*, 355. [The final *e*
 is most used with *plural* nouns.]
- Hile, *v.* S. [*hēlan*] to cover, hide,
 2082. *Hele*, Sir Tr. p. 19, Web.,
 Rits. M. R., Chauc. *Hilles*, Yw.
 and Gaw. 741. V. Jam. in *v.*
Heild.—Somersetsh.
- Him, *pron.* S. them, 257, 1169.
- Hine, *n. pl.* S. hinds, bondsmen,
 620. Web. *Hinen*, R. Gl., V. Jam.
 in *v.*
- Hinne. *See* per-inne.
- Hire, *pron.* S. her, 127, &c.
Hire semes, it beseems her, 2916.
- His for Is, 279, 1973, 2692.
- Hise. *See* Hijs.
- Hof for Of, 1976.
- Hof, *pa. t.* S. heaved, 2750.
- Hok, *n.* S. hook, 1102.
- Hol, *adj.* whole, well, 2075.
- Holi, *adj.* S. holy, 1361. [*Printed*
hoh in the former edition.]

- Hold, *adj.* S. firm, faithful, 2781, 2816.
 Ant suore othes *holde*,
 That huere non ne sholde
 Horn never bytreye.
K. Horn, 1259.
 Cf. R. Glouc. p. 377, 383, 443;
 K. Alisaund. 2912; *Chron.* of
 Engl. 730.
- Hold, Holde, *adj.* S. old, 30,
 192, 417, 956, &c.; former, 2460.
- Holden. *See* Halde.
- Hole, *n.* S. socket of the eye,
 1813.
- Holed. *See* Helen.
- Holpen. *See* Helpen.
- Hond, *n.* S. hand, 2446. *Hon*,
 1342. *Dut. c.* hend, 505, 2069;
pl. hondes, 215, 636. *Hond-dede*,
n. S. handiwork, 92.
- Honge. *See* Hangen.
- Hor. *See* Her, *n.*
- Hore, *n.* mercy, 153. *See* Ore.
- Horn, *n.* S. 779. [This probably
 refers to the *shape* of the *simmel*.
 Halliwell says, a *Simmel* is "gener-
 ally made in a *three-cornered* form."
 Cracknels are still made with
 pointed and turned up ends, not
 unlike *horns*.]
- Hors, *n.* S. horse, 2283. *Horse-*
knaue, groom, 1019. So in a curi-
 ous satirical poem, temp. Edw. II.
 Of rybandz y ryme,
 Ant rede o my rolle,
 Of gedelynges, gromes,
 Of Colyn, & of Colle;
 Harlotes, *hors knaues*,
 Bi pate & by polle.
 MS. Harl. 2253, f. 124 b.
 Used also by Gower, Conf. Am.
See Todd's *Illustr.* p. 279.
- Hosen, *n. pl.* S. hose, stockings,
 860, 969. In Sir Tr. p. 94,
 trowsers seem to be indicated.
- Hoslen, *v.* S. to administer or
 receive the sacrament, 212. *Hos-*
lon, 362. *Hosled*, *part. pa.* 364.
- Hoseled*, 2598. Le Bone Flor. 776.
 Chauc.
- Hoten. *See* Het.
- Houes, *pr. t.* S. behoves, 582.
 [Read bi-houes?]
- Hul, *n.* S. hollow, i. e. vale, 2687
A.S. hole. Cf. l. 2439.
- Hund, *n.* S. hound, 1994, 2435.
Hundes, *pl.* 2331.
- Hungred for Hunger, 2455.
- Hungreth, *pr. t.* hunger, 455.
Hungrede, *pa. t.* hungered, 654.
- Hure, *pron.* S. our, 338, 842,
 1231, &c.
- Hus for Us, 1217, 1409.
- Hus, *n.* S. house, 740. *Huse*,
 2913. *Hws*, 1141. *Milne-hous*,
 mill-house, 1967.
- Hyl, *n.* S. heap, 892. *Hil*, hill,
 1287.
- Hw, W, *adv.* S. how, 120, 288,
 827, 960, 1646, &c. *Hwou*, 2411,
 2946, 2987, &c.
- Hwan, *adv.* S. when, 408, 474,
 &c. *See* Quan.
- Hware, *adv.* S. where, 1881,
 2240, 2579. *Hwar-of*, whereof,
 2976. *Hwere*, 549, 1083.
- Hwat, *pron.* S. what, 596, 635,
 1137, 2547. *Wat*, 117, 541, &c.
Wat is yw, 453. *Hwat* or *Wat is*
be, 1951, 2704.
- Hwat. *See* Quath.
- Hwel, *n.* S. whale, or grampus,
 755. *Hwal*, balena, vel cete, vel
 cetus. *Ælf. Gl.* *See* Qual.
- Hweþer, *adv.* S. whether, 294,
 2098.
- Hwi, *adv.* S. why, 454. *See* Qui.
- Hwil, *adv.* S. whilst, 301, 363,
 538, 2437.
- Hwile, *n.* S. time, 722, 1830.
- Hwil-gat, *adv.* S. how, lit. which
 way, 836. *Howgates*, Skinner
- Hwit, *adj.* S. white, 1729.

- Hwo, *pron.* S. who, 296, 300, 368, 2604, &c. *See* Wo.
- Hwor, *adv.* S. whether, 1119. *Hwoore-so*, wheresoever, 1349.
- Hwou. *See* Hw.
- Hws. *See* Hus.
- Hyse. *See* Hijs.
- Ich, *pron.* S. I, 167, &c. *Ihc*, 1377. *Hic*, 305. *Hi*, 487. *I*, 686. *I*, 15, &c.
- Id *for* It, 2424.
- I-gret, 163. *See* Grette.
- I-groten. *See* Graten.
- Il, *adj.* S. each, every, 818, 1740, 2112, 2483, 2514. *Ilc*, 1056, 1921. *Ilke*, 821, 1861, 2959, 2996; (=same), 1088, 1215, 2674, &c. *Ilker*, each (of them), 2352. *Ilkan*, each one, 1770, 2357. *Ilkon*, 1842, 2108. *See* Eueri.
- Ille, *adv.* S. Likede hire swithe *ille*, 1165, it displeased her much. Sir Tr. p. 78. A common phrase. *Ille maked*, ill treated, 1952.
- I-maked. *See* Maken.
- Inne, *adv.* S. in, 762, 807. *See* Perinne.
- Inow, *adv.* S. enough, 706, 911, 931, &c. *Ynow*, 563, 1795. *Ynou*, 904.
- Intil, *prep.* S. into, 128, 251, &c. *See* Til.
- Ioie, *n.* Fr. joy, 1209, 1237, 1278, &c. *Ioye*, 1315.
- Ioyinge, *n.* gladness, 2087.
- Ioupe, *n.* Fr. a doublet, 1767. Roquefort gives the form *Jupe*, but *Jupon* or *Gipoun* is more usual. *See* *Jupon* in Halliwell, and *Gipe* in Roquefort.
- Is *for* His, 735, 2254, 2479.
- Iuele, *n.* S. evil, injury, 50, 1689. *Yuel*, 2221. *Yuele*, 994. *Iuel*, sickness, 114. *Yuel*, 144, 155.
 þa þe he wes ald mon,
 þa com him *yfel* on.
 Lazam. l. 19182.
- Ful iuele o-bone*, very lean, 2505; cf. 2525.
- Iuele, *adv.* S. evilly, 2755. *Me yuele like*, displease me, 132. Cf. *Ille liken*.
- Kam. *See* Komen.
- Kaske, *adj.* strong, vigorous, 1841. Sw. *karsk*.
- Kaym, *n. p.* Cain, 2045. *See* note in loc.
- Kayn, *n.* 31, 1327. Evidently a provincial pronunciation of *Thayn*, which in the MS. may elsewhere be read either *chayn* or *thayn*. By the same mutation of letters *make* has been converted into *mate*, *cake* into *cate*, *wayke* into *wayte*, *lake* into *late* (R. Hood, i. 106), &c., or *vice versâ*. *See* *Thayn*.
- Kaysere. *See* Cayser.
- Keft, *part. pa.* purchased, 2005. *Sure keft* = sourly (bitterly) purchased it. *See* *Sure and Coupe*.
- Keling, *n.* 757, cod of a large size, Jam. q. v. The *kelyng* appears in the first course of Archb. Nevil's Feast, 6 Edw. IV. *See* Warner's *Antiq. Cul.* Cotgrave explains *Merlus*, A Melwall or *Keeling*, a kind of small cod, whereof stockfish is made.
- Keme. *See* Komen.
- Kempe, *n.* S. knight, champion, 1036. V. Jam. in v.
- Kene, *adj.* S. keen, bold, eager, 1832, 2115. A term of very extensive use in old Engl. and Sc. poetry, and the usual epithet of a knight.
- Kesten, *v.* S. to cast in prison, or to overthrow, 81, 1785 (used passively). *Custen*, cast, throw, 2101. *Keste*, *pa. t.* cast, 2449. *Keste*, *part. pa.* cast, placed, 2611; [or it may be the infin. mood.]
- Keuel, *n.* S. a gag, 547. *See* *Kevel* in Hall, *Keuel* in Jam. A.S. *cæfli*, a halter, headstall.

- Kid, *part. pa.* S. made known, discovered, 1060. Sir Tr. p. 150; R. Br.; Yw. and Gaw. 530; Minot, p. 4; Chauc. From *cýpan*, notum facere.
- Kin, Kyn, *n.* S. kindred, 393, 414, 2045.
- Kines, *n.* S. *gen. c.* kind, 861, 1140, 2691. *None kines* = of no kind; *newere kines* = of never a kind.
- Kinneriche. See Cunneriche.
- Kippe, *v.* S. [*cépan*] to take up hastily, 894. *Kipt, Kipte, pa. t.* snatched up, 1050, 2407, 2638.
Horn in is armes hire *kepte*.
K. Horn, 1208.
Kypte heore longe knyues, and slowe faste to gronde.
Rob. Glouc. p. 125.
Kept up, snatched up, Gl. R. Br. Jamieson derives the word from Su.-G. *kippa*, to take anything violently. V. in *v. Kip*. Ihre quotes the Icel. *kípti up* = snatched up.
- Kirke, *n.* S. church, 1132, 1355.
Kirkes, pl. 2583. V. Gl. Lynds. and Jam.
- Kiste. See Chiste.
- Kiste, *pa. t. s.* kissed, 1279.
Kisten, pa. t. pl. S. kissed, 2162.
- Kiwing, *n.* 1736. [Respecting this word I can only record my conviction that it is not safe to quote it, as the MS. is indistinct. I read the word as *kilping*, which I believe to be merely miswritten for *ilk ping* (which the scribe also spells *il ping*), and I suppose the sense of the line to be—"when they had there distributed everything."]
- Knaue, *n.* S. lad, 308, 409, 450, &c. Attendant, servant, 458. *Cokes knaue*, scullion, 1123.
Heore cokes & heore *cnaues*
Alle heo duden of lif *dæzen*.
Lazam. l. 13717.
- V. Jam. in *v. Gl. Lynds.* and Gl. Todd's Illustr. Chauc.
- Knawe, *v.* S. to know, 2785.
Knawe, pr. t. pl. know, 2207.
Kneu, pa. t. knew, 2468. *Knawed, part. pa.* known, 2057.
- Knith, Knith, *n.* S. knight, 77, 343, &c. *Knictes, pl.* 239. *Knithes*, 1068. *Knithes*, 2706.
- Kok, *n.* a cook, 873, 180, 891, 903, 921, 2898. See Cok.
- Komen, *v.* S. to come, 1001.
Comes, Cometh, imp. pl. come ye, 1798, 1885, 2247. *Kam, pa. t.* came, 766, 863. *Kom*, 1309. *Cam*, 2622. *Komen, pa. t. pl.* came, 1012, 1202. *Comen*, 2790. *Keme*, 1208. *Comen, part. pa.* come, 1714.
- Kope, *n.* Lat. cope, 429. *Copes, pl.* 1957.
- Koren, *n.* S. corn, 1879.
- Kouel. See Couel.
- Kouþen. See Couþe.
- Kradel-barnes, *n. pl.* S. children in the cradle, 1912.
- Kraken, *v.* S. to crack, break, 914. *Krake*, 1857. *Crake*, 1908. *Crakede, pa. t.* cracked, broke, 568. *Kraked, part. pa.* 1238.
- Krike, *n.* S. creek, 708.
- Kunne. See Canst.
- Kuneriche, Kunerike, Kunrik. See Cunneriche.
- Kyne-merk, *n.* S. mark or sign of royalty, 604. In the same manner are compounded *cine-helm*, *cine-stol*, &c.
& Cador þe kene
scal beren þas *kinges marke*;
hæbben hæze þene drake,
biforen pissere duzeðe.
Lazam. l. 19098.
- Thyll ther was of her body
A fayr chyld borne, and a godele,
Hadde a dowbyll *kynges marke*.
Emare, 502.

- Lac*, *n.* S. fault, reproach, 191, 2219. *Yw.* and *Gaw.* 264, 1133.
Lak, *R. Br.*, Rom. of Merlin, ap. Ellis, *M. R. V.* i. p. 252. Sir Orpheo, 421. *Lakke*, *P. Plowm.* Chauc. So in *Sc. V. Jam.* and *Gl. Lynds. v. Lak, Lack.*
- Ladde*, *n.* S. lad, 1786. *Ladden*, *pl.* 1038. *Laddes*, 1015, &c. A term subsequently applied to persons of low condition. "When *laddes* weddeth leuedis—" Prophecy of Tho. of Essedoune, *MS. Harl.* 2253, f. 127.
- Large*, *adj.* *Fr.* *Lat.* liberal, bountiful, 97, 2941. *R. Gl. Yw.* and *Gaw.* 865. Sir Orpheo, 27. *Sevyn Sages*, 1251. Chauc.
- Late*, *v.* S. [*létan*] *pres. subj.* let, suffer, 486. *Late*, *pr. t.* let, permit, 1741. *Late*, *imp.* let, suffer, 17, 1376, 2422. *Leth*, *pa. t.* let, suffered, 2651; caused, 252. *Late*, *part. pa.* or *inf.* put, 2611.
- Laten*, *v.* S. [*létan*] to leave, 328. *Late be*, *imp.* leave, relinquish, 1265; *inf.* 1657. *Let*, *pa. t.* left, 2062. *Laten*, *part. pa.* left, abated, 240, 1925.
- Lath*, *n.* S. injury, 76. *Lathe*, 2718, 2976.
- Lauhwinde*, *part. pr.* S. laughing, 946.
- Laute*, *pa. t.* S. [*læccan*, *læhte*] received, took, 744. *Lauthe*, 1673. *Lauth*, *part. pa.* received, taken, 1988. *I-læhte*, *Lazam.* l. 29260.
 Horn in herte *læzte*
 Al þat he him *tæzte*.
K. Horn (ed. Lumby), 243.
Laght, *Yw.* and *Gaw.* 2025. *Laught*, *K. Alisaund.* 685, 1109. *Lauht*, *R. Br.* (See *Hearne's blundering Gl.* in *voc.*) *Rits. A.S.* p. 46. *Laucht*, *Wall.* ix. 1964.
- Laumprei*, *n.* S. lamprey, 771. *Laumprees*, *pl.* 897.
- Lawe*, *Lowe*, *adj.* S. low, 2431, 2471, 2767, &c.
- Lax*, *n.* S. [*læx*] salmon, 754, 1727. *Laxes*, *pl.* 896. *V. Spelm.* and *Somn.* in *v.* Jamieson says, it was "formerly the only name by which this fish was known." Cf. *Dan. Sw. Icel. lax.*
- Layke*, *v.* S. [*lācan*] to play, 1011. *Leyke*, *Leyken*, 469, 950, 997. *Leykeden*, *pa. t. pl.* played, 954. In the same sense the verb is found in *P. Plowman*, and *Sevyn Sages*, 1212. So in *Sc.* and *N.E. V. Jam. v. Laik*, *Ray*, *Brockett*, and *Crav. Dial. v. Lake.*
- Leche*, *n.* S. physician, 1836, 2057.
- Led*, a caldron, kettle, 924. Chauc. *Prol.* 202.
- Lede*, *Leden*, *v.* S. to lead, 245, &c.; *utlede*, 89. Cf. 346, 379. *Ledes*, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* uses, carries, 2573. *Ledde*, *pa. t.* led, 1686. *Ledden*, *pa. t. pl.* led, 2451.
- Lef*, *adj.* S. agreeable, willing, *lef and loth*, 261, 440, 2273, 2313, 2379, 2775. A very usual phrase. See *Beowulf*, l. 1026. Chauc. *C. T.* 1839. *R. Hood*, i. 41. *Leue*, 431, 909. Sir *Tr.* p. 187. *K. Horn*, 949, &c. *Leuere*, *comp.* more agreeable, rather, 1193, 1423, 1671, &c. *Lef*, used as *adv.* willingly, in the phrase "Ye! lef, ye!" = yes, willingly, yes, 2606; cf. l. 1888.
- Leidest.* See *Leyn.*
- Leite*, *adj.* S. light, 2441.
- Leme*, *n.* S. limb, 2555. *Lime*, 1409. *Limes*, *pl.* 86.
- Leman*, *n.* S. mistress, lover, 1191. *Lemman*, 1283, 1312, 1322. Used by all the old writers, and applied equally to either sex.
- Lende*, *v.* S. to land, 733. Sir *Tr.* p. 13. *R. Br.* See *Jam.* in *v. Leind.*
- Lene*, *v.* S. [*leanian*] to lend, grant, 2072.
 I sal *lene* the her mi ring.
Yw. and *Gaw.* 737

- Lenge, *n.* the fish called *ling*, 832. [*Asellus longus*, or *Islandicus*, Ray.] It was a common dish formerly. Thus we have *Lyng* in *jelly*, in Archb. Nevil's Feast, 6 Edw. IV., and *Lyng* in *foyle*, in Warham's Feast, 1504. See Pegge's *Form of Cury*, p. 177, 184, and MS. Sloane, 1986.
- Lenge, *v.* S. to prolong, 1734, 2363. P. Plowm.
- Leoun, *n.* Lat. lion, 573. *Leun*, 1867.
- Lepe, *v.* S. escape from (?) 2009. *Loupe*, to leap, 1801. *Lep*, *pa. t.* leapt, 891, 1777, 1942. *Lopen*, *pa. t. pl.* 1896, 2616.
- Lere, Leren, *v.* S. to learn, 797, 823; to teach, 2592. *F-lere*, 12.
- Lese, *v.* S. *imp. s.* 3 *p.* loose, 333. Sir Tr. p. 110.
- Leth. See Late.
- Lette, *v.* S. [*lattan*, *lettan*] to hinder, retard, 1164, 2253, 2819; to stop, cease, 2445, 2627. *Let*, *pa. t.* stopped, stayed, 2447, 2500. *Leten*, *pa. t. pl.* stopped, delayed, 2379.
- Leue, *n.* S. leave, 1387, 1626, 2952, &c.
- Leue, *adj.* See Lef.
- Leue, *v.* S. [*lýfan*] *imp. s.* grant, 334, 406, 2807. K. Horn, 465, MS.; R. Gl., Erle of Tol. 365. Guy of Warw. ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 77, where it is misprinted *lene*. It is very frequently used in the old Engl. Metrical Lives of the Saints, MS. Laud, 108. [The true distinction between *leue* and *lene* is, that the former is the A.S. *lýfan*, G. *erlauben* = grant in the sense of *allow*, *permit*, and is invariably intransitive; whilst *lene* is the A.S. *lænan*, G. *leihen* = grant in the sense of *give*. The confusion between the senses of *grant* has led to confusion between *lene* and *leue*, and in at least five passages of Chaucer (C. T. 7226, 13613; Tro. ii. 1212, iii. 56, v. 1749, ed. Tyrwhitt) many editions wrongly have *lene*. In the last three instances Tyrwhitt rightly prints *leue*, but unnecessarily corrects himself in his Glossary. I regret to add that I have thrice made a similar mistake. In Piers Plowman, A. v. 263, and in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, ll. 366 and 573, for *lene* read *leue*. Halliwell's remark, that "the [former] editor of Havelok absurdly prints *leue*" is founded upon the same misconception, and he is wrong in his censure. See the use of *lefe* in the Ormulum, ed. White.]
- Leued, *pa. t.* S. left, 225.
- Leuedi, *n.* S. lady, 171, &c. *Leuedyes*, *pl.* 239. V. Hickes, Diss. Ep. p. 52, n.
- Leuere. See Lef.
- Leues, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* S. believes, 1781, 2105. From *lefan*.
- Leuin, *n.* S. lightning, 2690. R. Br. p. 174. Yw. and Gaw. Chauc. C. T. 5858. Doug. Virg. 200, 53.
- Lewe, *adj.* S. warm, 498, 2921.
A opened wes his breoste,
þa blod com forð luke.
Lazam. l. 27556.
- Leyd, Leyde. See Leyn.
- Leye, *n.* S. lie, falsehood, 2117.
- Leye, *v.* S. to lie, speak false, 2010.
- Leyke, Leyken. See Layke.
- Leyk, *n.* S. game, 1021, 2326. So in Beowulf, l. 2084, *sweordagelác*, and Sir Tr. p. 118, *love-laike*. In the *pl.* *laykes*, Minot, p. 10. In Lanc. a player is still called a *laker*.
- Leyn, *v.* S. to lay, 718. *Leyde*, *pa. t.* laid, 50, 994, &c.; stopped, 229. *Leides*, *pa. t.* 2 *p.* laidest, 636. *Leyden*, *pa. t. pl.* laid, 1907. *Leyd*, *part. pa.* laid, 1689, 1722, 2839.

- Lich, *adj.* like, 2155.
- Lict, Lith, *n.* S. light, 534, 576, 588, &c.
- Lift, *adj.* S. left (*lævus*), 2130.
- Ligge, Liggen, *v.* S. to lie down, 802, 876, 882, 1374. *See* Lyen.
- Lime, Limes, *See* Letne.
- Lite, *adj.* S. little, 276, 1730. *Litel*, 1858, &c. *Little*, 2014.
- Lith. *See* Lict.
- Lith, *imp.* S. light (thou), 585.
- Lith, *adv.* S. lightly, 1942.
- Lith, *n.* S. alleviation, comfort, peace, 1338. *Lyte*, 147. It also occurs as a sb. in Lazam. l. 5213. As an *adj.* it occurs in Lazam. l. 7242. Sir Tr. p. 43, 82. R. Cœur de L. 2480, and Emare, 348, from the *v.* *liðian*, alleviare. Cf. Icel. *lið*, sometimes used to mean *help*. *See* *Leathe* in Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary.
- Lith, *n.* S. 2515. This word is explained by Ritson *plains*, by Hearne *tenements*, and by Jamieson a *ridge* or *ascent*. Its real signification seems unknown, but may be conjectured from the following passages.
- No asked he lond no *lithe*.
Sir Tristr. p. 101.
 Ther wille not be went, ne lete
 ther lond ne *lith*.
R. Brunne, p. 194.
- where it answers to the Fr. *Ne* volent lesser tere ne *tenement*.
- Who schall us now geve londes or *lythe*.
Le Bone Flor. 841.
- Here I gif Schir Galerón, quod Gaynour, withouten ony gile,
 Al the londis and the *lithis* fro laver to layre.
Sir Gaw. and Sir Gal. ii. 27.
[*See* Glossary to *William of Palerne*, s. v. *Lud.*]
- Lithes, *n. pl.* S. the extreme points of the toes, or articulations, 2163. *Fingres lith*, extremum digiti, Luc. 16, 24.
- Lipes, *imp. pl.* S. listen, 1400, 2204. *Lypes*, 2576. The verb in the Sax. is *hlystan*, but in Su.-G. *lyda*, and Isl. *hlyda*, which approaches nearer to the form in the poem. So also in K. Horn, 2, *wilen lithe*, MS.; R. Br. p. 93; R. Hood, i. p. 2; Minot, p. 1. Still used in Sc. and N.E. V. Jam. and Brockett.
- Littene, *part. pa.* [or *inf.*?] 2701. "Qu. cut in pieces, from the same root as to *lith*, divide the joints. V. Jam. Suppl."—M. [Or it may mean disgraced, wounded, defeated. Cf. Su.-Goth. *lyta*, to wound; Icel. *lyta*, to disgrace; Sw. *lyte*, a defect, *litt*, deformed; Dan. *lyde*, a blemish.]
- Liue, *n. S. dat. c.* life, 232; *brouth of liue*, dead, 513, 2129. K. Horn, 188. *Of liue do*, kill, 1805. *Liues*, *gen. c.* as *adv.* alive, 509, 1003, 1307, 1919, 2854. *See* On-liue.
- Liuen, *v. S.* to live, 355. *Liuede*, *Liueden*, *pa. t. pl.* lived, 1299, 2044.
- Lof, *n. S.* loaf, 653.
- Loke, Loken, *v. S.* to look after, take care of, to behold, 376, 2136. *Lokes*, *pr. t. 2 p.* lookest, 2726. *Loke*, *imp.* look, 1680, 1712. *Lokes*, *imp. pl.* look ye, 2240, 2292, 2300, 2579, 2812. *Lokede*, *pa. t.* looked, 679, 1041.
- Loken, Lokene, *part. pa.* S. fastened, locked, closed, 429, 1957. So in the Const. Othonis, Tit. *de habitu Clericorum*; "In mensura decenti habeant vestes, et *cappis clausis* utuntur in sacris ordinibus constituti." V. Spelm. in *v. Cappa clausa*. So also in the *Acnren Riwle*, fol. 17—"gif he haues a wid hod and a *lokin* cape, &c."
- Lond, Londe, *n. S.* land, 64, 721, &c. *Lon*, 340.
- Long, *adj.* S. tall, 987, 1063. So K. Horn, 100.

- Longes, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* S. belongs, 396. R. Br., Chauc., &c.
- Lopen. *See* Lepe.
- Loth, *adj.* S. loath, unwilling, 261, 410, &c. *See* Lef.
- Louede, *pa. t.* S. loved, 71. *Loueden, pa. t. pl.* 955.
- Louerd, *n.* S. lord, master, 96, 483, &c. *Lowerd*, 621.
- Louerdinges, *n. pl.* S. lordings, masters, 515, 1401. *See* Note in Warton's Hist. Engl. Poet. V. i. p. 19. Ed. 1840.
- Loupe. *See* Lepe.
- Low, *pa. t.* S. laughed, 903. K. Horn, 1502. *Lowen, pa. t. pl.* 1056.
- Lowe, *n.* S. [*hlæw*] hill, 1291, 1699. Rits. M. R., Web., &c. V. Jam. and Brockett's Gl. v. *Lawe*.
- Lune, *n.* S. love, 195. [*Luede-drurye* seems here to be a compound word, meaning *love-courtship*. *Lufedrouerie* also = love-token, *Lyndesay's Sq. Meidrum*, 1003. *See* Drurye.]
- Lyen, *v.* S. to lie (in bed), 2134. *Leyen, pt. pl.* lay, 475.
- Lype. *See* Lith.
- Maght, Mait. *See* Mowe.
- Make, *n.* S. mate, companion, wife, 1150. K. Horn, 1427. K. Alisaund. 3314. Le Bone Flor. 881. Chauc. Sc. *Maik*. V. Jam.
- Maken, *v.* S. to make, 29, &c. *Make*, 676. *Makeden, pa. t. pl.* made, 554. *I-maked, part. pa.* made, 5.
- Male, *n.* Fr. a budget, bag, wallet, 48. Lazamon, l. 3543. Web., Chauc., R. Hood.
- Malisun, *n.* Fr. malediction, curse, 426. Sir Tr. p. 179.
- Manred, Manrede, *n.* S. homage, fealty, 484, 2172, 2180, 2248, 2265, 2312, 2774, 2816, 2847, 2850. Leg. of S. Gregori, ap. Leyd. Compl. of Scotl. *See* Jam. for further examples.
- Marz, *n.* Lat. March, 2559.
- Maugre, Fr. in spite of, 1128, 1789. *See* Tyrwh. Gl. to Chauc. and Jam. in v.
- Maydnes, *n. pl.* S. maidens, 467, 2222.
- Mayster, *n.* Fr. master, 1135; chief, 2028, 2385.
- Mayt, Mayth. *See* Mowe.
- Mede, *n.* S. reward, 102, 685, 1635, 2402.
- Mele, *n.* S. oat-meal, 780.
- Mele, *v.* Fr. to contend in battle, 2059. Gaw. and Gol. ii. 18. *Mellay*, Wynt. viii. 15, 19. V. Jam.
- Meme, 2201, *probably miswritten for neme*; *see* Nime.
- Men (used with a sing. vb. like the Fr. *on*), men, people, 390, 647, 2610.
- Mene, *v.* S. to mean, signify, 2114. *Menes, pr. t.* 3 *p.* means, 597.
- Menie, *n.* Fr. family, 827. *Meynie*, 834. This word is to be found from the time of Lazamon to Shakespeare. Jamieson attempts to derive it from the North. V. in v. *Menzie*. *See* *maisnie* in Roquefort.
- Mere, *n.* S. mare, 2449, 2478, 2504.
- Messe, *n.* Fr. Lat. the service of the mass, 243, 1176. *Messe-bok*, mass-book, 186, 391, 2710. *Messe-gere*, all the apparel, &c., pertaining to the service of the mass, 188, 389, 1078, 2217.
- Mest, *adj. sup.* S. greatest, 233. *Moste*, 1287; tallest, 983.
- Mester, *n.* Fr. trade, 823. K. Horn (ed. Lumby), 229.
- Met, *pp.* S. dreamt, 1285.
- Mete, *n.* S. meat, 459, &c. *Metes, pl.* 1733.

- Meynie. *See* Menie.
- Michel, *adj.* S. much, 510, 660.
Mik, 2342. *Mike*, 960 (cf. Horn Childe, ap. Rits. V. 3, 292), 1744, 1761, 2336. *Mikel*, 122, 478, &c.
- Micte, Micten, Micthe, Mithe, Mithest, Mithen. *See* Mowe.
- Mieth, *n.* S. might, power, 35.
- Middelerd, *n.* S. the earth, world, 2244. *Middelaerd*, Lazam., Rits., Web., R. Gl., Minot, &c. So in Sc. V. Jam.
- Mik, Mike, Mikel. *See* Michel.
- Milce, *n.* S. [*mildse*] merey, 1361. A! me do pine *milce*, Lazam. l. 4681; R. Gl. It is usually coupled with *ore*.
- Milne-hous. *See* Hus.
- Mirke, *adj.* S. dark, 404. R. Br., Lynds.; *merke*, Chauc. Still used in Sc. and N.E. V. Jam.
- Misdede, *pa. t.* S. did amiss, 337; injured, 992, 1371. *Misdo*, *part. pa.* misdome, offended, 2798.
- Misferde, *pa. t.* S. behaved, or proceeded ill, 1869. *See* Faren.
- Misgos, *pr. t. 2 p.* S. goest or behavest amiss, 2707.
- Misseyd, *part. pa.* S. spoken to reproachfully, 1688.
- Mithe, Mythe, *v.* S. [*miðan*] to conceal, hide, dissemble, 652, 948, 1278. Sche might no lenger *mithe*. Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R. V. 3, p. 310.
- Mixed, *adj.* vile, base, 2533. From S. *myx*, fimus. Cf. *Mix* in *William of Palerne*.
- Mo, *adj. comp.* S. more, 1742, 1846.
- Mod, *n.* S. mood, humour, 1703.
- Moder, *n.* S. mother, 974, 1388, &c.
- Mone, *n.* S. moon, 373, 403.
- Mone, *n.* S. mind, say, opinion, 816. Cf. A.S. *myne*, *monian*, *monung*; Icel. *munr*. Hence, to *mone*, to relate, R. Cœur de L. 4636, and to *animadvert*, in Barbour. It appears to express the Fr. phrase *par le mien escient*, K. Horn, 467, MS. Douce. In nearly the same sense *mone* may be found in K. Alisaund. 1281, R. Gl. pp. 281, 293. Cf. ll. 1711, 1972.
- Mone, *v. pl.* [Isl. *mun*] must, 840. *Maun*, Sc. *Mun*, Yorksh. Cumb. V. Jam.
- Morwen, *n.* S. morning, 811, 1131, 2669, &c. *To-morwen*, 530, 810. *Amorwe*, Sir Tr., K. Horn.
- Moste. *See* Mest.
- Mote, *v.* S. may, 19, 406, 1743, 2545. *Moten*, *pl.* 18.
- Moun. *See* Mowe.
- Mowe, *v.* S. *pres. sing.* may, be able, 175, 394, 675. *Mowen*, *pl.* 11. *Moun*, 460, 2587. *Mait*, *pr. t. 2 p.* mayest, 689. *Mayt*, 845, 852, 1219. *Mayth*, 641. *Maght*, *pa. t. 2 p. s.* mightest, 1348. *Mithe*, *Mithest*, 855, 1218. *Micte*, *Micthe*, *Mithe*, *pa. t. 3 p.* might, 42, 233, 1030, 1080. *Mouchte*, *Moucte*, *Mouchthe*, *Mouthe*, *Mowcte*, 145, 356, 376, &c. *Micte*, *Micten*, *Mithen*, *pl.* 232, 516, 1929, 2017. *Mouhte*, *Mouthe*, *Mouthen*, 1183, 2019, 2039, 2328, 2330, &c. V. Pegge's Anecd. of Engl. Lang. p. iii.
- Na, *adv.* S. no, 2363, 2530.
- Nam. *See* Nime.
- Nayles, *n. pl.* S. nails, 2163.
- Ne, *adv.* S. nor, 44, &c.
- Nede, *n.* S. need, necessity, 9, &c. *Nedes*, *pl.* 1692.
- Neme. *See* Nime.
- Ner, *adv.* S. near, 990, 1949.
- Nese, *n.* S. nose, 2450.
- Nesh, *adj.* S. [*nesc*] soft, tender, 2743. *Nays*, 217. Web., Rits. M. R., Rob. Br., Chauc. Still used in N.W. part of England.

- Neth, *n.* S. net, 752, 808, 1026 ;
pl. netes, 783.
- Neth, *n.* S. neat, cattle, 700,
 1222. *Netes, g. c.* neat's, 781.
- Nepeles, *conj.* S. nevertheless,
 1108, 1658.
- Neue, *n.* S. fist, 2405. *Neues*,
pl. 1917. V. Jan.
- Neure, *adv.* S. not, never, 80,
 672; *neuere a polk*, ne'er a pool,
 2685. *Neuere kines*, of no kind,
 2691.
- Ney, *adv.* nigh, near to, nearly,
 464, 640, 2619.
- Neys. *See* Nesh.
- Neyper, Nepe, *pron.* S. neither,
 not either, 458, 764, 2970, &c.
Nofer, 2623. *Noyper*, 2697.
- Newhen, *v.* S. [*nehwan*] to ap-
 proach, 1866. In the more recent
 form to *neigh* it is used in several
 of the old Romances, Chauc., and
 Minot.
- Nicht, Nieth, *n.* S. night, 533,
 575. *Niht*, 2669. *Nith*, 404,
 1247, 1754. *Nithes, g. c.* of night,
 2100. *Nihtes, nithes, pl.* 2353;
nihtes, 2999.
- Nime, *v.* S. *pr. s.* take, or go,
 1931. *Nim, imp. take*, 1336. *Nam*,
pa. t. took, 900; went, 2930. *Neme*,
pl. went, 1207; cf. l. 2201. *Nomen*,
 took, 2790. *Nomen, Numen, part.*
pa. taken, 2265, 2581. *Nimes, imp.*
pl. go ye, 2594; *nime*, go we, 2600.
 In the first sense this verb is com-
 mon in all the Glossaries, but in
 the latter sense *To go* it occurs
 nowhere but in the Gl. to Rob.
 Brunne, who, from being a Lincoln-
 shire man, approaches nearer to
 the language of the present poem
 than any other writer. [In N. E.
 to *nim* is to walk with quick, short
 steps.]
- Nis, *for* Ne is, is not, 462, 1998,
 2244.
- Nither-tale, *n.* S. night-time,
 2025. *See* Chaucer, Prol. l. 97.
- Noblelike, *adv.* S. nobly, 2640.
- Nok, *n.* [Belg. *nock*] nook, cor-
 ner, 820; *nouth a ferthinges nok*,
 not the value of a farthing. The
 same phr. is in the *Manuel des*
Pechés of Rob. of Brunne, MS.
 Harl. 1701, fol. 39.
- Nomen. *See* Nime.
- Non, *adj.* S. no, 518, 685, 1019;
 no one, 934, 974.
- Note, *n.* S. a nut, 419. *Nouthe*,
 1332.
- Nofer. *See* Neyper.
- Nou, *adv.* S. now, 328, 1362,
 &c. *Nu*, 2421, 2460, 2650, &c.
- Nout, Nouth, Nouht, *n.* or *adv.*
 S. not, naught, nothing, not at all,
 249, 505, 566, 648, 1733, 2051,
 2822. *Nowt, Nowth*, 770, 2168,
 2737.
- Nouthe. *See* Note.
- Noyper. *See* Neyper.
- Nu. *See* Nou.
- Numen. *See* Nime.
- Nytte, *v.* S. make use of, require
 for use, 941. A.S. *nyttian, neotan*,
 G. *nützen*, Du. *nutten*.
- O. *See* On.
- Of, *prep.* S. off, 130, 216, 603,
 857, 1850, 2444, 2626, 2676, 2751,
 &c. *Of londe*, out of the land,
 2599. Sir Tr.
- Offe, *prep.* S. of, 435. *Of*, 436.
- Offrende, Dan. Fr. offering, 1386.
- Ofte, *adv.* S. often, 226, &c.
- Ok. *See* Ek.
- On, *adj.* S. one, 425, 1800, 2028,
 2263, &c.
- On, *in* But on. *See* But.
- On, *prep.* S. in, on. *On liue*,
 281, 363, 694, 793, &c. *O liue*,
 2865. *On two*, 471, 1823, 2730,
 in two; a *two*, 1413, 2643. *O londe*,
 763, on, or in land. *On knes*, 1211,

- 1302, 2710, on knees; *o knes*, 2252, 2796. *On brenne*, 1239, in flame, on fire. *O nith*, 1251, in the night. *On nithes*, 2048. *O worde*, 1349, in the world (*see* Werd). *O mani wise*, 1713, in many a manner. *On gamen*, 1716, in sport. *On lesse hwile*, 1830, in less time. *O bok*, 2307, 2311, on the book. *Wel o bon*, 2355, 2525, 2571, strong of body. *Iuele o bone*, 2505, lean. *On hunting*, 2382. *O stede*, 2549, on steed. *Up-o the dogges*, 2596, on the dogs. From these examples, added to those which occur in every Glossary, it is evident the Sax. prep. *On* was subsequently corrupted to *O* and *A*. *See* Tyrwh. and Jam. *A nycht* in Barb. xix. 657, explained by the latter *one* night, is according to the above rule *In the night*, as confirmed by l. 1251. Sir Tr. pp. 47, 114. R. Glouc.
- One*, *adj.* S. alone, singly, 815, 936, 1153, 1710, 1742, 1973, 2433. There hue wonede al *one*.
K. Horn, 80.
See Tyrwh. Gl., Chauc. v. *On*.
- Ones*, *adv.* S. once, 1295.
- Onfrest*, *v.* delay, 1337. From Su.-G. *fresta*, to delay, A.S. *firstan*, from Su.-Goth. *frest* or *frist*, A.S. *fyrst*, a space of time. Cf. Dan. and Sw. *first*, a truce. *Frest*, delay, Barb. vii. 447.
- Onlepi*. *See* Anilepi.
- Onne*, *prep.* S. on, 347, 1940.
- Onon*, *adv.* S. anon, speedily, 136, 447, 1964, 2790.
- Ontil*, *prep.* S. unto, for, 761.
- Or*, *adv.* S. previously, before, 728, 1043, 1356, 1688, &c. *Or outh longe*, 1789, before any long time.
- Ore*, *n.* S. favour, grace, mercy, 153, 211, 2443, 2797. Ich hadde of hire milse an *ore*. Hule and Nihtingale, l. 1081. Sir Tr. p. 24. K. Horn (ed. Lumby), 1509. *See* Tyrwhitt's Note on Chauc. C. T. 3724, and Ritson's Note, Metr. Rom. V. iii. p. 263. A.S. *ár*.
- Ore*, *n.* S. oar, 718, 1871, &c. *Ores*, *pl.* 711.
- Ored for Hosed*, 971.
- Oth*, *n.* S. oath, 2009, 2272, &c. *Opes*, *pl.* 2013, 2231, &c.
- Ope for Oper*, 861, 1986, 2970.
- Oper*, *conj.* S. either, or, 94, 674, 787, &c. *See* Ayther.
- Oper*, *adj.* S. [*alter*] the other of two, second, 879. *þe oper day*, 1755, the following day.
Day hit is igon & *oper*,
Wipute sail & roþer.
K. Horn, ed. Lumby, 187.
So also R. Br. p. 169, and Wynt.
- Oper*, *adj.* S. [*alius*] other, 2490. *Opre*, *pl.* others, 1784, 2413, 2416.
- Ouer-fare*, *v.* S. to pass over, cease, 2063. *See* Fare.
- Ouer-go*, *v.* S. to be disregarded, 2220.
- Ouer-gange*, *v.* S. to get the superiority over, 2587.
- Ouer-þwert*, *adv.* S. across, 2822. *Ouerthuert*, R. Br. p. 241. *Ouertwert*, Ly Beaus Desc. 1017. *Ouerthwarte*, Syr Eglamore, B. iii. Chauc. C. T. 1993.
- Oune*, *adj.* S. own, 375, 2428.
- Oure*, *n.* bank, shore, 321. G. *ufer*. A.S. *ôfer*. Cf. "to þan castle of Deoure on þere sæ *oure*." *Lazamon*, l. 31117.
- Outh*, *n.* S. [*aniht*] any space of time, aught, 1189; cf. l. 1789; anything, 703. [*Outh douth* = was worth anything, was of any value.]
- Palefrey*, *n.* Fr. saddle-horse, 2060. *See* Gl. on Chauc. in v. Pegge's Anec. Engl. Lang. p. 289.
- Pappes*, *n.* *pl.* Lat. breasts, 2132.

Parred, *part. pa.* confined, fastened in, barred in, 2439. We have met with this word only in one instance, where Ritson leaves it unexplained.

Yn al this [tyme] was sir Ywayn
Ful straitly *parred* with mekil payn.
Yw. and Gaw. 3227.

[It is undoubtedly equivalent to O.E. *sperre*, or *spere*. Halliwell, s. v. *Parred*, quotes "3e are *parred* in . . . 3e are so *spered* in." So, too, the Ital. *sbarra* is the Fr. *barre*. Cf. A.S. *sparan*, O.N. *sperra*, Sc. *spar*. Hence the derivation of *park*, O.E. *parrock*, an enclosure.]

Pastees, *n. pl.* Fr. pasties, patés, 644.

Ther beth bowris and halles,
Al of *pasteüs* beth the walles.
Land of Cokaygne, MS. Harl.
913, f. 5.

Pateyn, *n. Lat.* the Plate used in the service of the Mass, 187.

Pape, *n. S.* path, road, 2381, 2390. *Papes*, *pl.* 268.

Patriark, *n. Lat.* patriarch, 428.

Payed, *part. pa.* Fr. satisfied, content, 184. Rits. M. R., Web., R. Gl., R. Br. *Apaied*, Chauc.

Pelle, *v.* drive forth (*intr.*), hurry forth, 810. Deriv. uncertain, unless it be connected with Lat. *pello*, Eng. *impel*. Cf. Eng. *pelt*.

Peni, *n. S.* penny, 705, 2147. *Penies*, *pl.* 776, 1172.

Per, *n. Fr.* peer, equal, 989, 2241, 2792.

Pike, *v.* to pitch (used passively), 707. Teut. *pecken*, Lat. *picare*. The verb in Saxon is not extant, but only the *n. pic*.

Pine, *n. S.* pain, grief, 405, 540, 1374. Sir Tr. p. 12. V. Jam.

Pine, *v. S.* to grieve, 1958.

Plat. See Plette.

Plattinde, *part. pr.* tramping

along, moving noisily or hurriedly, 2282. From the beating noise of the feet, like Sc. *platch* (q. v. in Jam.). See Pette.

Plawe, *v. S.* to play, 950. *Pleye*, 951.

Playces, *n. pl.* plaice, 896.

Pleinte, *n. Fr.* complaint, 134. *Pleynte*, 2961.

Plette, *v. S.* [*plættian*] to strike, 2444. *Plat*, *pa. t.* struck, 2755. *Plette*, 2626; *pl. plette*, hurried, moved noisily, 2613. [Cf. *Plattinde*, and note the double use of Sc. *skelp*, to beat, to hurry, and O.E. *strike*, to beat, to move along.]

Plith, *n. S.* [*pliht*] harm, 1370, 2002. *Lazam.* l. 3897.

Poke, *n. S.* a bag, 555, 769. *Pokes*, *pl.* 780.

Poles, *n. pl. S.* pools, ponds of water, 2101.

Polk, *n. S.* pool, puddle, 2685. *Pow*, Sir Tr. p. 171. *Pulk*, Somersetsh.

Pouere, Poure, *adj. Fr.* poor, 58, 101, 2457, &c.

Poureluke, *adv.* poorly, 323.

Prangled, *part. pa.* compressed, 639. Cf. Du. *prangen*, to pinch; Dan. *prange Seil*, to crowd sail.

Preie, *pr. t. S.* pray, 1440. *Prey*, *imp.* pray (thou), 1343. *Preide*, *pa. t.* prayed, 209.

Prest, *n. S.* priest, 429, 1829. *Prestes*, *pl.* 2583.

Priken, *v. S.* to spur a horse, ride briskly, 2639.

Prud, *adj. S.* proud, 302.

Pulten, *pa. t. pl.* so reads the MS. l. 1023, instead of *putten*. Both have the same signification. So in the Romance of *Rob. of Cecyle*, Harl. MS. 1701, f. 94, c. 1, *pulte* occurs for *put*, placed, and *pylt* in R. Cœur de L. 4085; *pelte*, Sir Tr. p. 95. In the *imp. Pult*

- for *put*, *place*, is used in *Hending the Hende*, MS. Digb. 86. In the signification of *drove forward*, which is nearer to the sense we require, we find *pylte* in K. Horn, 1433, and R. Glouc. Hence the Engl. word *pelt*. See *Putten*. Cf. *Pult* in Gl. to *Will. of Palerne*.
- Pund**, *n. pl.* S. pounds, 1633.
- Put**, *n.* cast, throw, 1055. *But*, 1040.
- Putten**, *v.* to cast, throw, propel forward, 1033, 1044. *Puten*, 1051. *Putte*, *pa. t.* cast, 1052. *Putten*, *pa. t. pl.* cast, threw, 1023, 1031, 1844. From the Fr. *bouter*, Teut. *buitten*, or Belg. *botten*, to drive or propel forward, or, as others suggest, from the Br. *putiaw*, which has the same meaning, or Isl. *potta*. From the same root are derived both *Put* and *But*. Thus to *butt* in Sc. is to drive at a stone in curling, and to *put* in Yorksh. is to push with the horns. In the passage before us it is applied to a particular game, formerly in great repute. See Note on l. 1022. Cf. Ramsay's Poems, ii. 106. The word is still retained in the North, and Sc. V. Jam. and Brockett. See *But* and *Pulten*.
- Putting**, *Puttinge*, *n.* casting, 1042, 1057, 2324.
- Pyment**, *n.* B. L. spiced wine, 1728. See Note on l. 1726.
- Qual**, *n.* S. [hwæl] whale or grampus, 753. See *Hwel*.
- Quan**, *Quanne*, *adv.* S. when, 134, 204, 240, &c. See *Hwan*.
- Quath**, *pa. t.* S. quoth, 606, 642, &c. *Hwat*, 1650, 1878. *Wat*, 595. *Quod*, 1888. *Quodh*, 1801. *Quot*, 1954, 2808. *Couth*, 2606.
- Queme**, *adj.* S. agreeable, 130, 393. Web., Rits. M. R., Rob. Br., R. Glouc., Gower, Chauc.
- Quen**, *n.* S. queen, 2760, 2783, &c. *Quenes*, *pl.* 2982.
- Qui**. See *Hwi*.
- Quic**, *Quik*, *adj.* S. alive, 612, 613, 1405, 2210, 2476, &c., *quik and ded*. This is the usual language of the Inquisitiones post mortem, which commence at the early part of Henry III. reign. For the usage of the term, see Gl. to Sir Tr. p. 98. Yw. and Gaw. 668. Chron. of Engl. 762, &c. The word is preserved in the vulgar version of the Scriptures, and Creed. *Quike*, quick, alert, 1348. *Al quic wede*, 2641. Cf. l. 2387.
- Quiste**, *n.* S. [cwide] bequest, will, 219, 365. *Quede*, K. Alisaund. 8020.
- Quod**, *Quodh*, *Quot*. See *Quath*.
- Radde**. See *Rede*.
- Ran**. See *Renne*.
- Rang**, *adj.* S. [rane] perverse, rebellious, 2561.
- Rath**, *n.* S. counsel; hence, an adviser, 75. *Dat. c. rathe*, in the phrase to *rathe*, 2542; for the meaning of which, see *Red*.
- Rape**, *adv.* S. speedily, readily, quickly, 358, &c. (In l. 1335, I prefer considering it as a verb.)
- Rathe**, *v.* S. [raedan] to advise, 1335. A provincial pronunciation of *Rede*. In l. 2817, it is still broader, "Yif ye it wilen and ek *rothe*." In the same manner *Rode* is spelt, and was undoubtedly pronounced *Rothe*, Ly Beaus Desc. 425, and *Abode* is spelt *Abothe*, ib. 1118. Cf. ll. 693, 1681, 2585, of the present poem, in all which instances the *d* in *rede* has the sound of *th*.
- Recke**, *pr. t. subj.* S. may reckon, may care, 2047, 2511. Sir Tr. p. 124, &c.
- Red**, *n.* S. advice, counsel, 180, 518, 826, 1194, 2871, &c. *To rede*, lit. for a counsel, i.e. advisable, 118, 693; spelt to *rathe*, 2542.

- Rede, *v. S.* to direct, advise, 104, 148, 361, 687, &c. *Radde, pa. t.* advised, 1353. V. Jam. in *v.* and Hearne's Gl. to R. Glouc.
- Reft, Refte, Reftes. *See* Reue.
- Regne, *pr. t. pl. Fr. Lat.* reign, assume the superiority, 2586. *Reng, Ring, Sc. V. Jam.* in *v.*
- Renne, *v. S.* to run, 1161, 1904. *Ran on blode, pa. t.* 432. So in Sir Tr. p. 176, *His heued ran on blod*; and in MS. Harl. 2253, f. 128, Lutel wot hit any mon hou loue hym haueth y-bounden, That for vs o the rode *ron*, ant bohte vs with is wounde.
- Reue, *n. S.* magistrate, 1627. *See* Greyue.
- Reue, Reuen, *v. S.* [*reafian*] to take away, bereave, rob, 480, 2590, 2991. *Refte, pa. t.* took away, bereaved, 2223, 2485. *Reftes, pa. t. 2 p.* tookest away, 2394. *Reft, part. pa.* taken away, bereaved, 1367, 1672, 2483; spoiled, 2004. Still used in the North.
- Reures, *n. pl. S.* robbers, be-reavers, 2104. Alle bacbiteres wendet to helle, Robberes & reueres & the mon-quelle. *A lutel sermun*, MS. Cal. A. ix. f. 246, b. V. Jam. in *v. Reyffar*.
- Reunesse, Rewnesse, *n. S.* compassion, 502, 2227.
- Rewe, *v. S.* to have pity, to compassionate, 497, 967. *Rewede, pa. t. (impersonal)* 503.
- Richelike, *adv. S.* richly, 421.
- Ricth, Ricthe. *See* Rith, Rithe.
- Ricthwise, *adj. S.* [*rihtwis*] righteous, just, 37. Rits., Web. M. R., Rob. Br., Minot, Lynds., R. Hood. [MS. *has* rirth wise.]
- Riden, *v. S.* to ride, 10, &c.
- Rig, *n. S.* back, 1775. So in Lazam. l. 6718. Burne he warp on *rigge*.
- Rike, *n. S.* kingdom, 290. *Heuene riche*, 133, 407. *See* Cunn-riche.
- Rim, Rym, *n. S. Fr.* rhyme, poem, 21, 2995, 2998. So Chauc. *Rime of Sire Thopas*. [The modern false spelling *rhyme* is due to confusion of Eng. *rime* with the Gk. *rhythm*.]
- Ringen, *v. S.* to ring, 242, 1106. *Ringes, pr. t. sing.* ring, 390. *Rungen, part. pa.* rung, 1132.
- Ringes, *n. pl. S.* rings of mail, 2740. *See* Brini.
- Rippe, *n.* fish-basket, 893. Hence a *Rippar*, B. Lat. *riparius*, is a person who brings fish from the coast to sell in the interior. V. Spelm. in *v.* Nares prefers the etymology of *ripa*, but without reason. *Rip* is still provincial for an osier basket. *See* Jam. and Moore. So also in a curious Latin and English Vocabulary, written out by Sire John Mendames, Parson of Broomstrophe [Broomsthorp, Co. Norf.] in the middle of the 15th cent., and now preserved in the valuable MSS. library of T. W. Coke, Esq. *Cophinus* is explained *A beryng lepe, or ryppe*, terms still retained in the county. Jam. gives Icel. *krip*, a basket.
- Rith, Ricth, *n. S.* right, justice, inheritance, 36, 395, 1099, 1383, 2717.
- Rith, *adj. S.* right (*dexter*), 604, 1812, 2140, 2545, 2725.
- Rithe, Ricthe, *adj. S.* right (*rectus*), 772, 846, 1201, 2235, 2473.
- Rith, Rithe, *adv. S.* rightly, 420, 1701, 2611, &c.; exactly, just, 872, 2494, 2506.
- Ritte, *v.* to rip, make an incision, 2495. The breche adoun he threst, He *ritt*, and gan to right. *Sir Tristr.* p. 33. [Cf. Sw. *rista*, Dan. *riste*, to slash, cut; G. *ritzen*. Perhaps connected also with Du. *rijten*, G. *reissen*, to tear.]

- Robben, *v.* S. to rob, 1958.
- Rode, *n.* S. the rood, cross, 103, 431, 1357, &c. V. Todd's Gl. Illustr. Chauc.
- Rof, *n.* S. roof, 2082.
- Rome, *v.* S. to roam, travel about, 64.
- Rore, *v.* S. to roar, 2496, &c. *Rorede*, *pa. t.* roared, 2438.
- Roser, *n.* Fr. rose-bush, 2919. Chauc., Pers. Tale, *De luxuria*.
- Rothe. *See* Rathe.
- Rowte, *v.* S. [*hrutan*] to roar, 1911. R. Cœur de L. 4304. V. Gl. Lynds. and Jam. in *v.* Cf. Icel. *hrjota*, Sw. *ryte*. The word is still retained in the provinces. V. Brockett and Wilbr.
- Runci, *n.* B. Lat. a horse of burden, 2569. V. Du Cange and Spelm. The word is common both in Fr. and Engl. writers. Cf. Span. *Rozin-ante*.
- Rungen. *See* Ringen.
- Rym. *See* Rim.
- Sal for Shall, 628.
- Same for Shame, 1941. V. Jam.
- Samen, *adv.* S. together, 467, 979, 1717, &c. Web., Rits. M. R., Rob. Br. So also in Sc. V. Jam.
- Samened, *part. pa.* S. assembled, united, 2890. Web., R. Br. p. 2.
- Sare, *adv.* S. sore, sorrowfully, 401.
- Sat, *pa. t.* S. opposed, 2567. *See* Atsitte. In Sc. is *Sit*, *Sist*, to stop, from Lat. *sistere*. V. Jam.
- Sautres, *n. pl.* Fr. Lat. Psalters, Hymns for the Office of the Dead, 244.
- Sawe, *written for* sa we, i. e. say we, 338.
- Sawe, Sawen, Say. *See* Se.
- Sayse, *v.* B. Lat. to seise, give seisin or livery of land, 251, 2518. *Seysed*, *pa. t.* seised, 2931, *part. pa.* 2513. Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R. V. 3, p. 309.
- Scabbed, Skabbed, *adj.* S. Lat. scabby, scurvy, 2449, 2505.
- Scape, *n.* S. harm, injury, 1352. *Scapes*, *pl.* 269. R. Br., V. Gl. *Skaith*, Sc. V. Jam.
- Sche, Scho, Sho, *pron.* S. she, 112, 126, 649, 1721, &c.
- Schifte for Shrift, absolution, 1829.
- Schoten, Shoten, *pa. t. pl.* S. shot, cast, 1838, 1864. *Scuten*, 2431.
- Schulle, *n.* a plaice, 759. Sw. *skolla*, a plaice. *See* Coleridge's Glossarial Index.
- Se (*the* S. *art.*) the, but perhaps a mistake of the scribe, l. 534, as it is not elsewhere used.
- Se, *n.* S. sea, 535, &c.; *gen.* seis, 321.
- Se, Sen, *v.* S. to see, 1021, 1273, &c. *Sest*, *pr. t.* 2 p. seest, 534. *Sen*, *pr. t. pl.* see, 168, 1217. *Sawe*, *Sowe*, *pa. t.* saw, 1182, 1323. *Say*, 881. *Sawen*, *Sowen*, *pa. t. pl.* 957, 1055, 2255. *Sene*, *part. pa.* 656.
- Seckes, *n. pl.* S. sacks, 2019.
- Segges, *n. pl.* Fr. [*seches*] 896. In Cotgr. the *Seche* is explained the Sound, or Cuttle fish. The *Seches de Coutance* were held in the highest estimation. V. Le Grand. *See* also Jam. *v.* *Sye*.
- Sei, *v.* *See* Seyen.
- Seis. *See* Se.
- Seken, *v.* S. to seek, 1629. The reading is confirmed by an old poem in MS. Digb. 86.
- Sire, we ben knizttes fer i-fare, For to *sechen* wide-ware. *La vie seint Eustace, qui out noun Plucidas*.
- Selcouth, *n.* S. wonder, strange thing, 124, 1059. *Selcuth*, 2119. It was in all probability originally

- an *adj.* as *Selkuth*. Strange, wonderful, 1284.
- Sele, *n.* S. seal, 755.
- Seli, *adj.* S. simple, harmless, 477, 499. R. Gl., Chauc.
- Selthe, *n.* S. success, 1338. A.S. *sēlð*. [Cf. *selehðe* in *Lazam.* l. 25136, and see *selehðe* in Stratmann's Dictionary of Old English. The line seems to be a proverb, and the meaning is—"Rest and success are companions." Goldborough tells him to avoid delay, since rest may accompany success, but cannot precede it.]
- Sembling, *n.* Fr. assembling, 1018. It may also be compared with the Su.-G. *samlung*, conventus.
- Semes, *pr. t.* in the phrase, *hire semes* = it becoms her, it becomes her, 2916. *Semede*, *pa. t.* was suitable, was fit, 976. See *Seem* in Wedgwood.
- Sen, Sene. See *Se*.
- Sendes, *pr. t.* sendeth, sends, 2392. *Sende*, *pa. t.* sent, 136, &c.
- Serf-borw, *n.* S. surety, pledge, 1667. In MS. Soc. Antiq. No. 60, known by the name of *The Black Book of Peterborough*, is an instrument in which many names both of Saxon and Danish origin appear as the *Borhanda*, or Sureties, otherwise called *Festermen*. See *Jam.* and the Glossaries, for further examples.
- Serganz, *n. pl.* Fr. attendants, officers, 2088, 2091, 2116. *Serganz*, 1929, 2361, 2371. *Seriaunz*, 2066. V. Spelm. in v. *Servientes*, and *Hickes*, Thes. T. i. p. 148.
- Serges. See *Cerges*.
- Serk, *n.* S. shirt, 603. Emaré, 501. R. Br.
- Seruen, *v.* S. to serve, 1230.
- Seruade, *pa. t.* S. deserved, 1914. Web. M. R. So in Sc. V. Jam.
- Sest. See *Se*.
- Sette, *v.* S. to set, descend, 2671.
- Sette, *pa. t.* S. set, placed, 2405; appointed, 2571. *Selten*, *pa. t. pl.* set, 1211. *Sette*, *part. pa.* set, placed, 2612.
- Seyen, *v.* S. to say, 2886. *Seyst*, *pr. t.* 2 p. sayest, 2008. *Seyde*, *pa. t.* 3 p. said, 117, &c. *Seyden*, *pa. t. pl.* said, 376, 1213. *Seyden*, have said, 456. *Sey*, *part. pa.* said, 2993.
- Seysed. See *Sayse*.
- Seyst. See *Seyen*.
- Seyt, *pr. t. s.* put for *sey it*, i. e. say it; or else put for *seyth*, i. e. say, 647. So in Sir Tr. p. 117, For mani men *seyt* ay whare.
- Shaltou, shalt thou, 1800. *Shaltow*, 1322. *Shaltu*, 2180, 2186, 2882, 2901.
- Shamelike, *adv.* S. shamefully, disgracefully, 2825. *Schamliche*, Sir Tr. p. 93.
- Shankes, *n. pl.* S. legs, 1903. *Sconke*, *Lazam.* l. 15215. See *Rits.* A.S. p. 16, and Diss. p. xxxi. *Schankis*, Sc. V. Jam.
- Shar, *pa. t.* S. share, cut, 1413. So in Am. and Amil. 2298, Her throtes he *schar atvo*.
- Shauwe, Shawe, *v.* S. to shew, 2206, 2784. *Sheu*, 1401.
- Shel, Sheld, *n.* S. shield, 489, 624, 1653, &c.
- Shende, *v.* S. to ruin, destroy, 1422. Bevis of H. ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 99. Chauc. *Shent*, *pa. t.* shamed, disgraced, 2749; *part. pa.* shend, 2845. The more common sense of this verb is the latter. V. Jam.
- Shere. Clearly miswritten for *she were*, 1250.
- Sheu. See *Shauwe*.
- Shides, *n. pl.* S. It here expresses pieces of wood cleft at the end, 917. In Doug. Virg. *Schide* signifies a billet of wood, 223, 10;

- or a chip, splinter, 207, 8. So in *Rauf Coilzeaz*, st. 39, Schaffes of schene wode they scheueride in *schides*. So also in P. Pl. The word is preserved in Lanc. This custom of skinning eels by inserting the head in a cleft stick, is still practised, we are informed, in the fish markets.
- Shir, *adj.* S. bright, 588, 916, 1253, &c.
- Shireue, *n.* S. sheriff, 2286. *Schireues*, *pl.* 266.
- Sho, *pron.* See Sche.
- Sho, *v.* S. to shoe, 1138.
- Shof, *pa. t.* S. shoved, pushed, 871, 892.
- Shol, 1 *p. s.* (if I) shall, 1782. *Sal*, I shall, 628. *Shole*, *pl.* shall, 562, 645, 1788. *Shul*, 328. *Sholen*, 621, 1127, 1230, &c. *Shulen*, 731, 747, &c. *Shoren* (so in MS.), 1640. *Sule*, shall ye, will ye, 2419. *Shude*, I should, 1079. *Sholdest*, shouldst, 2712. *Sholden*, *pl.* 1020, 1195. *Shulden*, 941.
- Sholdre, *n.* S. shoulder, 2738. *Shuldre*, 604, 1262. *Shudre-blade*, 2644. *Sholdres*, *pl.* shoulders, 1647, 1818. *Shuldren*, 982.
- Shon, *n. pl.* S. shoes, 860, 969.
- Shop, *qu.* Shok, shook, struck, destroyed, 1101. But Sewel gives Du. *schoppen*, to strike. Cf. Eng. *chop*.
- Shotshipe, *n.* S. [*scot*, symbolum, *scepe*, societas] An assembly of persons who pay pecuniary contribution or reckoning, 2099.
For al Sikelines quiden
Sotsceipe heo heolden,
And swa longe swa beoð æuere,
Ne seal hit stonde næuere.
Lazam. l. 23177.
Cf. *sotschipes*, *pl.* in Leg. of St. Kath. MS. Cott. Tit. D 18, fol. 144 b. See Nares, *v.* *Shot-clog*.
- Shrede, *n.* S. a fragment, piece cut off, 99. [As it was given off the "board," to "feed the poor," it must mean a piece of bread or meat. Correct "*shrede* = clothing" in Coleridge's Glossarial Index.]
- Shres, *n.* S. shears, 857.
- Shride, *v.* S. to clothe (himself), 963. *Shrid*, *part. pa.* clothed, 978.
- Shriue, Shriuen, *v.* S. to confess, make confession, 362, 2598. *Shriue*, *Shriuen*, *part. pa.* 364, 2489.
- Shrud, *n.* S. clothing, 303.
- Shude, Shul, Shulen. See Shol.
- Shuldre, Shuldren. See Sholdre.
- Shuldreden, *pa. t. pl.* S. shouldered, 1056.
- Sibbe, *adj.* S. related, allied, 2277. Sir Tr. p. 44. See Fremde.
- Siden, *n. pl.* S. sides, 371.
- Sike, *v.* S. to sigh, 291.
- Siking, *n.* S. sighing, 234.
- Sikerlike, *adv.* S. surely, 422, 625, 2301, 2707, 2871. *Sikerly*, Sir Tr. p. 35, &c.
- Sikernesse, *n.* S. surety, security, 2856. R. Glouc., R. Br., Chauc.
- Simenels, *n. pl.* Fr. 779, a finer sort of bread, "q. a *simila* h. e. puriori farinæ parte." *Spelm.* Assis. pan. 51 Hen. III. *Symnellus* vero de quadrante ponderabit 2 sol. minus quam Wastellum. It elsewhere appears to be a sort of cake, or cracknel. So in the *Crieries de Paris*, v. 163, *Chaudes tartes et siminiaus*. V. Nares in v.
- Sinne, *n.* S. fault, 1976. *Ne for loue ne for sinne*, 2375. *Wolde he nouth for sinne lette*, 2627. Traces of this phrase may be elsewhere found:
Neyther for lope nor yet for awe
Lyuinge man none than they saw.
Sir Degore, c. iv.
- Maboun and Lybeaus
Faste togedere hewes,
And stente for no *synne*.
Iy Beaus Desc. 1957.

- Sire, Syre, *n.* Fr. The term in ll. 310, 1229, is used not only to express respect, but command. A parallel passage is in R. Cœur de L. 2247. It simply means *Sir*, ll. 909, 2009.
- Site, *v.* S. to sit, 2809. *Sittes*, *pr. t.* 2 *p.* sittest, 1316. *Sitten*, *pr. t. pl.* sit, 2098. *Site on knes*, i. e. kneel, 2708.
- Sipe, Sipen, *adv.* S. then, afterwards, after, 399, 472, 1414, 1814, 1988, &c.
- Sipe, *n.* S. time, 1052. *Sipe*, *Sipes*, *pl.* 213, 778, 1737, 2189. *Sype*, *Sypes*, 2162, 2843. *Sir Tr.* p. 55, &c.
- Sket, *adv.* quickly, soon, 1926, 1960, 2303, 2493, 2513, 2574, 2736, 2839. *Sir Tr.* pp. 36, 40, &c.; *Ly Beaus Desc.* 484; *K. Alisaund.* 3047; *R. Cœur de L.* 806; *Rom. of Merlin*, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. i. p. 228. [*Icel. skjótt*, quickly, from *skjótr*, quick, swift. The adj. is still preserved in the surname Skeat or Skeet.]
- Skirming, *n.* Fr. skirmishing, 2323. *Web. M. R.* See Note on l. 2320.
- Slawe, Slawen. See Slo.
- Slenge, *v.* S. to sling, cast out, 2435. *Slenget*, *part. pa.* slung, 1923.
- Slepes, *pr. t.* 2 *p.* sleepest, 1283.
- Sleie, Sley, *adj.* skilful, expert, 1084, 2116. *Sir Tr.* pp. 23, 28; *Horn Childe*, ap. Rits. M. R. V. 3, p. 296; *Emare*, 67; *R. Glouc.* p. 350; *Barb.* xix. 179; *Doug.* 137, 12. Jamieson derives it from *Su-G. slug*, *Isl. slægr*. Cf. *Sw. slug*.
- Slike, *adv.* or perhaps *adj.* smoothly, or smooth, 1157. "*Slyke*, or smothe. *Lenis*." Prompt. Parv.
- Slo, *n.* S. sloe, berry, 849, 2051.
- Slo, *v.* S. to slay, 512, 1364, 1412, &c. *Slou*, 2543. *Slos*, *pr. t.* 2 *p.* slayest, 2706. *Slos*, *imp. pl.* strike ye, 2596. *Slou*, *Slow*, *pa. t.* slew, 501; struck, 2633. *Slowe*, *Slowen*, *pa. t. pl.* slew, 2414, 2427, 2432; struck, fought, 2683. *Slawe*, *Slawen*, *part. pa.* slain, 1803, 1928, 2000, &c. In l. 2747 (as in 2596, 2633, 2683) it has only the sense of *struck*, wounded, agreeably to the signification of the original word, *sleán*, *sleáhan*, *Cædere*, *ferire*.
- Smerte, *adj. pl.* S. painful, 2055.
- Smerte, *v.* S. to smart, 2647.
- Smot, *pa. t.* S. smote, 2654.
- So, a large tub, 933. See *So* in Halliwell. *Dan. saa*, a pail.
- So, *conj.* S. as, 279, 349, *et pass.*
- Softe, *adj.* S. of a mild disposition, 991.
- Softe, *adv.* S. gently, 2618.
- Somdel, *adj.* S. somewhat, in some measure, 240. *Sumdel*, 450, 497, 1054, 2306, 2950. *Web.*, R. Gl., *Chauc.*
- Sond, *n.* S. sand, 708, 735.
- Sone, *n.* S. son, 660, 839. *Sones*, *pl.* 2980.
- Sone, *adv.* S. soon, 78, &c.; so soon as, 1354.
- Sor, *n.* S. sorrow, 234. *Sorwe*, 1374; pain, sore, 1988.
- Sor, *adj.* S. sore, detestable, 2229. [Perhaps it should be *sori*.]
- Sorful, *adj.* S. sorrowful, 151, 2541.
- Sori, *adj.* S. sorrowful, 151, 477.
- Soth, Sothe, *n.* S. truth, 36, 647, 2008, &c.
- Soplike, *adv.* S. truly, 276.
- Soupe, *v.* Fr. to sup, 1766.
- Southe, *pa. t.* S. sought, 1085.
- Sowe, Sowen. See Se.
- Sowel, *n.* victuals, 767, 1143, 2905. Properly, anything eaten with bread as a relish. See *Sool* in Halliwell. *Dan. suul*.

Span-newe, *adj.* quite new, 968.

This is the earliest instance on record of the use of this word. For its disputed etymology see Jam., Nares, Todd's Johns., and Thoms. Etymons; but especially Wedgwood's Etym. Dict. *Span* = chip; *Span-new*, chip-new. A.S. *spón*. It occurs in Chauc. Troil. iii. 1671.

Sparkede, *pa. t.* S. sparkled, 2144.

Spede, *v.* S. to speed, prosper, 1634.

Speke, *n.* S. speech, 946.

Speke, Speken, *v.* S. to speak, 326, 369, 548, 1070, &c. *Spak*, *pa. t.* spoke, 2389, 2968. *Speken*, *part. pa.* spoken, 2369.

Spelle, *n.* S. story, relation, 338. K. Horn, 951.

Selle, *v.* S. to relate, tell forth, 15, 2530.

Spen for Spent, 1819.

Sperd, Sperde, *part. pa.* S. barred, bolted, 414, 448. Still common in the North. V. Brockett.

Spille, *v.* S. to perish, 2422. Of *limes spille*, 86, suffer the loss of limbs. K. Horn, 202. Web., Chauc.

Spired, *part. pa.* S. speered, inquired, 2620. V. Jam. in v.

Spore, *n.* S. spur, 2569.

Sprauleden, *pa. t. pl.* S. sprawled, 475.

Sprong, *pa. t.* S. sprung, 959.

See the Note. *Sprongen*, 869.

Sprungen, *part. pa.* risen, 1131.

Sprote, *n.* S. sprout, 1142. A.S. *sprote*, a sprig, sprout.

Spuse, Spusen, *v.* S. to espouse, marry, 1123, 1170, 2875. *Spusede*, *pa. t. pl.* espoused, 2887. *Spused*, *part. pa.* 1175, 2928. *Spuset*, 1266.

Spusing, *n.* S. espousals, marriage, 1164, 1177, 2886.

Stac, *n.* S. 814. [This I believe to mean simply a stack, or heap,

like the Dan. *stak*, Sw. *stack*. I add Sir F. Madden's note in the edition of 1828.] A stack, or, more properly, *stick* of fish, a term applied to eels when strung on a row, 'sic dicta, quod trajecta vimine (quod *stic* dicimus) connectebantur.' *Spelm.* A *stica* consisted of 25 eels, and 10 *Sticæ* made a *Binde*. Glanv. lib. 2, c. 9.

Stalworpi, Stalworpe, Stalwrthe, *adj.* S. strong, valiant, courageous, 24, 904, 1027, &c. *Stalworpeste*, *sup.* 25.

Stan-ded, *adj.* S. dead as a stone, completely dead, 1815. *Stille als a ston*, 928. Cf. K. of Tars, 549; Erle of Tol. 754; Launfal, 357. See Gl. to *Partenay*.

Star, *n.* Icel. a species of sedge, 939. Icel. *stör*; Sw. *starr*; Dan. *stær*. See the Note.

Stareden, *pt. t. pl.* 1037. Probably miswritten for Stradden, contended. Cf. Su.-Goth. and Sw. *strida*, to contend.

Starinde, *part. pr.* staring, 508.

Stark, *adj.* S. stiff, stout, strong, 341, 380, 608, &c. V. Jam. in v.

Stede, *n.* S. steed, horse, 10, &c.

Stede, *n.* S. place, 142, 744. *Stedes*, *pl.* 1846.

Stem, *n.* S. a ray of light, beam, 591. It is equivalent to *Glem*, l. 2122.

Therewith he blinded them so close, A *stime* they could not see.

R. Hood, i. 112.

Cf. Brockett's Gl. in v. *Stime*.

Sternes, *n. pl.* stars, 1809. *Ageyn pe sternes* = exposed to the sky, or to the open air.

Stert, *n.* S. leap, 1873. Chaucer has at a *stert* for immediately, C. T. 1707.

Stert, *n.* S. [*steort*, cauda] tail, 2823. *Start* is still retained in the North.

Steuene, *n.* S. voice, 1275.

- Sti, *n.* S. road, way, 2618. Sir Tr. p. 192; Yw. and Gaw. 599; Emare, 196; Sevyn Sages, 712; R. Br. Chaucer uses *stile* in the same sense, C. T. 12628, and Minot, p. 5, in both which passages the respective Editors have made the same mistake in explaining it. [Cf. G. *steg*, a pass.]
- Stille, *adj.* S. quiet, 955, 2309.
- Stille, *adv.* S. in a low voice, secretly, 2997. Sir Tr. p. 55; K. Horn, 315.
- Stirt, Stirte, *pa. t.* S. started, leaped, 398, 566, 873, 1049, &c. *Stirte*, *Stirten*, *pa. t. pl.* started, hurried, 599, 1964, 2609. Derived by Skinner from S. *astirian*, move, by Jam. from Teut. *steerten*, volare. See Astirte. Cf. G. *stürzen*; and see *Start* in Wedgwood.
- Stith, *n.* S. anvil, 1877. Chauc. Still provincial. V. Moore, and Brockett.
- Stiward, *n.* S. steward, 666.
- Stonden, *v.* S. to stand, 689. *Stondes*, *pr. t.* 3 p. standeth, stands, 2240, 2983. *Stod*, *pa. t.* stood, 591, 679. *Stoden*, *pa. t. pl.* 1037.
- Stor, *adj.* S. hardy, stout, 2383. Lazam. l. 9126; Yw. and Gaw. 1297; Chron. of Engl. 464; Sq. of Lowe D. 658; Ly Beaus Desc. 1766. *Steir*, *Sture*, Sc. ap. Jam. Cf. Sw. *stor*.
- Stra, *n.* S. straw, 315, 466. A.S. *streow*, *strew*. Cf. Strie.
- Strenes, *pr. t.* 3 p. S. begets, 2983. From *streónan*, gignere. Cf. K. Alisaund. 7057.
- Strie, *n.* a straw, 998. See Stra.
- Strout, *n.* dispute, contention, 1039. Cf. A.S. *strúdan*, and *Strother* in Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary.
- Stroute, *v.* S. to make a disturbance, 1779. Bosworth explains A.S. *strúdan*, *strútian*, as having originally the sense to bustle about.
- Stunde, *n.* S. short space of time, 2614. V. Gl. to R. Glouc. See Vmbestonde.
- Sturgiun, Sturgun, *n.* sturgeon, 753, 1727. Cf. Sw. *stör*, Dan. *stör*.
- Suere, Suereth. See Sweren.
- Suete, *adj.* S. sweet, 1388. Cf. l. 2927.
- Sueyn, Sweyn, *n.* S. swain, villain, 343, 1328, &c. *Sweynes*, *pl.* 371, 2195. It is generally used in opposition to *knight*.
- Svich, *adj.* S. such, 60.
- Suilk, *adj.* such (things), 644. See Swilk.
- Sule. See Shol.
- Sumdel. See Somdel.
- Sunne-bem, *n.* S. sun-beam, 592, 2123.
- Swerd, *n.* S. sword, 1759, &c. *Swerdes*, *pl.* 1769, 2659.
- Sweren, *v.* S. to swear, 494. *Suereth*, *pr. t. s.* swear, 647. *Swor*, *pa. t.* swore, 398, 2367. *Suere*, *pr. subj.* 2 p. s. 388.
- Swike, *n.* S. deceiver, traitor, 423, 551, 626, 1158, 2401, 2451, &c. *Swikes*, *pl.* 2834, 2990. Lazam. l. 12942; R. Gl. p. 105.
- Swikel, *adj.* S. deceitful, 1108.
For alle pine witiën
Beoð swiðe swikele.
Lazam. l. 15848.
Hoe beth of swikele kunne
Ther mide the witherwinne.
The sawe of Seint Bede, MS.
Digb. 86.
He was swikel, fals, ant fel.
Chron. of Engl. 791.
- Swilen, *v.* S. [*swilian*, Ps. vi. 6] to wash, 919. It occurs also in Rob. of Brunne's *Handling Sinne*, l. 5828. Still provincial.
- Swilk, *adj.* S. such, 1118, 1625, 2123, 2684, 2783. *Suilk*, 644.

- Swinge, *v. S.* to beat, chastise (used *passively*), 214. *Swongen*, *part. pa.* beaten, 226. *Lazam.* l. 21070. So in *Syr Berys*, C. ii. All at ones on him they *swonge*. In the North the verb retains the same meaning; *v. Brockett*.
- Swink, *n. S.* labour, 770, 801, 2456.
- Swinken, *v. S.* to labour, 798. *Swank*, *pa. t.* laboured, 788.
- Swire, *n. S.* neck, 311. Formerly in universal use, and still preserved in the provinces.
- Swipe, *Swype*, *adv. S.* very, exceedingly, 110, 217, 341. Quickly, 140, 682, 690; *ful swithe*, 2436, appears a pleonasm. *Swithe forth and rathe*, quickly forth, and soon, 2594.
- Swot, *n. S.* sweat, perspiration, 2662. The word has the same meaning in *Cædmon*, f. 24, ed. Thorpe, p. 31, l. 8, which seems to contradict Mr Price's assertion to the contrary, in Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poetr.* p. lxxi., ed. 1840.
- Swngen. *See* Swinge.
- Syre. *See* Sire.
- Sype, Sybes. *See* Sipe.
- Sype, *n. S.* scythe, 2553, 2699.
- Tabour, *n. Fr.* tabor, 2329.
- Tale, *n. S.* number, 2026.
- Taleuaces, *n. pl. Fr.* large shields, 2323. *See* the Note on l. 2320.
- Tarst (*so in MS.*), 2688; almost certainly an error for *faste*, which appears in the next line. Also, the movements of Godard are compared to the course of lightning.
- Tauhte, *pt. s.* committed, 2214, probably an error for *bitauhte*. *See* Bitaken.
- Tel, *n. S.* deceit, reproach, 191, 2219. *A.S. tǣlu*.
- Telle, *v. S.* to count, number, 2615. *Told*, *part. pa.* numbered, esteemed, 1036.
- Tene, *n. S.* grief, affliction, 729.
- Tere, *v. S.* to tar (used *passively*), 707.
- Teth, *n. pl. S.* teeth, 2406.
- Teyte, *adj. S.* 1841, 2331. [Explained "lively" by Coleridge, Stratmann, and Morris, as if from Icel. *teitr*, *hilaris*. This I believe to be completely wrong. The word occurs in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 871, with reference to *tight* lasses, and in l. 1841 of *Havelok* we have a reference to *tight* lads. In l. 2331 it may also mean *flawless*, *staunch*. "*Theet*, *adj.* water-tight. O.N. *piettr* or *péttr*, *densus*, *solidus*. O.Sw. *thæter*, Sw. Dial. *tjett* or *tjatt*, Dan. *tætt*, Germ. *dicht*. Ihre gives . . . *ett tætt fat*, a flawless vessel. '*Thyht*, hool fro brekyng, not brokyn. *Integer*, *solidus*. Prompt. Parv.'" Atkinson's Glossary of the Cleveland dialect.]
- pa*, written for *pat*, 175.
- pan, panne, *adv. S.* then, 51, 1044, &c.; when, 226, 248, *et sæpius*; than if (*quàm*), 944, 1867.
- par, *adv.* where (?) 130. *See* the Note; and cf. *per*.
- pare, *adv. S.* there, 2481, 2739. Cf. *per*, *pore*.
- parne, *v.* to lose, be deprived of, 2492, 2835. *Parnes*, *pr. t.* wants, is deprived of, 1913. *Parnd the ded*, 1687; [clearly miswritten for *poled pe ded*, suffered death. The scribe was thinking of *parnd pe lif*; cf. l. 2492.] The verb only exists in the Sax. in the *pt. t.* *þarnode*, Chron. Sax. p. 222, ed. Gibs., which is derived by Lye from the Cimbr. *At thuerna*, or *thorna*, *diminui*, *privari*. V. Hickes Thes. i. p. 152. [I. e. it is from the root of the Sw. *tarfa*, Icel. *thurfa*, Goth. *thaurban*, with the *f* dropped, and

- with the addition of the *passive* or *neuter* infinitive-ending denoted by *-ne*, like *-na* in Sw., *-nan* in Mæso-Gothic. See *parrnenn* in Gl. to Ormulum.]
- þas**, *read* Was, 1129. [As *þ* at the beginning of a word is never put for *t*, it is not = Sc. *tas*, takes, as some have suggested.]
- þaue**, *v. S.* [*þafian*] to grant, 296; bear, sustain, 2696. Ormulum, 5457.
- Thayn**, *n. S.* nobleman, 2184. *Thein*, 2466. *Thaynes*, *pl.* 2260. *Theynes*, 2194. See Kayn.
- þe**, *n. S.* thigh, 1950. *þhe*, 1984. *þes*, *pl.* 1903. *þhes*, 2289.
- þe**, *adv. S.* (*written for þer*), there, 142, 476, 863, 933. *þe with*, therewith, 639. See *þer*.
- þe**, *conj. S.* though, 1682. *þei*, 1966. *þey*, 807, 992, 1165, 2501. See *pou*.
- þede**, *n. S.* country, dwelling, 105; place, 2890. Web., Le Bone Flor. 246. R. Br. p. 18. V. Jam.
- þef**, *n. S.* thief, 2434. *þeues*, *pl.* 1780.
- þei**, *pron. S.* they, 1020, 1195, &c.
- þei**, *þey*, *conj.* though. See *þe*.
- þenke**, *pr. subj. S.* think, 2394. *þenkeste*, *pr. t. 2 p.* thinkest thou, 578.
- þenne**, *adv. S.* thence, 1185. [Perhaps in l. 777, we should put the comma after *þenne*; "when he came thence," &c.]
- þer**, *adv. S.* where, 318, 448, &c.; there, *passim*; the place whence, 1740. *þerinne*, therein, 535, &c. *þerhinne*, 322. *þerof*, *þeroffe*, thereof, 372, 466, 1068, &c. *þerþoru*, by that means, 1098. *þertil*, *þerto*, thereto, 396, 1041, 1045. *þerwit*, *þerwith*, therewith, 1031, 1046. See *þe*, *pore*.
- þere**, *pron. S.* their, 1350.
- þerl for þe** erl, the earl, 178.
- þertekene**, 2878. [Coleridge's Glossarial Index has "Thertekene = mark thereto. A.S. *tácnian*." But this is a very awkward phrase, and I should prefer to suppose *þer-tekene* = by the token, i. e. in token. *Tekene* answers to the Sw. *tecken*, a token; and *þer* is found as a prefix in *P. Plowman* in the phr. *þer-while* = *þe while*, i. e. in the time that. The only difficulty is that *þer* is properly *feminine* (A.S. *þære*), whilst *tecken* in Sw. and *tácen* in A.S. are *neuter*. In *tokne* (= in token) occurs in Shoreham's poems, ed. Wright, 131.]
- þet**, *conj. S.* that (*quòd*), 330.
- þet**, *pron. S.* that, 879.
- þepe**, *þepen*, *adv. S.* thence, 2498, 2629.
- þeu**, *þewe*, *n. S.* in a servile condition or station, 262, 2205. R. Gl.
- þewes**, *n. pl. S.* manners, 282. Lazam., Rits. M. R., Web., P. Plowm., Chauc., Gl. Lynds., Percy, A. R.
- þi**. See *Forþi*.
- þi for þy**, thy, 2725.
- þider**, *adv. S.* thither, 850, 1012, 1021, &c.
- þigge**, *v. S.* [*þiggan*] to beg, 1373. This word is chiefly preserved in the Sc. writers. Wall. ii. 259; Doug. Virg. 182, 37; Evergreen, ii. 199; Bannatyne Poems, p. 120; V. Jam. in v., who derives it from Su.-G. *tigga*, Alem. *thigen*, *petere*. [See *tigga* in Ihre. "Thyggyng or beggyng, Mendicacio." Prompt. Parv.]
- þis for þise**, these, 1145.
- þisternes**, *n. S.* darkness, 2191.
Dalden from þan fihte
Al bi þustere nihte.
Lazam. l. 7567; cf. *Gen. and Ex.*, 58.
Thit, pp. 2990. [The rime shews that the *i* is long; and, whether

the *th* is sounded like *t*, or (which is more likely) the word should have been written *tiht* or *tith*, we may be tolerably confident that it is equivalent to the O.E. *tight* or *tigt*, a pp. signifying *intended, purposed, designed*, which is the exact sense here required. Stratmann gives five instances of it, of which one is—"To brewe the Crystene mennys banyng Hy hadden *tyght*;" Octovian, 1476.]

þo, *pron.* S. those, 1918, 2044.

þo, *pron.* thou. See **þu**.

þo, *adv.* S. then, 930; when, 1047. *Thow*, 1669.

þore, *adv.* S. there, 741, 922, 1014, &c. *Portil*, thereto, 1443. *þorwit*, therewith, 100. See **þe**, *per*.

þoru, *adv.* S. through, 627, 774, 848, &c. *þoruth*, 1065, 2786. *þorw*, 264, 367, 2646. *þuruth*, 52.

þoruthlike, *adv.* S. thoroughly, 680.

þou, *conj.* S. though, 124, 299, &c. **þo**, 1020. See **þe**.

þoucte, *pa. t.* S. thought, 504, 507, &c. *þouhte*, 1073. *þowthe*, 1869. *þouthē*, 1166. *þat god thoucte*, 256, that seemed good. Cf. *Sir Tr.* pp. 30, 36. And so in MS. Vernon, Bodl.

Riche metes was forth brouht
To all men that gode thought.

Disp. betw. a Crystene mon and a Jew, f. 301.

[Or, if we read "*þat god him þoucte*," this would mean "that seemed good to him;" cf. l. 197.]

þouth, *n.* S. thought, 122, 1190.

þral, *n.* S. slave, villain, 527, 684, 1097, 1158, 2564, 2589. In an opprobrious sense, 1408. *Sir Tr.* p. 175.

þrawe, *n.* S. space of time, moment, 276, 1215. *Web.*, *Rits.* M. R., *Rob. Br.*, *Doug. Virg.* **þrow**, *Chauc.*, *Gower*, &c.

þredde, **þridde**, *adj.* S. third, 867, 2633.

þrette, *pa. t.* S. threatened, 1163.

þrie, 730. [In the former edition it is glossed "trouble, affliction; apparently the same as *Tray* or *Treye*;" cf. A.S. *trēga*. But this renders the construction difficult, nor is it clear that *treye* and *þrie* can be identified. Without doubt, the usual meaning of *þrie* is *thrice*, which is easily construed, only it remains to be shewn why *thrice* should be introduced; unless perhaps it signifies in a threefold degree.]

þrinne, *num.* S. three, 716, 761, 1977, 2091.

þrist, **þristen**, *v.* S. to thrust, 1152, 2019, 2725. **þrist**, *part. pa.* thrust, 638.

þu, *pron.* S. thou, 527, &c. **þou**, 527, &c. **þo**, 388. **þw** (*read þat þw instead of þw that?*), 1316. *Tow*, 1322. *Tu*, 2903. It is often joined to the verb which precedes, as *Shaltow*, *Wiltu*, &c. The *gen.* is *þin*, 1128; the *acc.* is *þe*, 529.

þurte, *pt. t. s.* need, might, 10. [It answers to the A.S. *þurfan*, *pt. t. ic þorfte*, Icel. *þurfa*, *pt. t. þurfsti*, Mæso-Goth. *þaurban*, *pt. t. þaurfta*. See *Ormulum*, l. 16164, and *Sir F. Madden's* note to *þort* in *Gl. to Will. of Palerne*.]

þuruth. See **þoru**.

þus for þis, 785, 2586. (*In comp. þus-gate.*)

Tid, *n.* S. time, hour, 2100.

Til, *prep.* S. to, 141, 762, 864, &c. See **Intil**, **pertil**.

Til, *v.* S. to tell, 1348.

Tilled, *part. pa.* S. obtained, acquired (lit. drawn, taken), 438. *V. Gl. R. Br.* in *v. tille*, and see quotation under *Goddot*.

Tinte, *pa. t.* S. lost, 2023. *Sir Tr.* p. 104. *V. Jam.*

Tirneden, *pa. t. pl.* S. turned, 603.

Tipandes, *n. pl.* Icel. tidings, 2279.

To-, in composition with verbs, is usually augmentative, or has the force of the Lat. *dis-*. *To-brised, part. pa.* very much bruised, 1950. (*See* Brisen.) *To-cruhsse, inf.* crush in pieces, 1992. *To-deyle, inf.* divide, 2099. (*See* Deled.) *To-drawen, part. pa.* dragged or pulled to death, 2001. (*See* Drou.) *To-frusshe, inf.* break in pieces, 1993. *To-hewen, part. pa.* hewn in pieces, 2001. *To-riuen, part. pa.* torn or riven in pieces, 1953. *To-rof, pa. t.* burst open, 1792. *To-shiuere, inf.* shiver in pieces, 1993. *To-shiuered, part. pa.* shivered to pieces, 2667. *To-tere, inf.* tear in pieces, 1839. *To-torn, part. pa.* torn in pieces, 1948, 2021. *To-tusede, part. pa.* entirely rumped or tumbled, 1948. In one case only we find it to be merely the prep. *to* in composition; viz. in *To-yede, pa. t.* went to, 765. (*See* Yede.) [*See* note on this prefix in Gloss. to William of Palerne.]

To, *adv.* S. too, 303, 689, 691, &c.

To, *n.* S. toe, 1743, 1847, &c. *Tos, pl.* 898, 2163.

To, *num.* S. two, 2664.

To, *prep.* follows its case in ll. 197, 325, 526.

To-frusshe, *v.* Fr. [*froisser*] to dash or break in pieces, 1993.

The Sarezynes layde on with mace, And al *to-frussched* hym in the place.

R. Cœur de L. 5032. Cf. 5084.

He suld sone be *to-fruschytt* all.

Barb. x. 597. So also Doug.

Virg. 51, 53. *V. Jam.* in *v. Frusch.*

Togidere, Togydere, *adv.* S. together, 1128, 1181, 2683, 2891.

Tok, *pa. t.* S. took, 354, 467, 537. *Toke, pa. t.* 2 p. 1216. *Token, pa. t. pl.* 1194. *Token under fote,* 1199.

Told. *See* Telle.

Totede, *pa. t.* peeped, looked, 2106. This verb is thrice found in P. Ploughman's Crede, ll. 142, 168, 339. Although it would appear a rare word from its not appearing in Hearne, Ritson, or Weber, yet in later times it occurs often, and is instanced by Jamieson from Paten's Account of Somerset's Expedition, p. 53, and by Nares from Hall, Latimer, Spenser, and Fairfax. It also occurs four times in the *Ancren Rioude*, ed. Morton, 1853. In Sc. it is pronounced *Tete*, which is derived by Jam. from the same stock as Su.-G. *titt-a*, explained by Ihre, "Per transennam veluti videre, ut solent curiosi, aut post tegmina latentes." V. the authorities quoted, Todd's Johns. and Wilbr. Gl. [Cf. Sw. *titta*; Dan. *tittle*, to peep; Dan. *tittlege*, to play at bopeep.]

To-tusede, *part. pa.* entirely rumped or tumbled, 1948. *See* Nares, in *v. Tose*, and *Tousle*, *Toozle*, in Jam., Brockett, &c. Cf. *G. zausen*.

Toun, *n.* S. town, 1750, &c. *Tun*, 764, 1001, &c. *Tunes, pl.* 1444, 2277.

Tour, *n.* Fr. tower, 2073.

Tre, *n.* S. a bar or staff of wood, 1022, 1821, 1843, 1882, &c. *Doretre*, 1806, 1968, bar of the door.

Trewe, *adj.* S. true, 1756.

Tristen, *v.* to trust, 253.

Tro. *See* Trowe.

Trome, *n.* S. [*truma*] a troop, company, 8.

Heo makeden heore sceld-*trome*

Iazam. l. 9454.

Bisydes stondeth a feondes *trume*, And wailleth hwenne the saules cume.

Les Unze peyne, &c. MS. Coll. Jes. 29.

The same mode of expression used above occurs lower down, l. 24,

- "A stalworpi man in a *flok*," which is also found in Lazamon, Cador ther wes æc, þe kene wes on *flocke*.—l. 23824. And in *Sir Guy*, H. iii. Then came a knight that hight Sadock, A doughty man in every *flock*.
 Trone, *n.* Lat. throne, 1316.
 Trowe, *n.* S. to believe, trust, 1656. *Tro*, 2862. *Trowede*, *pa. t.* believed, 382. Sir Tr. p. 41.
 Trusse, *v.* Fr. [*trousser*] to pack up, to truss, 2017. R. Gl. Hence to *make ready*, K. Alisaund. 7006. Minot, p. 50, which Ritson was unable to explain.
 Tuenti, *num.* S. twenty, 259.
 Tumberel, *n.* a porpoise, 757. In Spelm. *Timberellus* is explained, a small whale, on the authority of Skene, Vocab. Jur. Scot. L. Forest, *Si quis cetum*. In Cotgr. also we find "*Tumbe*, the great Sea-Dragon, or Quadriver; also the Gurnard, called so at Roan." [But the Sw. *tumlare*, a porpoise, *lit.* a tumbler, suggests that the name may be given from its *tumbling* or *rolling*. The Dan. *tumler*, however, is a dolphin.]
 Tun. See Toun.
 Turues, *n. pl.* S. turf, peat, 939. Chauc. C. T. 10109. V. Spelm. in v. and Jennings' Somersetsh. Gl.
 Twel for Twelve, 2455.
 Ueneysun, *n.* Fr. venison, 1726.
 Vmbestonde, *adv.* S. for a while, formerly, 2297.
 & heo seileden forth,
 þæt inne sæ heo comen,
 þa *vmbe stunde*
 ne sæge heo noht of londe.
 Lazam. l. 11967.
 It is equivalent to *umbe-while* or *vmwhile*, Sc. *umquhile*. See Stunde.
 Umbistode, *pa. t.* S. stood around, 1875. See Bistode, Stonden.
 Vn-bi-yeden, *pa. t. pl.* S. surrounded, 1842. See Yede.
 Vnblithe, *adj.* S. unhappy, 141. Sir Tr. p. 171.
 Unbounden, *pa. t. pl.* S. unbound, 601.
 Underfong, *pa. t.* S. understood, 115. This sense of the verb is not found elsewhere. It is in the present poem synonymous with *Understod* (as Lat. *accipere, percipere*).
 Understode, *v.* S. to receive, 2814. *Understod*, *pa. t.* received, 1760. *Understode*, *pr. subj.* receive, 1159. So in K. Horn, 245, ed. Rits.
 Horn child thou *understond*,
 Tech him of harpe and song.
 where the MS. Laud 108 reads *underfonge*. See Lumby's ed. l. 239.
 Unker, *pron. g. c. dual.* S. of you two, 1882.
 Vnkeueleden, *pa. t. pl.* S. ungagged, 601. See Keuel.
 Unkyndelike, *adv.* S. unsuitably, 1250.
 Vnornelike, *adj.* S. basely, or degradingly, 1941. The only word in the Sax. remaining to which it can be referred, is *unornlic*, tritus, Jos. 9. 5. The following instances also approach the same stock:
 Ne speke y nout with Horne,
 Nis he nout so *vnorne*.
 K. Horn, 337.
 Mi stefne is bold & nozt *vnorne*,
 Ho is ilich one grete horne,
 & pin is ilich one pipe.
 Hule and Niztingale, l. 317.
 [Ihre shews that Icel. and Su.-Goth. *orna* mean to acquire vital heat, to grow warm. Hence *unorne* means unfervent, spiritless, feeble, old. Thus, in the *Hule and Niztingale* it means *feeble, weak*; in Jos. 9. 5, it is used of *old, worn-out* shoes. In the Ormulum, *unorne* occurs frequently, in the sense

of *poor, mean, feeble*; see ll. 827, 3668; also *unornelig*, meaning *meanly, humbly, obscurely*, in ll. 3750, 4858, 7525, 8251.]

Unride, *adj.* S. [*ungereod, unge-rydu*] It is here used in various significations, most of which, however, correspond to the senses given by Somner. Large, cumbersome (of a garment), 964; unwieldy (of the bar of a door), 1795; deep, wide (of a wound), 1981, 2673; numerous, extensive (of the nobility), 2947. *Unrideste*, *sup.* deepest, widest, 1985. In the second sense we find it in Sir Tristr. p. 167,

Dartes wel *unride*
Beliagog set gan.

And in *Guy of Warwick*, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 79.

A targe he had ywrought full well,
Other metal was ther none but steel,

A mickle and *unrede*.

In the fourth sense we have these examples:

Opou Inglood for to were
With stout ost and *unride*.

Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R. V. 3, p. 283.

Schir Rannald rough to the renk
ane rout wes *unryde*.

Sir Gaw. and Gol. ii. 25.

The soudan gederet an ost *unryde*.
K. of Tars, 142.

Cf. also *Sir Guy*, Ee. iv. in Garriek's Collect. 'Ameraunt drue out a swerde *unryde*.' In the sense of huge, or unwieldy, we may also understand it in Sir Tr. p. 148, 164; *Guy of Warw.* ap. Ell. M. R. V. 2, p. 78; *Horn Childe*, ap. Rits. V. 3, p. 295. In R. Brunne, p. 174, it expresses loud, tremendous. Sir W. Scott and Hearne are both at fault in their Glossaries, and even Jamieson has done but little to set them right, beyond giving the true derivation, and then, under the cognate word *Unrude*, Doug. Virg. 167, 35, &c., errs from pure love of theory.

Vnrith, *n.* S. injustice, 1369.

Unwrast, Unwraсте, *adj.* S. [*un-wraсте*] feeble, worthless, 2821; rotten, 547. This word occurs in the Saxon Chron. 168, 4 (ed. Thorpe, p. 321), applied to a rotten ship, and this appears to have been the original meaning. The sense in which it was subsequently used may be learnt by comparing *Lazam*. ll. 13943, 29609; R. Gl. p. 586; Chron. of Engl. 662, 921; Ly Beaus Desc. 2118 (not explained by Rits.); K. Alisaund. 878; R. Cœur de L. 872, and *Sevyn Sages*, 1917. It is not found in Jam. Cf. A.S. *wraсте*, firm.

Uoyz, *n.* Lat. voice, 1264.

Vre, *pron.* S. our, 13, 596, &c.

Vt, *prep.* S. out, 89, 155, &c.
Uth, 346, 1178.

Ut-bidde. See *Bidd*.

Ut-drawe, Ut-drawen, Vt-drow, Ut-drowen. See *Drou*.

Uten, *prep.* S. out, exhausted, 842; without, foreign, as in *Uten-laddes*, 2153, 2580, foreigners.

Ut-lede. See *Lede*.

Utrage, *n.* S. outrage, 2837.

W. See *Hw*.

Wa, *n.* S. woe, wail, 465.

Wade, *v.* S. Lat. to pass, go, 2645.
Wede, 2387, 2641. Vid. Nares.

Wagge, *v.* S. to wield, brandish, 89.

Waiten, Wayte, Wayten, *v.* Fr. to watch, 512, 1754, 2070. Chauc. Cf. O.Fr. *gaiter*.

Waken, *v.* S. to watch, 630.
Waked, *part. pa.* watched, kept awake, 2999. See R. Br., Sq. of L. D. 852. Chauc.

Wakne, *v.* S. to wake, awaken, 2164.

Wan, *adv.* S. when, 1962.

- War, *adj.* S. aware, wary, 788, 2139.
- Warie, *v.* S. to curse, 433. *Waried*, *part. pa.* cursed, 434. Emare, 667. *Wery*, Minot, p. 7. *Warrie*, Chauc. *See* Gl. Lynds.
- Warp, *pa. t.* S. threw, cast, 1061.
Al swa feor swa a mon
Mihte *werpen* ænne stan.
Lazam. l. 17428.
So in Sc. Doug. Virg. 432, and
Barb. iii. 642. V. Jam.
- Washen, *v.* S. to wash, 1233.
- Waste *for* Was þe, 87.
- Wastel, *n.* Fr. cake, or loaf made of finer flour, 878. *Wastels*, *pl.* 779. *See* Todd's Illustr. of Chauc., who derives the name from *wastell*, the vessel or basket in which the bread was carried. V. Du Cange, Spelm. Jam. In Pegge's Form of Cury, p. 72, 159, we meet with *Wastels* *gyfarced*.
- Wat, *pron.* *See* Hwat.
- Wat, *v.* *See* Quath.
- Wat, *pp.* known, 1674. *See* Wot.
- Wawe, *n.* S. wall, 474, 2470.
The phrase *bith wawe*, 474, is also found in Rits. A.S. p. 46, which is left unexplained by the Editor, and is badly guessed at by Ellis. By the aid of Moor's Suffolk Gl. we are enabled to ascertain the meaning of an expression which is not yet obsolete. "By the walls." Dead and not buried. "A' lie bi' the walls"—said, I believe, only of a human subject. [This remark only applies to l. 474. In ll. 1963, 2470, the phrase refers to the benches placed round the walls in the great hall, whereon men slept at night, and sat in council by day.] *Wowe*, 1963, 2078. Still so pronounced in Lanc., &c.
- Waxen. *See* Wex.
- Wayke, *adj. pl.* S. weak, 1012.
- Wayte, Wayten. *See* Waiten.
- We, 115, 287, 392, 772. Apparently an error of the scribe for *wel*, but its frequent repetition may cause it to be doubted, whether the *l* may not have been purposely dropped.
- Wede, *v.* *See* Wade.
- Wede, *n.* S. clothing, garments, 94, 323, 861. In very general use formerly, and still preserved in the phrase, a widow's *weeds*.
- Weddeth *for* Wedded, 1127.
- Wei, Weie, *n.* S. way, road, 772, 952.
- Weilawa, Weilawei, *interj.* S. woe! alas! 462, 570. *See* Gl. Sir Tr., Rits. M. R., and Chauc. [A.S. *wá la wá*, woe, lo! woe; now corrupted into *wellaway*.]
- Wel, *adv.* S. full, *passim.* *Wel sixti*, 1747; *wel o-bon.* *See* On. *Wel with me*, 2878. *Wol*, 185.
- Wel, *n.* S. weal, wealth, prosperity (*for wel ne for wo*), 2777.
- Welde, *v.* S. to wield, govern (a kingdom), 129, 175; (a weapon), 1436; (possessions), 2034. *Weldes*, *pr. t. 2 p.* wieldest, governest, 1359.
- Wende, *v.* S. to go, 1346, 1705, 2629. *Wenden*, *pr. t. pl. subj.* 1344. *Wende*, *pr. t. pl. 2 p. go*, 1440. *Wend*, *part. pa.* turned, 2138.
- Wene, *v.* S. *pres. sing.* ween, think, 655, 840, 1260, &c. *Wenes*, *pr. t. 2 p.* thinkest, 598. *Wenestu*, 1787, thinkest thou. *Wend*, *Wende*, *pa. t.* thought, 374, 524, 1091, 1803, &c. *Wenden*, *pa. t. pl.* 1197, 2547.
- Wepen, *pr. t.* or *pa. t. pl.* S. weep, wept, 401.
- Wepne, *n.* S. weapon, 89, 490, 1436, &c.
- Wer *for* Were, 1097.
- Werd, *n.* S. world, 1290, 2241, 2335, 2792, 2968. *O worde*, in the

- world, 1349. Cf. *Ward* = world, in *Lancelot of the Laik*, and *Gen. and Exod.* ed. Morris, ll. 280, 591.
- Were, *v.* S. [*werian*] to defend, 2152, 2298. Sir Tr. p. 156; Yw. and Gaw. 2578; Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R., V. 3, p. 289; K. of Tars, 189; Chauc. C. T. 2552, V. Note, p. 182. *Werie*, K. Horn, ed. Lumby, 785, Web., Minot, Gl. Lynds.
- Were, should be, 2782. *Weren*, 3 *p. pl.* were, 156, &c.
- Weren, 784. Sir F. Madden says—Garnett conjectured *weirs* or dams, from Isl. *ver*. If *weren* be really a plural noun, I should prefer to translate it by *pools*; cf. A.S. *war*, Icel. *ver*, Su.-Go. *wär*. Ihre says—"Wär, locus, ubi congregari amant pisces, ut solent inter brevia et vada. Isl. *ver*, *fisk-aver*. A.S. id. unde *ver-hurde* apud Bens. *custos septi piscatorii*, Angl. *wier*, *wear*, &c." See *wer* in Stratmann. In this case the line means—"in the sea-pools he often set them," and the note on the line (q. v.) is wrong.
- Werewed, *part. pa.* S. worried, killed, 1915. [We should probably insert a mark of interrogation, thus—"Hwat dide he? þore weren he werewed," i. e. "What did they effect? There were they slain."] Spelt *wirwed*, 1921. Cf. Du. *worgen*, and see Jam. s. v. *Wery*, and *Worry* in Atkinson's Gl. of Cleveland dialect.]
- Werne, *v.* S. to refuse, deny, 1345. *Werne*, *pr. t.* 3 *p. s. subj.* refuses, forbids, 926. Sir Tr. p. 88; K. Horn, 1420, &c.
- Wesseyl, *n.* S. wassail, 1246.
- Wesseylen, *pr. t. pl.* wassail, 2098. *Wosseyled*, *part. pa.* 1737. See Rits. A.S. Diss. p. xxxiii. n. Hearne's Gl. to R. Glouc. in v. *Queme* and *Wasseyl*, Selden's Notes on Drayton's Polyolb. p. 150, and Nares.
- Wex, *part. t.* S. waxed, grew, 281. *Waxen*, *part. pa.* grown, 302, 791.
- Wicke, Wike, Wikke, *adj.* S. wicked, vile, 66, 319, 425, 665, 688, &c. *Swithhe wicke*, 965, very mean. *Swiþe wikke cloþes*, 2458, very mean clothing. *Wicke wede*, 2825, mean clothing.
- Wieth, With, *n.* S. [*wiht*] whit, bit, small part, 97, 1763, 2500. Lazam. l. 15031; Sevyng Sages, 293. 'The loue of hire ne lesteth no wyht longe,' MS. Harl. 2253, f. 128.
- Wieth, With, *adj.* courageous, stout, active, 344, 1008, 1064, 1651, 1692, &c. *Wicteste*, *sup.* 9. An epithet used universally by the ancient poets, and to be found in every Gloss. merely differing in orthography, as spelt *Waite*, *Wate*, *Wight*, *Wich*, &c. [Sir F. Madden suggests a derivation from A.S. *hwæt* (Icel. *hvátr*), acute, brave. Wedgwood suggests Sw. *vig*, nimble. Cf. Su.-Goth. *wig*, Icel. *vigr*, fit for war (A.S. *wig*).]
- Wider, *adv.* S. whither, where, 1139.
- Widuen, Wydues, *n. pl.* S. widows, 33, 79.
- Wif, *n.* S. wife, 2860; woman, 1713. *Wiuies*, *pl.* 2855.
- Wike, Wikke. See Wicke.
- Wil, *adv.* S. while, 6.
- Wil, *adj.* lost in error, uncertain how to proceed, 863; at a loss, without experience, 1042. Wynt. vi. 13, 115. V. Jam. who derives it from Su.-G. *wild*, Isl. *villr*. It is radically the same with *wild*.
- Wile, will, 352, 485, &c. *Wille*, 528, 1135, wilt thou; *Wiltu*, 681, 905. *Wilen*, *pl.* 732, 920, 1345, 2817, &c.
- Wille, *n.* S. will, 528.
- Wimman, *n.* S. woman, 1139, 1168, &c. *Wman*, 281. *Wyman*, 1156.

- Win, *n.* S. wine, 1729. *Wyn*, 2341.
- Winan, *v.* S. to get to, arrive at, 174. V. Gl. to *Will. of Palerne*.
- Winne, *n.* S. joy, gain, 660, 2965. *Muchere winne*, Lazam. l. 10233. Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R., V. 3, p. 294.
- Wirchen, *v.* S. to work, cause, 510.
- Wirwed. *See* Werewed.
- Wis, *adj.* S. wise, prudent, 180, 1421, 1635; skilled, 282.
- Wislike, *adv.* S. wisely, 274.
- Wisse, *v.* S. to direct, ordain, advise, 104, 361. Sir Tr. p. 29; K. Horn, Chron. of Engl. 499; Chauc., Gl. Lynds.
- Wissing, *n.* S. advice, or conduct, 2902.
- Wiste, *pa. t.* S. knew, 115, 358, 541, &c. *Wisten*, *pa. t. pl.* 1184, 1187, 1200, &c.
- Wit, *prep.* S. with, 52, 505, 701, 905, 1090, 2517, &c.; by, 2489. *Wituten*, 179, 247, 2860, without. *Withuten*, 425, except. *With than*, provided that, 532. *With that*, 1220.
- Wite, *v.* S. [*witan*, decernere] *pres. subj. or imp.* decree, ordain, 19, 1316.
- Wite, *v.* S. *pres. subj. or imp.* preserve, guard, defend, 405, 559. R. Gl. p. 98, 102. So in the *Carmen inter Corpus & Animam*, MS. Digb. 86.
- The king that al this world shop
thoru his holi miztte,
He *wite* houre soule from then
heuele wiztte.
- And in the French Romance of
Kyng Horn, MS. Harl. 527, f. 72,
b. c. 2.
- Ben iurez *Wite God*, kant auerez
beu tant,
Kant le vin uns eschaufe, si seez
si iurant.
- Wite, Witen, *v.* S. [*witan*, cognoscere] to know, 367, 625, 2201, 2786; to recollect, 2708. *Wite*, *pr. t. pl.* 2 p. know, 2808; *imp.* 3 p. *wite*, know, 517. *Wite*, 3 p. *s. subj.* (if) he know, 694. *Witen*, *pr. t. pl.* 2 p. know, 2208. *See* Wot.
- With, *conj.* *See* Wit.
- With, *n.* *See* Wieth.
- With, *adj.* *See* Wieth.
- With, *adj.* S. white, 48, 1144.
- With-sitten, *v.* S. to oppose, 1683. R. Br., Web.
- Wlf, *n.* S. wolf, 573.
- Wluine, *n.* S. she-wolf, 573. Dan. *ulfinde*, a she-wolf.
- Wman. *See* Wimman.
- Wnden, *part. pa.* S. wound, 546.
- Wo, *pron.* S. who, whoso, 76, 79, &c. *See* Hwo.
- Wo, *n.* S. woe, sorrow, 510, &c.
- Wod, *adj.* S. mad, 508, 1777, 1848, &c. *Wode*, *pl.* 1896, 2361.
- Wok, *pa. t.* S. awoke, 2093.
- Wol. *See* Wel.
- Wole, will, 1150. *Wolde*, would, 354, 367, &c. *Wode*, 951, 2310. *Wolden*, *pl.* 456, 514, 1057.
- Wombes, *n. pl.* S. bellies, 1911.
- Wom so, *pron.* S. whomso, 197.
- Won, Wone, great number, plenty, in phr. *ful god won*, in great quantity (in 1791 it seems to mean with great force), 1024, 1791, 1837, 1907, 2325, 2617, 2729. R. Gl., Horn Childe, ap. Rits. M. R., V. 3, p. 308, 314; R. Cœur de L. 3747; K. Alisaund. 1468; K. of Tars, 635; Minot, p. 14; Chauc. *Wane*, Yw. and Gaw. 1429; *Wayn*, Wall. viii. 947. Cf. Gl. to *Will. of Palerne*.
- Wone, *n.* S. (probably the same as *ween*, Sir Tr. p. 59, 78), opinion, conjecture, 1711, 1972. Cf. l. 816, and the Glossaries, in *v. Wene*.

- Wone, *v. S.* to dwell, 247, 406.
Woneth, pr. t. 3 *p.* dwelleth, 105.
- Wone, *part. pa.* wont, 2151, 2297. K. Horn, 36; R. Gl. Chron. of Engl. 632; Web., Chauc. [A.S. *wune*, a custom.]
- Wonges, *n. pl.* S. fields, plains, 397, 1444. Cf. l. 1360. Spelman thinks arable land is meant by the term, rather than pasture.
- Wore, 2 and 3 *p. s.* were, 504, 684, &c. *Wore*, *Woren, pl.* 237, 448, &c. It is not merely a licentious spelling, as conjectured by Sir W. Scott.
- Worpe, *v. S. imp.* may he be, 1102, 2873. *Wrth*, 434. *Wurpe*, 2221. Lazam. l. 28333. Sir Tr. p. 49, and all the Gloss., including Lynds.
- Wosseyled. See Wesseylen.
- Wot, Woth, *pr. t.* 1 *p. S.* know, 119, 213, 653, 1345, &c. *Wost, pr. t.* 2 *p.* knowest, 527, 582, 1384, &c. *Woth, pr. t.* 3 *p.* knows, 2527. *Wot, pl.* 1 *p.* know, 2803. *Wat, part. pa.* known, 1674.
- Wowe. See Wawe.
- Wrathe, *n. S.* wrath, anger, 2719, 2977. See Wroth
- Wreieres, *n. pl. S.* betrayers, spoilers, 39.
 The *wraiers* that weren in halle,
 Schamly were thai schende.
Sir Tristr. p. 190.
- Wreken, *v. S.* to avenge, revenge, 327, 1901. *Wreke, imp.* revenge (thou), 1363. *Wreken (miswritten for wreke)*, 3 *p. imp.* 544. *Wreke, pr. pl. subj.* 1884. *Wreke, Wreken, part. pa.* revenged, 2368, 2849, 2992. Sir Tr. p. 190, &c.
- Wringen, *v. S.* to wring, 1233.
- Writ, *n. S.* writing, 2486. *Writes, pl.* writs, letters, 136, 2275. See note to l. 136.
- Wrobberes, *n. pl. S.* robbers, 39.
- Wros, *n. pl.* corners, 68. So in the *Legnd of S. Margrete*, quoted by Dr Leyden:
 Sche seize a wel fouler thing
 Sitten in a *wro*;
 which Jamieson aptly derives from the Su.-G. *wraa*, angulus. Cf. Dan. *vraa*, a nook, corner.
- Wroth, *adj. S.* wrath, angry, 1117. *Wrope*, 2973. See Wrathe.
- Wrouht, *pa. t. S.* wrought, 2810. *Wrouth*, 1352. *Wrowht*, 2453.
- Wrth. See Worthe.
- Wunde, *n. S.* wound, 1980, 2673, &c. *Wounde*, 1978. *Wundes, pl.* 1845, 1898, 1986. *Woundes*, 1977, &c.
- Wurpe. See Worpe.
- Y, *pron. I.* See Ich.
- Ya, *adv. S.* yea, yes, 1888, 2009, 2607. *Ye*, 2606. See Rits. note to Yw. and Gaw. l. 43. In l. 2009, we should probably have found *zis* in a more southern work. See the note to *zis* in Gl. to *Will. of Palerne*. The distinction between *no* (l. 1800) and *nay* (l. 1136) is rightly made.
- Yaf. See Yeue.
- Yare, *adj. S.* ready, 1391, 2788, 2954. Sir Tr. p. 28; Rits. M. R., Web., Chauc., Gl. Lynds.
- Yaren, *v. S.* to make ready, 1350. This word in all the Gloss. has the form of *Yarken*.
- Yede, *pa. t. S.* went, 6, 774, 821, &c. *Yeden, pa. t. pl.* 889, 952.
- Yeft. See Giue.
- Yelde, *v. S.* to yield, 2712; *imp.* 3 *p.* requite, 803. Very common formerly in this sense. *Yeld, imp.* yield (thou), 2717.
- Yeme, *v. S.* to take charge of, govern, 131, 172, 182, 324, &c. *Yemede, pa. t.* governed, 975, 2276. Sir Tr. p. 115, Rits. M. R., Web., R. Gl., Chauc.
- Yen. See Agen.

Yerne, *adv.* S. eagerly, anxiously,
153, 211, 880, 925. Web., Rits.
M. R., Chauc.

Yerne, *v.* S. to desire earnestly,
299. Lazam. l. 4427. K. Horn,
1419; R. Br., Chauc., Gl. Lynds.

Yete, *adv.* S. yet, 495, 973, 996,
1043.

Yeue, *v.* S. to give, 298, &c.
Yeueþ, *pr. t.* 3 *p.* giveth, 459. *Yif*,
imp. give (thou), 674; 3 *p.* *yeue*,
22; *pl.* *yeueþ*, 911. *Yaf*, *pa. t.*
gave, or gave heed, 315, 419, &c.
Gaf, 218, 418, 1311, &c. *Gouen*,
pa. t. pl. 164 (in phr. *gouen hem*
ille, gave themselves up to grief);
Sir Tr. p. 129. *Giue*, *part. pa.*

2488; *gouen*, 220. *Youenet* = *Youen*
it, given it, 1643. For *yaf* in l.
1174, see note on the line.

Y-here. *See* Here, *v.*

Yif, *prep.* S. if, 126, 377, 1974,
&c. *Yf*, 1189.

Yif. *See* Yeue.

Y-lere. *See* Lere.

Ynow. *See* Inow.

Youenet. *See* Yeue.

Ys. *See* note to l. 1174.

Yuel, Yuele. *See* Iuele.

Yunge, *adj.* S. young, 368, &c.

Yure, *pron.* S. your, 171.

INDEX OF NAMES TO "HAUELOK."

[In this Index, the references under words in large capitals are in general to the *pages* of the book; otherwise, the references are to the *lines* of the poem.]

- ATHELWOLD** (*spelt* Apelwald, l. 1077), is king of England, and governs wisely, pp. 2, 3; feels he is dying, p. 4; bequeaths his daughter to the care of Godrich, pp. 6, 7; dies, p. 8. (Mentioned again in ll. 2709, 2803.)
- Auelok**, *another spelling of* Haelok, 1395, 1793.
- BERNARD BRUN** (i. e. Bernard Brown; so called in ll. 1751, 1945), provides a supper for Havelok, p. 48; his house attacked by thieves, p. 49; fights against them, p. 52; tells Ubbe how well Havelok fought, p. 54.
- BERTRAM** (*named in* l. 2898), is cook to the Earl of Cornwall, and employs Havelok, pp. 27, 28; is made Earl of Cornwall, and marries Levive, Grim's daughter, p. 83.
- BIRKABEYN** (*spelt* Bircabein, l. 494; *gen.* Birkabeynes, 2150, 2209, 2296), is king of Denmark, p. 11; commends his three children to Godard, p. 12; dies, p. 13; his son Havelok's resemblance to him, p. 60.
- Cestre** (Chester), 2607, 2859, 2896.
- Cornwayle** (Cornwall), 178, 2908; Cornwalie, 884.
- Crist**, 16, &c.;—*krist*, 22; *gen.* kristes, 2797.
- Dauy**, seint, 2863.
- Denemark** (Denmark), 340, 381, 386, &c.
- Denshe**, *sing. adj.* Danish, 1403; *pl.* 2575, 2693, 2938. *Danshe*, 2689.
- Douere** (Dover), 139, 265. Doure, 320.
- Engelond** (England), 59, 202, 250, &c.;—Engellond, 1093;—Engelonde, 208;—Englond, 1270;—Engeland, 108, 610;—Hengelond, 999; *gen.* Engelandes, 63.
- Englishe**, *pl. adj.* (*followed by* men), 2766, 2795;—*Englis* (*used absolutely*), 254;—Henglishe, 2945.
- Giffin** [*Qu.* Griffin] Galle, 2029.
- GODARD** (*gen.* Godardes, l. 2415), is made regent of Denmark, pp. 12, 13; shuts up Birkabeyn's children in a castle, p. 13; kills Swanborow and Helfled, p. 15; spares Havelok, p. 16; but afterwards hires Grim to drown Havelok, p. 17; is attacked by Havelok, p. 67; is taken prisoner, p. 68; condemned, flayed, drawn, and hung, pp. 70, 71.

- GODRICH (*spelt* Godrich, l. 178), is Earl of Cornwall, p. 6; is made regent of England, pp. 7, 8, 9; shuts Goldborough up in Dover castle, p. 10; makes Goldborough marry Havelok, p. 33; raises an army against Havelok, p. 72; excites his men, p. 73; marches to Grimsby, p. 74; fights with Ubbe, p. 75; fights with Havelok, pp. 77, 78; is taken prisoner, p. 78; taken to Lincoln, and burnt alive, pp. 80, 81.
- GOLDEBORU (*or* Goldeborw, l. 2985), is daughter of King Athelwold, p. 4; is committed to the care of Godrich, pp. 8, 9; shut up in Dover castle, p. 11; is sent for to Lincoln, p. 33; is married to Havelok, p. 36; hears an angel's voice, p. 39; encourages Havelok to go to Denmark, p. 41; rejoices at Godrich's death, p. 81; is queen of England; p. 85. *See* Havelok.
- GRIM, a fisher, is hired by Godard to drown Havelok, p. 17; discovers Havelok to be the right heir to the crown, p. 19; takes Havelok over to England, p. 20; founds Grimsby, p. 23; sends Havelok to Lincoln, p. 26; dies, p. 37. [In l. 2333, there seems to be an allusion to a spectacle, in which the history of Grim is represented.]
- Grimes, *gen. c. of* Grim, 1343, 1392, 2867.
- Grimesbi, 745, 2540, 2579, 2617, 2619;—Grimesby, 1202.
- Gunnild (daughter of Grim, marries Earl Reynier of Chester), 2866, 2896.
- Gunter (an English earl), 2606.
- HAUELOK, son of king Birkabeyn of Denmark, p. 13; spared by Godard, p. 16; but given over by him to Grim to be drowned, p. 17; spared and fed by Grim, p. 20; goes to England, p. 22; sells fish, p. 25; works as a porter, p. 27; puts the stone, p. 31; marries Goldborough, p. 35; returns to Grimsby, p. 36; his dream, p. 39; returns to Denmark, p. 43; trades there, p. 44; is noticed by Ubbe, p. 45; defends Bernard's house against thieves, pp. 48—53; is known to be heir of Denmark by a miraculous light, p. 60; is dubbed knight by Ubbe, p. 65; is king of Denmark, p. 66; defeats Godard, p. 68; invades England, p. 72; defeats Godrich, p. 77; rewards Bertram and others, p. 82; lives to be a hundred years old, p. 83; is crowned king of England at London, p. 84; is king for sixty years, p. 85. [The story is called "þe gest of Hauelok and of Goldeborw," l. 2985.]
- Helfied (Havelok's sister), 411.
- Hengelonde (England), 999.
- Henglishe (*pl.* English), 2945.
- Humber (the river), 733.
- Huwe Rauen (one of Grim's sons), 1398, 1868, 2349, 2636, 2677; *spelt* Hwe, 1878.
- Iohan, seint; the patron saint to whom Havelok commits his Danes, 2957; bi seint Iohan! 1112, 2563. *Spelt* Ion, 177.
- Iudas, 319, 425, 1133.
- Lazarun (= Lazarus, *acc.* of Lazarus), 331. Cf. "Lord"—said Guy—"that reared *Lazaroun*," &c. Guy of Warwick, in Ellis, *Met. Rom.* (ed. Halliwell), p. 227.
- Leue (Grim's wife), 558, 576, 595, 642.
- Leuiue (Grim's daughter, married to Bertram), 2914.
- Lincolne, 773, 847, 862, 980, 1105, 2558, 2572, 2824.
- Lindeseye (N. part of Lincolnshire), 734.
- Lundone (London), 2943.

Marz (March), 2559.

Reyner (earl of Chester), 2607.

Roberd þe rede (Grim's eldest son), 1397, 1686, 1888, &c.;—Robert, 2405, 2411, &c.; *gen.* Roberdes, 1691.

Rokesborw (explained by Prof. Morley to mean Rokeby, but it is surely Roxburgh), 265;—Rokesburw, 139. Roxburgh is spelt *Rokesburgh* in Walsingham, ed. Riley, i. 340, &c.

Sathanas (Satan), 1100, 1134, 2512.

Swanborow (Havelok's sister), 411.

UBBE, a great Danish lord, p. 44; entertains Havelok, p. 45; takes him to his castle, p. 57; does homage to Havelok, p. 63; dubs him knight, p. 65; his combat with Godrich, p. 75; is sorely wounded, p. 76.

Willam Wendut (one of Grim's sons), 1690, 1881, 1892, 2348, 2632;—Wiliam Wenduth, 1398.

Winchestre, 158, 318.

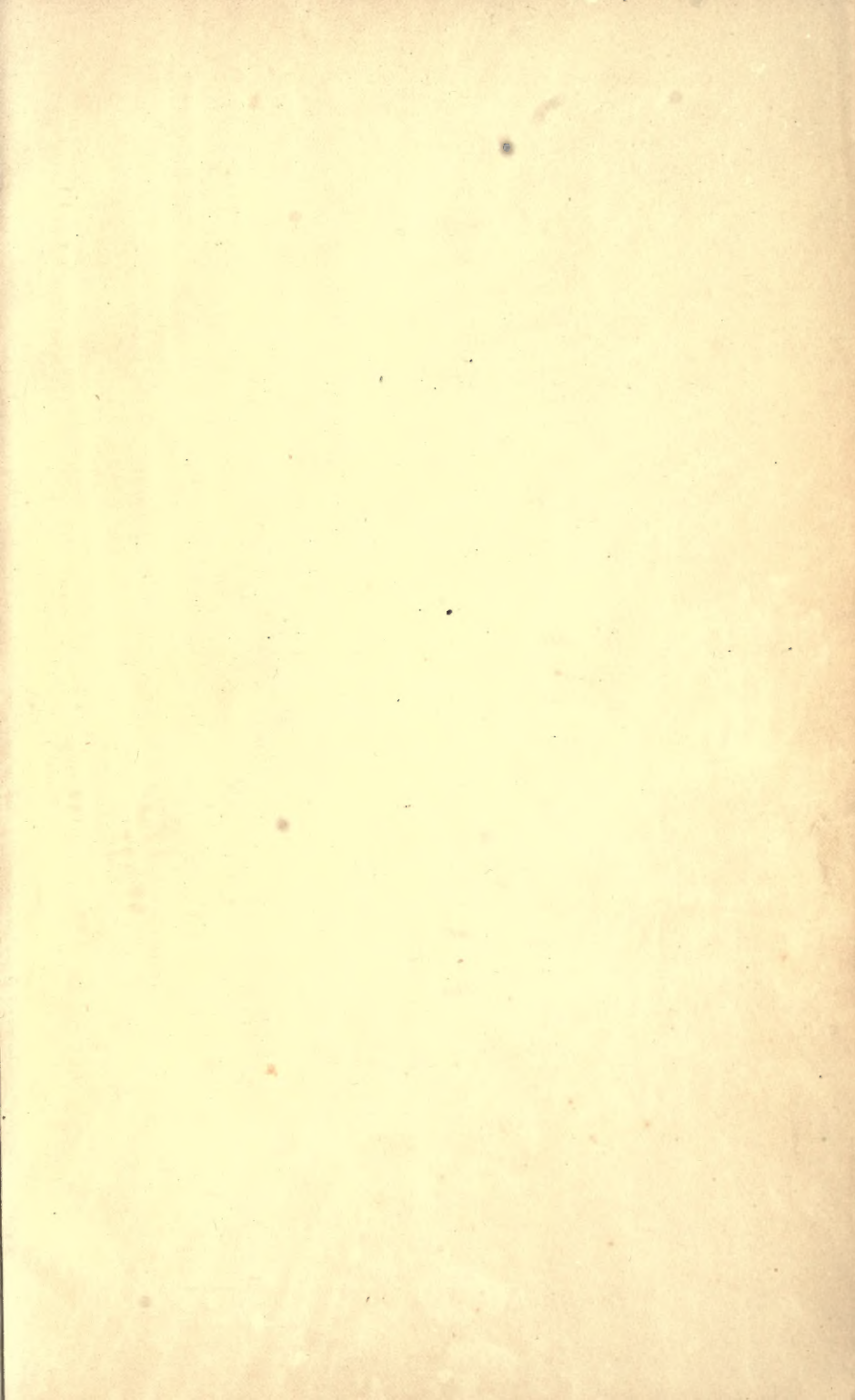
Yerk (York), 1178.

Ynde, India, 1085.













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